

AMATEKA Y'U RWANDA

***KUVA MU NTANGIRIRO
KUGEZA MU MPERA
Z'IKINYEJANA CYA XX***

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge

Biyobowe na

Déo BYANAFASHE

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Kigali, 2016

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Isobanura ry'amagambo ahinnye

A.A.	: Archives Africaines
A.G.	: Assemblée Générale
ABAKI	: Alliance des Bakiga
ABESC	: Association des Bahutu Evoluant pour la Suppression des Castes
ACR	: Association des Cultivateurs du Rwanda
ADP	: Alliance Démocratique des Peuples
ADR	: Alliance pour la Démocratie et la Réconciliation Nationale
AEC	: Agglomération Extra-Coutumières
AFDL	: Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre
AGOA	: African Growth and Opportunity Act
AIDS	: Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrom
AIMO	: Affaires Indigènes et Main-d'oeuvre
AJER	: Association de la Jeunesse Estudiantine Rwandaise
ALIR	: Armée de Libération du Rwanda
AM/AP	: Arrêté ministériel/ Arrêté présidentiel
AMR	: Association des Moniteurs du Rwanda
AMUR	: Association des Musulmans au Rwanda

ANT : Assemblée Nationale de Transition
(Transitional National Assembly)

APADEC : Association du Parti Démocrate Chrétien

APR : Armée Patriotique Rwandaise

APROBAMI : Association des Partis Monarchistes
Rwandais

APROCOMIN: Association des Commerçants Indigènes

APROSOMA : Association pour la Promotion Sociale de la
Masse

ARD : Alliance pour le Renforcement de la
Démocratie

ARDHO : Association Rwandaise pour la Défense des
Droits de l'Homme

AREDETWA: Association pour le Relèvement Démocratique des
Batwa

ARENA : Alliance pour la Renaissance de la Nation

ARSOM : Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer

ARUCO : Alliance du Ruanda-Urundi et du Congo

ARUCO : Alliance du Ruanda-Urundi et du Congo

ARV : Anti-rétroviraux

ASSADA : Association des Anciens d'Astrida

ASSERU : Association des Eleveurs du Rwanda

AVEGA : Association des Veuves du Génocide
-Agahozo

BACAR : Banque Continentale Africaine au Rwanda

BANCOR : Banque à la Confiance d'Or

BBC : British Broadcasting Corporation

BC : Before Christ

BCDI : Banque du Commerce, du Développement et de
l'Industrie

BCR : Banque Commerciale du Rwanda

BEM : Brevet d'Etat Major délivré par l'Ecole de
guerre de Bruxelles, devenu l'Institut royal
supérieur dedéfense)

BK : Banque de Kigali

BNR : Banque Nationale du Rwanda (Central Bank
of Rwanda)

BORU : Bulletin Officiel du Rwanda-Urundi

BRD : Banque Rwandaise de Développement

CAC : Caisses de Chefferies

CAMERWA : Centrale d'Achat des Médicaments

Essentiels du Rwanda	
CC	: Comité Central
CDP	: Caisse du Pays
CDR	: Coalition pour la Défense de la République
CEA	: Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines
CEA	: Colonies d'Etats d'Africains
CEEAC	: Communauté Economique des Etats de l'Afrique Centrale
CEPGL	: Communauté Economique des Pays des Grands Lacs
CERAI	: Centre d'Enseignement Rural et Artisanal Intégré
CESTRAR	: Centrale syndicale des travailleurs rwandais
CFJ	: Centre de Formation des Jeunes
CHU	: Centre Hospitalier Universitaire
CICR	: Comité International de la Croix Rouge
CIZA	: Cimenterie du Zaïre
CLADHO	: Collectif des Ligues et Associations des Droits de l'Homme
CMS	: Church Missionary Society
CND	: Conseil National de Développement (Parlement Rwandais)
CNDH	: Commission Nationale des Droits de l'Homme
CNDP	: Conseil National du Développement des Programmes
CNRD	: Conseil National de Résistance pour la Démocratie
CNS	: Commission Nationale de Synthèse
CNTS	: Centre National de Transfusion Sanguine
CNUR	: Commission Nationale pour l'Unité et la Réconciliation
COGEAR	: Compagnie Générale d'Assurances et de Réassurances
COGEBANQUE	: Compagnie Générale de Banque
COGER	: Congrès Général des Rwandais
COMESA	: Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CORAR	: Compagnie Rwandaise d'Assurances et de Réassurances
CPM	: Commission Permanente des Mandats

CPODR	: Concertation Permanente de l'Opposition Démocratique Rwandaise
TPIR	: Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda
CPOR	: Concertation Permanente de l'Opposition Démocratique
CRID	: Centre de Recherches et d'Information pour le Développement
CRISP	: Centre de Recherche et l'Information Socio- Politiques
CS	: Centre de Santé
CSP	: Conseil Supérieur du Pays (Higher National Council)
DMZ	: Zone démilitarisée
Ed.	: Edition
EDPRS	: Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
EEC	: European Economic Community
EIC	: Etat Indépendant du Congo (Congo Free State)
ENA	: Enfants Non Accompagnes
EPR	: Eglise Presbytérienne au Rwanda
EUNR	: Editions de l'Université Nationale du Rwanda
EUR	: Editions Universitaires du Rwanda
FAR	: Forces Armées Rwandaises
FARG	: Fonds d'Assistance aux Rescapés du Génocide
FASR	: Facilite d'Ajustement Structurel Renforcé
FAZ	: Forces Armées Zaïroises
FDC	: Forces Démocratiques pour le Changement
FDD	: Forces de Défense de la Démocratie
FDLR	: Forces Démocratiques de Libération du Rwanda
FED	: Fonds Européen de Développement
FLR	: Front de Libération Rwandaise
FP	: Force Publique
FPR	: Front Patriotique Rwandais
FRD	: Forces de Résistance pour la Démocratie
FRODEBU	: Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi
FRONASA	: Front for National Salvation
FRPC	: Facilité pour la Réduction de la Pauvreté et la Croissance
Frw	: Rwanda francs

GIEP	: Groupe International d'Eminentes Personnalités
GN	: Genèse
GOMN	: Groupe d'Observateurs Militaires Neutres
GOMN	: Groupe d'observateurs militaires neutres de l'OUA (Rwanda)
GP	: Garde Présidentielle
GTBE	: Gouvernement de Transition à Base Elargie
GUN	: Gouvernement d'Union Nationale (Government of National Unity)
GUNT.	: Gouvernement d'Union nationale de Transition
HAV	: Homme Adulte Valide
HIMO	: Haute Intensité de Main d'Oeuvre
HIV	: Human Immunodéficience Virus
HRW	: Human Rights Watch
IBUKA	: Association des Rescapés du Génocide (Association of genocide Survivors)
ICAR	: International Conference on Refugees in Africa
ICRC	: International Committee of the Red Cross
ICTR	: International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IDA	: International Development Association
IDC	: Internationale Démocrate Chrétienne
IEC	: Information, Education et Communication
IMF	: International Monetary Fund
INRS	: Institut National de la Recherche Scientifique
INSR	: Institut National de la Statistique du Rwanda
IPN	: Institut Pédagogique National
IRDP	: Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix
IRDP	: Institute de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix
IRSAC	: Institut de Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale
ISAE	: Institut Supérieur d'Agriculture et d'Elevage
ISFP	: Institut Supérieur des Finances Publiques
ISPG	: Institut Supérieur de Pédagogie de Gitwe
JC	: Jeunesse Chrétienne
JENAKI	: Jeunesse Nationaliste Kigeli V
JEUNAR	: Jeunesse de l'UNAR

JOR	: Journal Officiel du Rwanda
JPR	: Jeunesse Patriotique Rwandaise
KHI	: Kigali Health Institute
KIE	: Kigali Institute of Education
KIST	: Kigali Institute of Science and Technology Management
KM	: Kikosi Maalum
LABOPHAR	: Laboratoire Pharmaceutique du Rwanda
LDGL	: Ligue pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme pour la Région des Grands Lacs
LIPRODHOR	: Ligue pour la Promotion et la Défense des Droits de l'Homme au Rwanda
MAGRIVI	: Mutuelle des Agriculteurs des Virunga
MCC	: Millennium Challenge Corporation
MDC	: Movement for Democratic Change
MDR	: Mouvement Démocratique Républicain
MFBP	: Mouvement des Femmes et du Bas-Peuple
MGR	: Monseigneur
MIB	: Mission Immigration Banyarwanda
MIGEPROF	: Ministère des Genres et de la Promotion des Femmes
MIJESPOC	: Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Sports et de la Culture
MINAGRI	: Ministère de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage
MINALOC	: Ministère de l'Administration Locale (Ministry of Local Administration)
MINECOFIN	: Ministère des Finances et de la Planification Economique
MINIJUST	: Ministère de la Justice (Ministry of Justice)
MINISANTE	: Ministère de la Santé (Ministry of Health)
MINUAR	: Mission des Nations Unies pour l'Assistance au Rwanda
MOMOR	: Mouvement Monarchiste Rwandais
MONUOR	: Mission d'observation des Nations Unies Ouganda/Rwanda
MPL	: Mouvement Populaire de Libération
MRAC	: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale
MRLZ	: Mouvement Révolutionnaire pour la Libération du Zaïre
MRND	: Mouvement Révolutionnaire National pour le Développement
MUR	: Mouvement pour l'Union Rwandaise
N°	: Numéro

ND	: Non déterminé
NRA	: National Resistance Army
NRM	: National Resistance Movement
NUR	: National University of Rwanda
NURC	: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission
OAU	: Organisation of African Unity
OBK	: Organisation du Bassin de la Kagera
OCIRU	: Office du café indigène du Ruanda-Urundi
OMD	: Objectifs du Millénaire pour le Développement
ONATRACOM	: Office Nationale de Transport et de Communication
ONG	: Organisation non Gouvernementale
ONU	: Organisation des Nation Unies
Op.Cit	: Opere Citato (dans l'ouvrage cité)
ORINFOR	: Office Rwandais de l'Information
OUA	: Organisation de l'Unité Africaine
P.	: Page
PADER	: Parti Démocratique Rwandais
PALIR	: Parti de Libération du Rwanda
PAM	: Programme Alimentaire Mondial
PAMOPRO	: Parti Monarchiste Progressiste
PARERWA	: Parti Républicain du Rwanda
PARMEHUTU	: Parti du Mouvement de l'Emancipation Hutu
PAS	: Programme d'Ajustement Structurel
PAWA	: Faction extrémiste dite autrement « Power »
PDC	: Parti Démocratique Chrétien
PDI	: Parti pour la Démocratie Islamique
PECO	: Parti Ecologiste
PED	: Pacte Européen de Développement
PEV	: Programme Elargi de Vaccination
PIB	: Produit Intérieur Brut
PL	: Parti Libéral
PNAS	: Programme National d'Actions Sociales
PNB	: Produit National Brut
PNLP	: Programme National de Lutte contre le Paludisme
PNLS	: Programme National de Lutte contre le SIDA
PNUD	: Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement
PP.	: Pages

PPJR	: Parti Progressiste de la Jeunesse Rwandaise
PPTE	: Pays Pauvres Très Endettés
PRD	: Parti pour le Renouveau Démocratique
PRI	: Penal Reform International
PRIMATURE:	Premier Ministère (Office of the Prime Minister)
PROFEMMES:	Collectif des Associations de Promotion de la Femme
PRP	: Parti de la Révolution Populaire
PRSP	: Poverty Reduction Strategy Program
PRSP	: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSCR	: Parti Social Chrétien du Rwanda
PSD	: Parti Socialiste Démocrate
PSR	: Parti Socialiste Rwandais
RADER	: Rassemblement Démocratique Rwandais
RAMA	: Rwandaise d'Assurance Maladie (Rwanda Medical Insurance)
RANU	: Rwandan Alliance for National Unity
RDC	: République Démocratique Du Congo
RDR	: Rassemblement pour la Démocratie au Rwanda
RIF	: Rural Infrastructure Financing Facility
RIPA	: Office Rwandais pour la promotion des Investissements
RISD	: Rwanda Institute of Sustainable Development
RITA	: Rwandese Information and Technology Agency
RPA	: Rwanda Patriotic Army
RPF	: Rwanda Patriotic Front
RTD	: Rassemblement Travailleiste pour la Démocratie
RTL	: Radio Télévision Libre des Mille Collines
RU	: Rwanda-Urundi
SADC	: Southern African Development Community
SAP	: Structural Adjustment Program
SBMP	: Société Belge des Missions Protestantes
SDN	: Société des Nations
SIDA	: Syndrome de l'Immunodéficience Acquise
SIDIM	: Société des Ingangurarugo de Mushiha
SNJG	: Service National Des Juridictions Gacaca
SONARWA	: Société Nationale d'Assurances du Rwanda
SORAS	: Société Rwandaise d'Assurances

TANU	: Tanganyika National Union
TIC	: Technologie de l'Information et de la Communication
TPDF	: Tanzania People's Defence Forces
TPIR	: Tribunal Pénal International pour le Rwanda
TRAC	: Treatment and Research AIDS Centre
TRAFIPRO	: Travail-Fidélité-Progrès
UAAC	: Université Adventiste de l'Afrique Centrale
UAARU	: Union des Aborozi Africains du Rwanda
UCK	: Université Catholique de Kabgayi
UDPR	: Union Démocratique du Peuple Rwandais
UE	: Union Européenne
UEBR	: Union des Églises baptistes au Rwanda
UFDR	: Union des Forces Démocratiques Rwandaises
UJR	: Union des Journalistes du Rwanda
ULK	: Université Libre de Kigali
UMAR	: Union des Masses Rwandaises
UMHK	: Union Minière du Haut Katanga
UNAFREUROP	: Union Afro-Européenne
UNAR	: Union Nationale Rwandaise
UNATEK	: Université d'Agriculture, de Technologie et d'Éducation de Kibungo
UNHCR	: United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	: United Nations Children Fund
UNILAC	: Université Laïque de Kigali
UNINTERCOKI	: Union des Intérêts Communs du Kinyaga
UNLA	: Uganda National Liberation Army
UNLF	: Uganda National Liberation Front
UNR	: Université Nationale du Rwanda
UPC	: Uganda People's Congress
UPM	: Uganda Patriotic Movement
UPRONA	: Union pour le Progrès National
URSS	: Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques
USA	: Etats-Unis d'Amérique (United States of America)
USAID	: United States Agency for International Development
VAR	: Vaccin Anti Rougeoleux

VAT : Vaccin Antitétanique
VOA : Voix de l'Amérique
VPO : Vaccin Polio Oral
YPO : Young Presidents' Organisation

URUTONDE RW'IMBONERAHAMWE

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UMUMURIKO

Nta miryango y’abantu itagira amateka nk’uko nta n’amateka yabaho nta bantu. Kuva jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994 yarangira, Abanyarwanda benshi basabaga kandi bari bategereje ko amateka yabo yakwandikwa. Urubumbambaga nyarwanda rw’ubu si rwo rudakeneye guhabwa amakuru nyayo ku kahise karwo kugira ngo rushobore guhangana n’ibibazo by’ubu n’iby’ejo hazaza. Ibijyanye n’amateka birushaho gukenerwa mu rubumbambaga nk’urw’uRwanda rwahuye n’akaga k’intambara na jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

Amateka akenerwa na benshi ku mpamvu zinyuranye, zimwe muri zo zikaba gutanga ibisobanuro bimwe na bimwe ngo abantu bumve ibyabaye, gutanga ibimenyetso ku kaga katangajwe kimwe no gutanga ingero z’amateka abantu biyandikira uko bashatse cyangwa bakayahimba kubera impamvu z’ingengabitekerezo n’iyamamazamatwara, ukaba watanga n’ingero nziza zareberwaho imikorere n’imytwarire inoze mu rwego rwo kubaka bundi bushya u Rwanda rwa nyuma ya jenocide. Iki gitabo nta kwibwira ko gikubiyemo ibyo abantu bategereje byose cyangwa ngo gisubize ibibazo byose bashobora kwibaza. Abacyanditse barabizi neza, akaba ari ngombwa kubashimira kuba barabashije kurenga imyumvire ishingiye ku kwikunda n’amarangamutima, umurimo wabo bakawukorana ubuhanga ku bijyanye no kwegeranya ibya ngombwa, kubisesengura kandi ntibavome ahantu hamwe naho ibitekerezo byaba bivuguruzanya.

Amateka y'u Rwanda, yanditswe akanandikirwa Abanyarwanda, ni intambwe ikomeye mu rwego rwo kongera kubaka u Rwanda. Tuzi ko kubyinisha amateka byabaye kimwe mu bikoresho mu kwamamaza amatwara y'ubuhezanguni yabanjirije akanaherekeza akaga ko mu w'1994. Inyandiko nk'iyi igamije gusa gushakashaka ukuri no guteza intambwe ibyo kujora, aho kugendera no kunyurwa gusa n'imyumvire itari yo n'ibitekerezo bidafitiwe gihamya. Nta gushidikanya ko bizatanga umusaruro mwiza cyane cyane mu bisekuru by'abato bazaba bafite igikoresho hafi yabo kizabafasha kongera ubumenyi bwabo mu birebana n'amateka.

Birumvikana, iki gitabo gitanga iby'ingenzi, nta kwiyumya ko cyaba kivuga byose. icyo kigamije ni ugutanga amakuru fatizo ku bintu ngombwa byerekeye uko u Rwanda rwagiye rukura, bimwe muri byo bikaba bitavugwaho rumwe. Ingingo nkuru zivugwamo ni izi: ikibazo cy'ahavomwa amakuru igihe umuntu yandika ku mateka y'u Rwanda, imbanzirizamateka n'imiturire y'u Rwanda, ubwami bw'i Rwanda kuva bwatangira kugeza mu mpera z'ikinnye jana cya XIX, ubukoroni bw'Abanyaburayi, ingoma zakurikiye ubukoroni, jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi n'igihe k'inzibacyuho kuva 1994 kugeza mu wa 2003. Kuri ibyo bihe byose, abanditsi bagerageje gusesengura ibirebana n'ubukungu, poritiki, imibereho y'abaturage n'umuco batibagiwe n'imibanire n'ibihugu byo mu karere n'ahandi.

Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda abo banditsi b'iki gitabo barimo cyangwa babayemo irashimira by'umwihariko Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge yatanze amafaranga kugira ngo ubwo bushakashatsi bukorwe kandi ikagirira ikizere abarimu bacu. Ubwo bufatanye bwamye buranga ibyo bigo byombi.

Ntitwarangiza tudashimiye tubikuye ku mutima abanditsi b'iki gitabo kubera umurimo mwiza bakoze; baciye agahigo bamwe mu bababanjirije baminuje ariko bakagira uruhare rubi mbere, mu gihe na nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, bashyigikira ingoma zamenaga amaraso za nyuma y'ubukoroni. Kubashimira binashingiye ku kuba, mu gutangaza iki gitabo, baratanze umurongo wakurikizwa ku bushakashatsi buzakorwa nyuma ku mateka y'u Rwanda.

Silas LWAKABAMBA

Umuyobozi wa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda

IRIBURIRO

Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye (CNUR) yishimiye kubamurikira impinirahamwe y'amateka y'u Rwanda igamije gutanga umusanzu mu gutangaza amakuru acukumbuye kurushaho kuri ayo mateka. Ubundi buryo bwo kumva ibintu n'ibisobanuro byagiye bitangwa kuri yo byakunze gushyigikira imigenzereze mu bya poritiki ibangamira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda bukanatiza umurindi ugusenyuka k'ubunyarwanda.

Inshuro nyinshi no mu makoraniro menshi, bifuje ko ayo mateka yasubirwamo kugira ngo bashyigikire ubumwe n'ubwiye. Ibi kandi bikaba biri mu migambi shingiro ya CNUR, yo gukora ubushakashatsi no gutangaza inyandiko zijyanye n'izo nshingano. Iyi mpinirahamwe ivuga gusa iby'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza mu wa 2003, ubwo igihe k'inziyacyuho cyari cyaratangiye muri Nyakanga 1994 cyari kirangiye.

Uyu murimo wakoze bisabwe na CNUR, utunganywa kandi ugenzurwa n'abashakashatsi b'abanyamateka bo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda batagaragaje gusa ibyavuye mu bushakashatsi bwa vuba aha, ahubwo bakanasesengura kurushaho ingingo zimwe na zimwe abantu batavugaho rumwe cyangwa batazi zerekera n'amateka y'u Rwanda.

Abo banditsi ni bo bonyine bazitirirwa ibyo gushakisha amakuru ku mateka, kuyasobanura no kuyasesengura mbere

yo kuyandika muri iyi mpinirahamwe.

Uyu murimo uzagwe neza abasomyi b'iki gitabo kandi ufashe mu gutuma haboneka ubundi bushakashatsi no kungurana ibitekerezo.

CNUR irashimira abagize uruhare bose mu kwandika iki gitabo, by'umwihariko abashakashatsi bo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'u Burayi watanze inkunga y'amafaranga.

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Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge.

INTANGIRIRO

Nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994, Abanyarwanda banyuranye kandi bari mu ngeri zitandukanye, ari iza Leta cyangwa iz'abikorera, bakomeje gusaba ko amateka y'u Rwanda yakwandikwa. Uko kubisaba, uretse ko binafite ishingiro ku mpamvu z'ubumenyi ubwabwo, binaterwa ahanini n'ibyago bikomeye u Rwanda rwabayemo muri iyi myaka ya vuba. Abanyarwanda barashaka kumenya amateka yabo kugira ngo babashe kubonera ibisubizo ibibazo byinshi bibaza. Bamaze kumenya ko amateka yakoreshejwe mu buryo bugoranye ari yo yabaye intandaro y'inyigisho mbi zabanjirije jenocide yo mu wa 1994, akanakomeza nyuma yayo, ubu Abanyarwanda barifuza Amateka nyayo, ashingiye ku kuri n'ubushakashatsi bwimbitse kandi yanditse ku buryo butarimo amarangamutima¹.

Ubusanzwe, hari imvugo iri mu Banyarwanda banyuranye ivuga ko amateka yigishijwe mu mashuri akanamamara mu nyandiko no muri za disikuru zinyuranye, ari amateka agoranye². icyo ayo mateka anengwa nuko yifashishijwe mu kwimakaza poritiki mbi, haba mu gihe cya gikoronize na nyuma yacyo. Yahaye umwanya munini ikibazo bitaga icy'amoko kandi ubusanzwe Abanyarwanda bari mu ngeri nyinshi zagendaga zibahuza nk'imiryango y'amoko bisangagamo bose. Ayo mateka mabi yo yashyize imbere guhangana kw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi n'uruhare ngo ingoma nyiginya n'Abatutsi byaba byaragize mu gukandamiza Abahutu.

¹ IRDP, Anketi zakorewe mu Budaha, 5 Mutarama 2005

² IRDP, Anketi zakorewe i Butare, Nzeri 2005

Ikindi kandi nuko ayo mateka yigishijwe, akanandikwa agamije gushimisha Leta yariho icyo gihe. Yashyiraga imbere imvugo, ibisingizo byayo aho gushyira imbere ukuri k'umwimerere. Urugero nuko mu gihe cy'ubukoroni byavugwaga ko Abatutsi ari bo bonyine bavukiye kuyobora kandi ari bo bonyine babishoboye. Kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri ho, hashyirwaga imbere ingoma z'abahinza zahozeho kera, zigasingizwa, hakanengwa ingoma nyiginya³. Byaragaragaye ko hari hagamijwe gushyira imbere ibikorwa bya poritiki, hagamijwe ibyo bashakaga kugeraho muri poritiki nyirizina.

Kandi koko amateka yigishijwe akanatangazwa, ntaho yari ahuriye n'ibireba rubanda rw'abaturage rusanze, ari ibirebana n'ubuzima bwabo bwa buri muni cyangwa ibirebana n'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda n'abaturage b'ibihugu by'amahanga bibakikije ngo herekanwe uko basabana ari mu birebana n'umuco, imibereho yabo ndetse no mu by'ubukungu, kandi ibyo ari byo byaremye amateka nyayo y'abatuye ibyo bihugu.

Naho ku birebana no kwigisha amateka, ntawakwemeza ko intandaro y'ibi byose ari ibitabo yari yanditsemo, ubushakashatsi bwa vuba aha bwerekana ko inyigisho z'amacakubiri zavaga muri byinshi. Mu myitwarire n'imigenzereze, mu mvugo zisesereza z'abigisha ayo mateka n'uburere mboneragihugu, byashyiraga imbere akarengane ngo Abahutu baba barakorewe n'ingoma ntutsi. Ndetse byavugwaga ko abo Batutsi ubwabo ari abanyamahanga. Kandi izo nyigisho zigashyira imbere impinduramatwara yo mu wa 1959.

Hari abarimu bemera muri iki gihe ko bajyaga babaza "amoko" y'abanyeshuri ku mugaragaro ndetse bakagenda babatandukanya bashingiye kuri iyo ngingo. Habayeho rero ivangura rishingiye ku byo bitaga "amako" kandi n'imvugo y'abarezi ubwayo n'ingirwamahame⁴ bitwazaga byashimangiraga mu mitwe y'abanyeshuri ibitekerezo bikomeye by'irondakoko rihamye.

Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ishingiyeye ku mpamvu z'uko amateka y'u Rwanda yakoreshejwe nabi, yabaye iretse kwigisha ayo amateka, mu gihe gito, mu Mashuri Abanza. Mu Mashuri Yisumbuye, buri shuri rigahitamo gutanga iryo somo

³ IRDP, Anketi i Butare, Nzeri 2005

⁴ Nk'ijambo «rubanda nyamwinshi» rishobora kuvuga «Abahutu», kimwe nuko ijambo «inzoka» cyangwa «inyenzi» bishobora kuvuga Abatutsi.

cyangwa rikarireka. Ariko ubwo buryo ntibwemerwa na bose⁵. Hari abemeye ko icyo kemezo ari ik'igihe gito kuko bibaye ibyo urubyiruko rw'u Rwanda rwajya ruhura n'ibibazo birebana n'ibivugwa kenshi mu mateka rutajya rubona uko rubyifatamo. Abakiri bato bakeneye kumenya impamvu n'inkomoko y'amacakubiri yagaragaye mu minsi ishize ya vuba mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Bitabaye ibyo, urubyiruko rw'ejo hazaza ruzamenya gusa igice gito cy'amateka yarwo, rubikuye ahanini mu byo ruzaba rwasomye ahantu hanyuranye akenshi birimo amarangamutima, cyangwa mu nkuru zisanzwe babwirwa n'abaturage n'inshuti, izo basoma mu binyamakuru n'izindi nyandiko cyangwa batoraguye aho bagenda hose.

Ubu harifuzwa ko habaho amateka adafite icyasha cyo kuba agoramye, ahubwo agakosora ibyari byakoshejwe kandi akerekana ukuri ko mu mibereho yuzuye ya kera y'Abanyarwanda, ntacyo ahishe kandi adafite aho abogamiye. Abanditsi b'amateka bo muri iki gihe bashinzwe uwo murimo, na bo ubwabo bazahura n'izo ngorane z'iyi myandikire y'amateka babayemo kandi bemeye.

Akazi ko kugorora ibyanditswe nabi ntikoroshye kuko byabaye nk'umurage uremereye: byaba bifite ishingiro cyangwa bitarifite, ariko imyandikire n'imyigishirize y'amateka yacu ubu biramaganwa buri gihe, biregwa kuba ari byo byabaye intandaro y'umwiryane mu Banyarwanda. Bikaba ndetse ari byo byabibye inzangano kugeza ku mahano ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994. Ariko ubwo bimaze kumenyekana ko abantu bagiye bakoresha amateka uko babonye, ntibyagombye kuba intandaro yo kubuza icyakorwa, ahubwo byagombye kuba isomo rikomeye ku byabaye, maze hakandikwa kuva ubu amateka agamije kubaka u Rwanda rw'ejo hazaza.

Abanditsi b'amateka b'iki gihe bafite inshingano ikomeye yo kwitandukanya n'uko amateka yagiye avugwa kuko ari byo byabaye intandaro y'ibibi, ahubwo bagashingira ku bimaze kugerwaho n'ubushakashatsi bwa vuba aha, bakareka kwandika amateka agamije gusingiza ubutegetsi ahubwo bakandika amateka nyakuri ashingiye ku buhanga. Amateka aba yo iyi ashingiye ku kuri kw'ibyabaye koko.

⁵ Kuri iyi ngingo harebwa ibyifuzo byavuye mu nama mpuzamahanga yabereye i Kigali, tariki ya 4-6 Mata 2010 yakoreshejwe na CNLG. Abayirimo bifuje ko hakongerwa kwigishwa amateka mu mashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye.

Hari abakeka ko Abanyarwanda badafite ubushobozi bwo kwandika amateka yabo mu buryo bwa gihanga bushoboka bwose ndetse bananiwe no kwitandukanya n'uko amateka yabo yagiye yandikwa kugeza ubu⁶. Ntibatinye kuvuga impungenge zabo z'uko Abanyarwanda bakomeza kwandika amateka yabo abogamye nk'uko byakozwe kugeza ubu, ndetse noneho akabogamira ku butegetsi buriho ubu bita "ubwa gitutsi"⁷. Nubwo ntawahakana ko inenge itabura mu bantu bandika kandi ko kuyobya amateka iteka bishoboka, ariko hagombye gukorwa ibishoboka byose ngo handikwe amateka nyayo, hakoreshejwe uburyo bugezweho bwose, nubwo byose bitahita bikosorwa icyarimwe, ariko bigahora bikosorwa kandi byuzuzwa n'amakuru mashya yagenda aboneka buri gihe.

Ntawagumya gukomeza gutinza iyandikwa ry'ayo mateka mashya, kandi ntawakomeza gutegereza ko ari abandi bazabikorera Abanyarwanda. Byaba atari byiza kuguma nta mateka ariho, kuko byaba ari uguha urubuga ibinyoma n'imvugo zibonetse zose byabibye amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda cyangwa bikaba guha rugari ibitekerezo by'amacakubiri n'umwiryane mu Banyarwanda, kandi hazwi ingaruka mbi byateje⁸.

Iyi nyandiko ikusanyirijemo ibigamije gusubiza ibyo bibazo byose, hashingiwe ku nyandiko n'ukuri, zigizwe n'ibice bigiye bikurikirana ku buryo bukurikira: Ibyifashishijwe ngo Amateka yandikwe, u Rwanda mbere y'ubukoroni, u Rwanda mu bukoroni, u Rwanda muri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri, Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, n'Igihe cyakurikiye irangira rya jenocide. Mu by'ukuri iki gitabo kirakomatanyiriza hamwe amateka yose y'u Rwanda yaherwaho ngo hakorwe inyigisho z'Amateka zihariye zatangwa mu Mashuri Abanza n'Ayisumbuye yo mu Rwanda.

Déo BYANAFASHE na Paul RUTAYISIRE

⁶ African Rights, *The heart of education: assessing human rights in Rwanda's schools*, University of Michigan, June 2001, p.27

⁷Ni cyo inyigo ya vuba aha yakozwe na Penal Reform International (PRI), Umuryango Utagengwa na Leta wakurikiranye imanza za Gacaca washatse kwerekana. Iyo nyigo yibanze ku nyigisho z'amateka n'ibiganiro bitangwa mu ngando bihabwa abanyururu bafunguwe. Abakoze iyo nyigo bifashishije ibyanditswe n'abanyururu mu ngando n'ibiganiro bagiranye. icyo abatanze izo nyigisho babivugaho ntikigaragaramo. PRI, *Du camp à la colline, la réintégration des libérés*, Rapport VI, Kigali, mai 2004)

⁸République du Rwanda, Sénat, *Rwanda. Idéologie du génocide et stratégie de son éradication*, Kigali, 2006.

IBISHINGIRWAHO MU KWANDIKA AMATEKA Y’U RWANDAbyanditswe na **Déo BYANAFASHE**

Mu bishingirwaho mu myandikire y’amateka, u Rwanda kimwe n’ibindi bihugu byo muri Afurika yo hagati, ruhura n’ingorane zo kutagira inyandiko za kera, mbere y’ikinyejana cya XV ku bihugu bikora ku nyanja cyangwa mbere y’ikinyejana cya XIX ku bihugu bindi by’icyo gice cy’Afurika. Iyo ngorane kugeza mu myaka ya 1960 yagiye idindiza imyandikire y’amateka y’u Rwanda kuko bituma abantu bibwira ko u Rwanda rwa mbere ya 1900 rutagiraga amateka ngo kuko nta nyandiko za kera rwashoboraga gushingiraho ngo ruyandike. Ubwo buryo bwo kubona ibintu gutyo bwateraga ingorane z’imyandikire y’amateka ubwayo. Impamvu nuko amateka ari n’*“ubumenyi bw’abantu mu mibanire yabo”*⁹, kandi ubwo bumenyi n’iyo mibanire bikaba bitamenyekanira gusa mu nyandiko zanditse zonyine.

Ni yo mpamvu ikigo kitwa *“International African Institute”* gifite ikicaro cyacyo i Londoni, cyakoresheje inama mpuzamahanga mu w’1916 yitwaga *“Inama ya kane ya African International* yigaga ku mateka y’Afurika mbere y’umwaduko w’abazungu muri rusange, no ku mateka y’ibihugu by’umwihariko aho inyandiko za kera zitaboneka. Muri iyo nama hasuzumwe by’umwihariko ibyashingirwaho ngo handikwe amateka y’Afurika mbere y’umwaduko w’abazungu, hizwe ko hashingirwa gake cyane ku nyandiko zanditse. Iyo nama yarangiye hemejwe ko mu iyandika ry’ayo mateka ibiri mu mvugo, ni ukuvuga bitanditse, byahabwa umwanya bikwiye.

⁹ Nouschi A., *Initiation aux sciences historiques*, Paris, Nathan, 1993, p. 19

Mu bihugu nk'ibyo munsu ya Sahara mbere y'umwaduho w'abazungu, byitwa *"Ibihugu bitagize umuco wo kwandika"*, ibyashingirwaho mu myandikire y'amateka yabyo ni nk'ibitekerezo, ibivumburwa mu butaka (arikeworoji) n'ibindi byose biboneka by'ibihe bya kera. Kuva igihe cy'ubukoroni, u Rwanda kuva mu kinyejana cya XIX, na rwo rufite icyo kibazo k'ibishingirwaho binyuranye ngo handikwe amateka yarwo: hashingiwe ku iterambere rishya ryazanywe no kwandika no gufata amajwi n'amashusho, ubu haboneka uburyo bugera kuri bune bwashingirwaho ngo handikwe amateka. Hashingirwa ku bintu bifatika, ku bijyanye n'imvugo, ku byanditse no gufata amajwi n'amashusho.

Ibyo bintu uko ari bine byashingirwaho ni byo byiswe *"Isoko y'amateka y'u Rwanda"*. Kugira ngo bikoreshwe, bigomba gukorerwa ubushakashatsi buhamye, kuko byose bidafite akamaro kangana ku muntu wandika amateka, kandi hakanasuzumwa by'umwihariko uko byagiye bikoreshwa mu myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda. Ubwo bushakashatsi bwabanza gukorwa ku bijyanye n'ibintu bifatika ubwabyo, hagakurikizwaho ibijyanye n'imvugo n'inyandiko, hagaheruka ibijyanye n'amajwi n'amafoto. Naho ku bijyanye n'uko byakoreshwa mu nyandiko y'amateka y'u Rwanda ya nyuma ya jenocide, haracyari ikibazo ngo bandike amateka koko azira amakemwa.

1.1 Ibarura ry'ibyashingirwaho ngo handikwe amateka

Ibyashingirwaho ngo amateka yandikwe, nubwo byose bitanganya agaciro ni byinshi kandi biratandukanye; kandi buri bwoko mu gice cyabwo gikuru, buba bufite umwihariko n'ibiburanga ndetse bitoroshye kubishungura ku buryo bunoze.

1.1.1 Ibijyanye n'ibintu bifatika

U Rwanda rwagize inyandiko guhera gusa mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya XIX. Ni yo mpamvu amateka yose ya mbere y'iyi tariki ashingira gusa ku byagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo z'umuco gakondo, ku bitabururwa mu butaka, ku hantu n'ibintu ndangamateka no ku biva mu byakorwaga kera mu Rwanda n'ibikoresho fatizo by'icyo gihe.

a. Ibisazirwa by'ibintu bya kera bivumburwa mu butaka (arikeworoji)

Ibisazirwa by'ibintu bya kera bivumburwa mu butaka ni ikimenyetso gifatika k'ibyakorwaga kera n'Abanyarwanda. Ari ibintu ubwabyo, ari n'ibindi bimenyetso bifatika by'icyo gihe, byerekana imitekerereze n'imibereho y'abantu b'icyo gihe, ari mu birebana n'imibanire yabo na poritiki; ubukungu n'ibirebana n'ibikoresho bya tekini, uko babikoraga, uko babikoresha n'uko babihanahanaga n'ibindi.

Igikuru ni ugushobora gufindura ibyo bintu n'ibyo bimenyetso bifatika bikabasha gutanga amakuru nyayo abikubiyemo. Urugero: amoko anyuranye y'amasuka ntiyerekana gusa tekini bakoresha bayacura, ahubwo anerekana uko ubutaka yakorerwagaho bwabaga bumeze. Ni kimwe n'ibindi bikoresho byose, byaba ibigendanye n'ubworozi, ubuvumvu, uburobyi, ubwikorezi, ubuhigi n'imyambaro.

Ibyo byose ni ibimenyetso ntangabuhamya by'ubuzima, imiturire, imibanire, imibereho, imico, n'imyemerere yabo. Hari ibintu byinshi bikiri nk'amabanga ahishwe mu matongo ya kera. Magingo aya ubushakashatsi ku bijyanye na arikeworoji mu Rwanda buracyataguzwa kandi ntiburakora ku buryo bufite umurongo uhamye nk'uko byifuzwa n'Ikigo k'Igihugu cy'inzu ndangamurage z'u Rwanda.

b. Ibisigaratongo n'ahantu ndangamateka

Inyubako n'ahandi hantu ndangamateka ni kimwe mu bintu bikuru biranga umurage w'ibintu bifatika biranga umuco nyarwanda wa mbere y'umwaduko w'abakoroni: ahenshi mu hantu ndangamateka ashingiye kuri arikeworoji nyirizina ntiharamenyekana ngo harindwe, he kononekara. Hakwiye gukorerwa ibarura rusange kandi rirambuye ryatuma hamenyekana: abantu b'ibirangirire bavugwa ko babayeho kera bose n'ahantu hose ndangamateka hakomeye nk'ahabaye ibigabiro by'abami, amariba y'inka, amabuye y'urutare, ubuvumo, n'ahandi hari ibishushanyo byahashyizwe kera n'ibindi.

Ni muri urwo rwego Ikigo k'Inzu ndangamurage z'u Rwanda kimaze gushyira amashami yacyo hirya no hino mu gihugu. Aya

mashami azafasha kumenya, guha agaciro no kurinda ibirebana n’umurage ndangamuco w’u Rwanda wose, bizagira uruhare rukomeye mu gusobanura amateka igihe nta nyandiko zanditse afite, binafashe mu birebana n’ubukerarugendo.

c. Ibisa n’Inganda n’ikoranabuhanga bya gakondo

Tekiniki zakoreshejwe n’abakurambere b’Abanyarwanda zifasha kumenya ikoranabuhanga abo bantu bari bafite, byibura guhera mu binyejana bibiri bishize: ibyo ikigo k’Igihugu ndangamurage cyashoboye gukusanyiriza hamwe byerekana ikoranabuhanga abari batuye muri iki Gihugu bari bamaze kugeraho kuva bamaze kuvumbura umuriro (hashize nk’imyaka 50000 mbere y’ivuka rya Yezu), byerekana ko bakoraga ibikoresho mu mabuye bibafasha mu kazi kabo ka buri muni, byerekana kandi igihe habereyeho ubuhinzi, ubworozi, n’ibyuma bivuye mu butare n’ibikoresho byo mu ibumba (byo mu bwoko bwa urewe) kuva ahagana mu kinyejana cya VII mbere y’ivuka rya Yezu.

Ibyo ari byo byose, ibintu bifatika nk’imwe mu nkomoko y’amateka bifite akarusho ko gutanga ishusho itaziguye yerekana uko abari batuye mu Rwanda icyo gihe bari bameze kuva kera kugera ubukoroni bugeze ino; ikoranabuhanga gakondo nyarwanda ntiriyongere gutera imbere ahubwo rigahita ridindira.

1.1.2 Ibishingirwaho mu ruhererekane rw’ibyagiye bivugwa

Amateka y’u Rwanda rwa kera tuyamenya cyane mu bitekerezo byagiye bihererekanywa, abakuru bagenda babisigira abato. Tuyamenya kandi ashingiye ku bahimbi b’abahanga gakondo. Ni ibikubiye muri ayo mateka byitwa “Umurage w’ibyagiye bivugwa”. Ni ibintu akenshi bihindagurika bishingiye ku turere dutandukanye no ku bavuzi b’inkuru ubwabo. Ariko akenshi bitandukanywa n’utuntu duto tudahindura iby’ireme muri ibyo bitekerezo. Abashakashatsi bafashe akamenyero ko gucamo ayo mateka ibice bibiri: Ibyagiye bivugwa mu nzego z’ubuyobozi n’ibyavugwaga n’abaturage ariko ubwabyo bikabamo uduce dutandukanye twinshi.

a. Ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo z’inzego z’ubuyobozi

Icyo gice cy’amateka y’ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo z’inzego z’ubuyobozi kigizwe ahanini n’ibitekerezo bivugwa

n'abantu babyigishwa n'ababyeyi babo cyangwa abaturanyi babo. Bivugwa ko ari byo byemewe mu nzego z'ubuyobozi kuko ari byo biba byaratoranyijwe bikemerwa n'inzego nkuru z'igihugu kandi bikagenda bihererekanywa nta gihindutseho keretse ibwami ubwabo babyishakiye (rb. Kagame A. na Pagès A.).

Bene ibyo bitekerezo byemewe na Leta birimo ubwoko bune: Ibitekerezo, amakuru (kuva 1875), ubucurabwenge, ubwiru, ibisigo, ibyivugo n'amazina y'inka. Ibyinshi muri ibyo bitekerezo byakusanyijwe na Kagame A., Pages A., Nkurikiyimpfura J.-N., Coupez A. na Kamanzi Th., Vansina J. n'abandi. Umurimo wo gukomeza kubikusanya ukwiye gukomezwa.

➤ **Ibitekerezo n'amakuru**

Ibitekerezo n'amakuru bifite akamaro gakomeye kubera inkuru bitanga. Uretse gutanga amakuru kuri buri butegetsi bw'abami uko basimburanye, bitanga n'amakuru arebana n'ibintu byakozwe by'umwihariko n'abantu b'ibihangange cyangwa intwari by'igihugu. Ni muri urwo rwego, ibitekerezo by'abami bikubiyemo cyanecyane ibitero by'intambara n'ibyo gutsinda amahanga ku ngoma y'umwami runaka cyangwa ibyo yakoreye igihugu iki n'iki ngo agitsinde cyangwa uko yabigenje ngo atsinde umuhinza cyangwa umugome uyu n'uyu.

Ibitekerezo byabanje kuvugwa n'abavuzi b'amacumu babaga bashyizweho n'abakuru ba buri mutwe w'ingabo, hanyuma biza gukorwa n'abatekereza b'ibwami babanzaga kumva babivuye imuzi, ibyavugwaga n'abavuzi b'amacumu hanyuma bakabinonosora bakabinoza uko umwami wabaga wabyumvise mbere ashaka. Nyuma, ibitekerezo by'ingoma z'abami ntibyahindukaga mu bavuzi babyo b'abahanga, ariko iteka ntibyabuzaga kuba "bisingiza ingoma iganje"¹⁰.

Habagaho kandi ibitekerezo by'imiryango byavugaga ibigwi ku rugamba by'abantu b'ibihangange bavaga mu miryango ikomeye, bavugwa cyane. Ni muri urwo rwego akenshi ibyo bitekerezo bidafite urwego rukuru rubigenzura bikunda gukabiriza; bigashaka "*kuryoshya ibivugwa ku buryo burenze urugero*"¹¹.

¹⁰ Vansina J., *L'Evolution du Royaume Rwanda des origines à 1900*, Bruxelles, AR-SOM, 1962, p. 23

¹¹ Idem

➤ **Ubucurabwenge**

Vansina J. yavugaga ko ubucurabwenge bwaba bwaratangiye mu kinyejana cya XVI. Buhera ku mwami uri ku ngoma, bakavuga abo bakomokaho bose n'amazina yabo y'ubwami n'ay'abamikazi, bikagera kuri Gihanga no ku Bimanuka, ari byo bisekuru by'amoko amwe n'amwe. Hari abantu bari bashinzwe kumenya no kurinda ubucurabwenge ari bo bitwa "Abacurabwenge".

Ubucurabwenge cyangwa ibisekuru by'inzu y'ibwami bwemerwa mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu kandi ni bwo bwari ishingiro ry'ingoma nyiginya. Byari ikimenyetso shingiro cy'ubutegetsu bw'uruhererekane rw'abami ku ngoma kugera kuri Gihanga Ngomijana. Ubucurabwenge nk'ishingiro ry'ubutegetsu bwagiye buhinduka, hakagenda hongerwamo ibintu cyangwa ibindi bigakurwamo igihe cyose havukaga ibibazo ku isimburana ku ngoma, nubwo akenshi bahamyaga umwami wimye akomoka kuri se.

Nubwo hari ikibazo k'ibintu bishobora kuba atari ukuri bwose, ntibibujije ko ubucurabwenge bukomeje kuba isoko ikomeye cyane yashingirwaho mu kwerekana uko amateka y'u Rwanda yagiye asimburana. Padiri Kagame Alexis yanditse ubucurabwenge bwose ariko ntiyabukorera isuzuma rifite icyo ribunenga. Nyuma ya 1960 ni ho Bwana Vansina J. na Nkurikiyimfura J.-N bagize icyo banenga ubwo bucurabwenge.

➤ **Ubwiru**

Ubwiru ni bwo bukuru mu byagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo mu Rwanda kandi ibibukubiyemo byemerwaga nk'itegeko mu buyobozi bw'uRwanda. Ubwiru bwari bukubiye mu gisigo kizwi n'abantu babigenewe bitwa Abiru, ni bo babaga babitse ibikubiye muri icyo gisigo byose. Bari abajyanama bihariye b'umwami mu birebana n'ubutegetsu n'imigenzereze y'umwami ubwe. Ubwiru bwabaga mu miryango yabugenewe maze ababyeyi bakagenda babusigira abana babo b'abahungu, bakagenda babusimburanwaho mu miryango. Bakabika iryo banga ntibarimene.

Ubwiru bwari igisigo kigizwe n'ibice 18 byitwa "Inzira z'ubwiru" n'ikindi gice gisobanura amateka n'ibikubiye muri ubwo bwiru. Ayo mateka n'ibyo bisobanuro byitwaga "Intekerezo z'ubwiru"

Padiri Kagame A. yavuze mu 1947 ko ubwiru bwari bugizwe n'ibice bine:

-*Irage ry'umwami* ryasobanuraga irage ryihariye rya buri mwami.

-*Umurage w'Ingoma* wavugaga ibijyanye n'isimburanwa ku ngoma

-*Inzira z'ubwiru* byari ibisigo bigizwe n'amabango yafatwaga mu mutwe n'abanyamihango b'Abiru, bikaba byerekana ibyagombaga gukorwa kugira ngo igihugu kigire ishya n'ihirwe.

-*Intekerezo z'ubwiru*: Ni amateka n'ibisobanuro by'ibyo bice by'ubwiru uko ari bine bimaze kuvugwa.

Irage ry'umwami n'Umurage w'ingoma ntibyari bikubiye muri ibyo bisigo byitwa "*Inzira*", birashoboka rero ko bitazamenyekana kuko A. Kagame wari usigaye abizi wenyine yapfuye atabitangaje.

Hari abantu benshi (harimo Heremans R., Vansina J., D'Hertefeldt M. na Coupez A.) bavuga ko ubwiru butarimo ukuri kuko bwagiye ngo buhindagura ibintu byabaga binyuranyije n'inzira zateganijwe. Banarega abiru, nk'abavuzi b'amateka, kuba baragiye bavuga ibintu uko bishakiye, bagahimba ko ibintu biriho mu gihe runaka byarabayeho kera cyane cyangwa bakivugira gusa iby'ingoma iriho ishaka.

➤ **Ibisigo, Ibyivugo n'Amazina y'inika**

Ibisigo ni isoko y'amateka yemewe n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, akibanda ku bami 19 bazwi mu Rwanda, uhereye kuri Ruganzu II Ndori, bikavuga amateka y'ingoma z'abami uko bagiye basimburana. Ibisigo bivugika neza ariko bikarushya kumvikanisha icyo bishaka kuvuga cyanecyane iyo bica amarenga cyangwa iyo bikomoza ku bintu byibagiranye. Iteka umusizi aba ari intiti, kandi yarabigize umwuga. Ni ho ahera akoresha igisigo ngo arate inzu nyiginya, yerekana ko buri mwami yakomeje igikorwa k'ibisekuru bye: kubera ko ari igisingizo kirata umwami, bituma hakekwa ko ibyo kivuga biba atari ukuri iteka.

Ibyivugo na byo ni ibisingizo umuntu avuga kandi ari we urata ibigwi bye by'ubutwari ku rugamba. Ku birebana n'amateka nyirizina, agaciro k'ibivugaga ni gato, kuko byerekana gusa mu magambo make uko ibitero byari biteguye, ishusho y'intwari

nyantwari uko igomba kuba imeze no gukunda igihugu Abanyarwanda bari bafite kuva kera cyane.

Amazina y'inka yo kimwe n'ibyvugo ni ibintu by'umurato abantu bitekerereza, bishingiye ku mitwe y'inka bitirira ko ziri ku rugamba nk'uko imitwe y'ingabo iba imeze. Amazina y'inka arata ubutwari n'ubwiza bw'inka zatoranyijwe zitwa *inyambo*. Kandi kenshi Inyambo n'abashumba bazo bazaga kwiyereka ibwami ndetse n'ingo z'ibwami zarabikoraga. Rubanda rusanze yo yabaga ireba gusa ibyo birori, byabaga mu turere tunyuranye aho inyambo zarishaga

Hashingiye ku bitanoze byose bimaze kuvugwa, birerekana ko ibibazo byo kumenya amateka nyayo y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni ashingiye ku ruhererekane rw'invugo bikiri byose. Muri rusange ibishingiye ku bintu bitatu byavuzwe ari byo ibisigo, ibyvugo n'amazina y'inka byose byerekana ko amakuru bitanga aba adafite ireme rikomeye, agomba rero gufatanwa ubushishozi ahubwo akagenda agerageza kuzuzwa n'andi makuru ava mu bisigo byo mu tundi turere.

b. Ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo ya rubanda.

Ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo ya rubanda bijya gusa n'amateka nyamvugo yo mu buyobozi ariko byo bikabamo ibice binini bibiri: amateka nyamvugo y'abaturage adahindagurika n'amateka nyamvugo y'abaturage ahindagurika, akavugwa uko bishakiye. Akenshi aba ari invugo iha agaciro kanini ibintu bimeze nk'ibitangaza.

➤ Amateka nyamvugo ya rubanda adahindagurika.

Aya mateka nyamvugo ya rubanda adahindagurika agizwe n'ibisekuru by'imiryango, indirimbo, ibisigo n'invugo zigamije gutanga inyigisho: imigani miremire, imigani migufi, ibisakuzo, ibyifuzo, indahiro, ibitutsi n'ibindi.

➤ Amateka nyamvugo ya rubanda ahindagurika.

Ni ibitekerezo, imigani ivuga ku muco, ku miryango, kuri kamere y'isi, n'abantu uko batareshya n'amaherezo yabo n'imigani cyangwa invugo zigenewe gushimisha cyangwa gusetsa abazumva. Hari n'izindi zihariye zishingiye ku ndirimbo zifata

ku mvugo z'amateka yemewe no ku mvugo z'amateka mvugo ya rubanda. Ni indirimbo z'ingabo, iz'ibitero ndetse n'inanga zibarizwa zimwe na zimwe muri ibyo bice byombi by'amateka mvugo ahindagurika n'adahindagurika kuko arimo rimwe na rimwe inyigisho z'amateka nyayo.

Ibishingirwaho bitanditse ni ngombwa mu mateka ahantu hose amateka ashingiye ku bintu bifatika cyangwa ku nyandiko adashobora gutanga ubuhamya bw'ubuhanga bwuzuye. Igikuru ni ukubwitondera neza, bikavamo amateka yo kwizerwa kuko rimwe na rimwe akunze gukoreshwa mu buryo abantu bishakiye gusa. Kuva mu ntangiriro yabyo kugera ku musozo wabyo, ibigize ayo mateka bishobora guhindagurika bitewe n'uko bigenda bihererekanywa. Hari iteka ibishobora kongerwamo cyangwa gukurwamo n'ibishobora kwibagirana ku bushake cyangwa atari ku bushake. Bigatuma ubutumwa bukubiyemo bubamo igikabya cyangwa bukaba bwavanwamo ibice by'ukuri bikugize.

Hari igihe ibintu bisa cyangwa abantu bitiranwa bikitirirwa ibintu bimwe kandi atari byo. Ingero ziboneka ku bivugwa kuri Ruganzu kandi atari ibintu byo ku gihe ke. Ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo hari igihe bigenda byoroshya ibintu, ibindi bikabivangavanga cyangwa bikabikabiriza. Ibintu bijya kumera kimwe cyangwa abantu bakitiranywa kandi atari bimwe. Hagomba rero iteka ubushishozi kuri buri bwoko bw'ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo igihe byifashishwa mu kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda.

1.1.3. Ibishingirwaho mu mateka byanditse

Inyandiko zanditse zifite umwanya wa mbere mu mateka y'u Rwanda ugereranyije n'ibyagiye bihererekanywa mu mvugo bidashingiye ku nyandiko. Ndetse akenshi inyandiko zakunze kugenderwaho ku buryo ibindi byose bititabwagaho, bigasa n'ibitazwi cyangwa ibihishe ndetse rimwe na rimwe bikarwanywa. Hari abanditsi b'amateka beruraga bagaha gusa agaciro inyandiko bagahamya ko nta mateka ashoboka hatifashishijwe inyandiko zanditse.

Mu Rwanda, inyandiko za mbere ku mateka zatangiye igihe cy'ubukoroni (mu gice cya nyuma k'ikinyejana cya XIX). Zakozwe na ba mukerarugendo (bageragezaga no kuvumbura ibice by'Afurika n'u Rwanda), abanyamadini, abasirikare,

abakozi b'abakoroni n'abacuruzi. Kuva icyo gihe kugeza n'igihe cya nyuma y'ubukoroni inyandiko zakomeje kwiyongera, ku buryo ubu ngubu inyandiko ari nyinshi kandi zitandukanye ku buryo zirusha kure agaciro ibindi byose byashingirwaho mu myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda ndetse kubarura izo nyandiko ku buryo butandukanya agaciro ka buri yose, bitangiye kujya biruhanya. Izo nyandiko zirimo ibice bibiri urebye icyo zabaga zigenewe: inyandiko zatangajwe n'inyandiko zitatangajwe zikiri mu bubiko.

a. Inyandiko zashyizwe ahagaragara

Izo ni inyandiko zatangajwe zishyirwa ahagaragarira buri wese. Na zo ubwazo zirimo ibyiciro bibiri. Izo mu kiciro cya mbere k'ikubitiro n'izo mu kiciro cya kabiri zanditswe vuba kuva nko mu 1940.

Izo mu kiciro cya mbere ku ikubitiro, zakozwe na ba mukerarugendo, izatangajwe n'abasirikare baje mu Rwanda mbere, n'abakozi ba mbere b'abakoroni; abacuruzi n'abihayimana. Izo nyandiko ntizihagije kandi zitera ikibazo cy'uko zitandikanywe ubuhanga n'agaciro zahabwa mu birebana n'amateka. Inyandiko zo mu kinyejana cya XIX zirabogamye cyane; hari ibyo zemeza nta shingiro hari n'ibyo zivuga nk'imigani n'ibyo abazanditse bagiye banakirana ku bintu bimwe.

Inyandiko zo mu kiciro cya vuba zanditswe nyuma ya 1940-1945, n'abategetsu b'abakoroni, abihayimana, abantu ku giti cyabo, n'ubuyobozi bwa nyuma y'ubwigenge. Na zo zikwiye gukorerwa isuzuma n'ijorwa kugira ngo ibigaragaye ko bituzuye bikosorwe kandi aho bishoboka hose, ibikosanye bigororwe bishingiye ku bindi bishya biboneka.

Ntabwo inyandiko zanditse ziba zirimo iteka ukuri nk'uko tuza kubibona mu kanya. Ikindi nuko n'izo nyandiko zitaboneka ku buryo bworoshye, ngo zisomwe cyanecyane mu gihugu nk'u Rwanda Inzu ndangamurage y'ibyanditswe ari ho igitangira. Mu nyandiko, izikwiye kwitabwaho by'umwihariko ni izirebana n'imico y'abantu n'indimi bakoresha kuko bigira uruhare runini mu mateka.

Isoko y'amateka arebana n'iby'amoko n'imico na byo ni ibimenyetso bihamya uko u Rwanda rwo hambere rwabayeho,

ni isoko y'ibisobanuro by'ibimenyetso bifatika twabonye ko bifite akamaro gakomeye mu mateka iyo byashoboye kubikwa. Indimi na zo ni indi soko y'amateka. Ni muri urwo rwego Ikinyarwanda ari umuyoboro ukomeye w'umuco nyarwanda. Nk'uko bizwi, ururimi ni umuyoboro uhuza abantu n'abandi, bafite aho bahuriye kandi ukabahuza n'ibibakikije. Ururimi rugira uruhare runini muri sosiyete. Hashingiwe ku isesengura ry'amagambo, ku byo ashaka kuvuga, ku buryo agenda akura, iyiga ry'amagambo rishobora kwerekana amateka ya tekiniki, umuco w'abantu aba n'aba, uko bagiye bimuka n'inzego bagiye bubaka. Isesengura ry'indimi ryerekana kandi amasano n'amasanira indimi zifitanye bigatuma hamenyekana n'abantu bazivuga ubwabo aho bagiye bahurira.

Kuri iryo yiga ry'indimi, hiyongeraho iyiga ry'amazina y'ahantu, ay'inyamaswa, ay'ibiyaga n'imigezi n'amazina ubwayo y'ahantu. Ayo mazina yose agira uko asobanura amateka, kandi agashobora kuba urufunguzo rwerekana aho abantu bagiye bahurira n'ibyo bagiye bahuriraho ndetse n'aho amateka yabo ahurira. Kwiga amazina y'imisozi y'u Rwanda ubwabyo, bivuga kwiga amateka y'u Rwanda n'Abanyarwanda.

Ariko biraboneka ko bene izo nyigo zitarakorwa mu Rwanda nubwo rukize rwose ku mazina y'ahantu. Ibarura ry'amazina y'ahantu mu Rwanda yakwerekana uko ibintu byari biteye ugereraniye n'ipimabutaka ryaho: Imirenge n'imisozi, imirambi n'ibibaya n'ibindi; ndetse byanakwerekana n'isano bifitanye n'uko ubutaka bw'ikuzimu buteye (jeworoji) n'ibikoko n'ibimera bihari.

Mu magambo make, ururimi ni nka banki, ni nk'inzu ndangamurage aho buri kiciro cy'abakurambere cyagiye gishyira ubumenyi n'ibikoresho byacyo, ibyo kibutse byose n'ibyo cyagiye gitekereza byose ndetse kikabyubaka.

b. Inyandiko zitaratangazwa

Inyandiko zikibitse zitarashyirwa ahagaraga zitandukanye n'izatangajwe ziboneka mu nzu z'amasomero. Izitaratangazwa zo ziba zitarashyirwa ahagaragara, ahubwo zikibitse ahantu habigenewe twita "Ububiko bw'inyandiko zitaratangazwa". Izo nyandiko zitaratangazwa zirebana n'amateka y'u Rwanda zihera ku za kera, igihe cya gikoroni, zikagera mu gihe cya vuba

aha; zirashimishije cyane kuko ari zo zerekana uko u Rwanda rwagiye rubaho, ari mu bya poritiki, ubukungu no mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda. Ariko gukoresha bene izo nyandiko bigira ingorane zikomeye zo mu moko atatu: kuzibika, kuba zitanyeye no gushobora kuzigeraho.

➤ **Uburyo bwo kuzibika**

Serivise ya Leta ifite mu nshingano zayo kubika impapuro zo mu bubiko bw'impapuro zitaratangazwa z'igihugu iracyafite intege nke nyuma y'imyaka mirongo itatu yaratereranywe. Ntiragira abantu n'ahantu h'ibyangombwa bikenerwa kandi ifite inyandiko nyinshi z'ibihe binyuranye. Magingo aya, hatabanje gukorwa ibarura, ntibyashoboka kumenya inyandiko zikiriho, izononekaye, izatakaye n'izabuze. Ikizwi nuko inyandiko zabitswe mu bihugu byadukoronije zo zigifashwe neza.

➤ **Inyandiko zinyanyagiye**

Igice kinini k'inyandiko zo mu bubiko zitaratangazwa z'u Rwanda, cyanecyane iz'igihe cy'ubukoroni, ziba mu mahanga, cyanecyane mu mirwa mikuru y'ibyho bihugu. Inyandiko z'igihe cy'ubukoroni bw'Abadage zimwe ziba i Buruseli, izindi i Potsdam n'i Dar-Es-Salaam. Inyandiko z'igihe cy'Ababirigi ziba i Buruseli mu byo bita "Inyandiko zitaratangazwa zo mu bubiko bw'Afurika" no mu byo bita "Ububiko bw'inyandiko zitaratangazwa za Leta" (harimo inyandiko zasizwe na Harroy) ziba i Namur.

Naho ku birebana n'inyandiko z'amadini, i Roma hari izirebana na Kiriziya Gatorika, iz'abaporoso zikaba mu Bubirigi, muri Suwede, mu Bwongereza no muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika. Hari kandi n'inyandiko zireba iby'u Rwanda ziri mu byahoze ari "Umuryango w'Ibihugu (Société des Nations)" na Loni y'ubu ziba i Jeneve (Genève) Niyu woruke (New York). Igihe cyose zitazaba zakorewe ububiko mu buryo bw'ikoranabuhanga, umushakashatsi w'Umunyarwanda azagomba kuvunika azishakira kure kugira ngo ashobore kuzibona.

➤ **Ingorane zo kugera ku nyandiko**

Iyo ingorane yuko izo nyandiko ziba kure ikemutse, hasigara ingorane ijyanye n'impushya zo kuzikoresha. Urugero ni nk'uko hagomba kuba hashize igihe runaka kugira ngo inyandiko za

vuba zishobore gukoreshwa. Ni kimwe n'inyandiko zitwa ko ari amabanga akomeye.

Icyanyuma cyavugwako hari inyandiko zidafatwank'ishyiringurwa ariko zikaba zitaratangajwe. Ni inyandiko cyanecyane zikorwa n'abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza no mu bigo by'amashuri makuru mu Rwanda no mu mahanga. Izo nyandiko zikorwa n'abanyeshuri hari izashobora kugira akamaro mu birebana n'amateka y'u Rwanda, ariko ntabwo zizwi kandi inyinshi zitari na kure. Hari ikibazo cy'uko zitamamazwa ngo zimenyekane bihagije.

1.1.4. Isoko y'amateka ishingiye ku majwi no ku mashusho

Ibyashingirwaho biri mu majwi n'amafoto bishobora kuba isoko y'amateka y'u Rwanda bigizwe cyanecyane na za firimi ziri mu bubiko bwazo z'igihe cy'ubukoroni na nyuma yabwo. Aha hakwibutswa ko sinema, uretse akamaro kazo ko kuruhura abantu, zinafite akamaro ko guhuza abantu, ko kwibuka n'amateka. *“Sinema ni nk'indangamuntu z'abenegihugu zikaba kandi n'igikoresho cyo gukwiza ibitekerezo, zamaze kwiyongera ku nyandiko zanditse n'izitanditse, maze kuva mu gihe cya vuba aha, zihinduka na zo isoko y'amateka ku buryo bwuzuye”*¹².

Inyandiko zanditse zitaratangazwa z'igihe cy'ubukoroni na firimi zo ku Rwanda inyinshi zibitse mu cyo bita Ikigega rusange k'ibihugu by'i Burayi cya KADOC (i Louvain), no mu nzu ibikwamo umurage wa firimi i Buruseli ndetse no mu Nzu ndangamurage w'Afurika yo hagati i Tervuren mu Bubishi. Ubu mu Bubishi hatangiye gutekerezwa uko hakoresha ikoranabuhanga ngo zirusheho kubikwa ku buryo burambye bushoboka bwose.

Mu Rwanda, uretse n'izo firime zitazwi n'imirimo izikorwaho izwi gahoro cyane. Ni ngombwa ko Abanyarwanda bamenya kandi bagakurikiranira hafi izo nyandiko zishingiye ku majwi n'amashusho. Ni indi soko y'amateka abazikoze bakoresheje ngo bavuye amateka y'u Rwanda uko babyumva n'uko bashaka ko amenyekana. Ni ngombwa ko izo nyandiko na zo zikoreshwa mu bushakashatsi bw'amateka na zo zikavugaga icyo zihatse.

Hari abagerageje kuvugaga amateka y'u Rwanda nta cyo bashingiyeho gifatika. *“Abandi benshi bifashishije sinema ngo bakore icengezabitekerezo ahanini bagendeye ko bifatika bitewe*

¹² Ferro M., *Cinéma et Histoire*, Paris, 1993, pp. 11-17

*n'ibibafitiye akamaro*¹³. Ni sinema nyamamazamatwara. Ariko nubwo bene izo firimi zigiye zibogamye, ntabwo byaba byiza kuzireka zitabyajwe umusaruro n'amateka bigaragara ko zifite bidashidikanywa.

1.2. Inshamake ku myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda.

Iyo umuntu yitegereje imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda kuva mu ntangiriro kugeza magingo aya, abona arimo ibice bitatu bitandukanye by'ayo amateka: hari igice kireba igihe cya mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu, ikireba igihe cy'ubukoroni n'igice cya nyuma y'ubukoroni. Ibyo bihe byose birimo amateka yanditse ariko akagirwaho impaka zikomeye z'ibyo bayibazaho byinshi. Ndetse no gushingira ayo amateka ku bihe bitatu bifatira ku bukoroni biteye ikibazo ubwabyo.

1.2.1. Igihe cya mbere y'ubukoroni

Imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni ishingira gusa ku mateka atanditse. Akaba ari avugwa n'abayabonye cyangwa abari bafite ubumenyi bwihariye nk'*Abatekereza, Abiru, Abacurabwenge n'abasizi*. Imyandikire y'ayo mateka ya mbere y'ubukoroni, akungahaye ku bintu byinshi, yashingiraga ku mateka mvugo yo mu buyobozi no muri rubanda, akenshi agasingiza ingoma nyiginya n'ibitekerezo byayo. Amateka y'ahantu cyangwa ay'imiryango ntibyitabwagaho.

Abanditsi benshi bo muri iki gihe banenga uburyo ayo mateka yagiye ayoba bikozwe n'abari bashinzwe kuyarinda, bamwe muri bo akaba ari nk'aba: Umunyamihango w'ibwami Kayijuka, Rwanyange, Sezibera, Karera, Ruzigaminturo, tutibagiwe na Sekarama. Hari igihe ibyo bavugaga biyongereragamo ibyo bashatse, cyangwa bakabikuramo, cyangwa bakabisimbuza ibindi. Uko byagenda kose ubu amateka y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni azwi, ni bo tuyakesha nubwo bari babogamiye ku ngoma. Ayo mateka abamo ibitekerezo bimeze nk'imigani, nk'ibisingizo by'ingoma iganje n'ibindi by'ubwoko bwinshi, ariko harimo n'ibintu by'ukuri ndetse byemewe akenshi n'ubuyobozi byafashije mu kurema umutima w'umwihariko warangaga kamere y'Abanyarwanda b'icyo gihe; ni uwo mwihariko n'iyi kamere ubukoroni bwagerageje guhindura uko bwishakikiye.

¹³ Schulenberg P. et Zana Aziza Etambala M. (sous la dir. de), *Patrimoine d'Afrique Centrale. Archives Films Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, 1912-1960*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 2010, pp. 9-10

1.2.2 Igihe cy'ubukoroni

Imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda igihe cy'ubukoroni itangirana n'amateka yanditse, ashingira ku mateka mvugo yari yarafashwe mu mutwe hanyuma akagenda avugwa, yandukurwa. Abapadiri b'abamisiyoneri Loupias (1907), Pagès A. (1933), Schumacher P. (1943), Delmas L. (1950) na Chanoine de Lacger L. (1939) banditse bahereye kuri anketi bakoze, babajije n'abantu bazi umuco w'ibya kera. Akenshi ibyo abo basaza bababwiraga, byafatwaga nk'isoko y'amateka yanditse.

Akenshi abo bapadiri ntibabonaga ko ayo mateka mvugo akoreshwa mu nzego z'ubuyobozi yari afite aho abogamiye, bityo bayaheraho bongeramo ibitekerezo byabo bya gikoroni by'uko babonaga u Rwanda rwari rumaze gutsindwa icyo gihe: kuva ubwo byose byahise birundukira mu gitekerezo mugani kiswe "hamite-bantu" ndetse bagifatiraho bemeza ko ubukoroni, ubuyobozi n'iyobokamana bya gikoroni bifite ishingiro. Mu gukusanya ayo makuru, abo bapadiri na ba adiminisitarateri b'abakoroni, ntibigeze bita ku buryo ayo matekamvugo bayabonaga ndetse n'abayabahaga ntibigeze bavugwa ko ari bo bayatanze.

Hagati ya 1910 na 1936, iby'ingenzi mu mateka mvugo byari bimaze kwandikwa, ndetse nyuma byaje gukomezwa by'umwihariko na Padiri A. Kagame (1912-1981)¹⁴. Uwitwa Vansina J. nubwo yemeraga ko Padiri A. Kagame yari *umuhanga wemewe* rwose ndetse akaba yabera bamwe urugero¹⁵, yatangiye kumuhinyuza no kumunyomoza we n'abapadiri bera bamubanjirije, abanenga kuba amateka bavuga ari ayavugwaga n'ubuyobozi gusa. Yananengaga A. Kagame kuba arwana ishyaka ry'abanambiragihugu (nationalists) no kuba yizirika cyane ku nzego z'ubuyobozi¹⁶.

1.2.3 Amateka ya nyuma y'ubukoroni

Mbere yuko u Rwanda rubona ubwigenge, hatangiye inkubiri ikomeye yo kunegura ibyakozwe n'ubukoroni n'uko imyandikire y'amateka yagenze. Hatangira igikorwa cyo kunenga uburyo bwakoreshwaga n'amateka yanditswe na Padiri Kagame,

¹⁴ Rutayisire P., «Les défis de l'historiographie rwandaise», in *Cahiers Lumière et société*, 1997, p.13

¹⁵ Vansina J., op.cit., p.12

¹⁶ Rutayisire P., 1997, art.cit, p.15.

hagamijwe gukosora no kunyomoza ibyari byarakoshejwe igihe cy'ubukoroni ndetse na nyuma yabwo. Hatangiye inyigo Vansina yari abereye ku isonga, kuva mu wa 1961-1962, zarwanyaga imyandikire y'amateka yakozwe. Kagame yari abogamiye cyane ku ruhande rw'ubuyobozi bw'ingoma ya cyami no ku murungo w'ingengabitekerezo yayo.

a. Ibyayobejwe n'ingengabitekerezo y'ibwami

Hari ibitekerezo by'amateka (birenze 300) byari byemewe n'ubutegetsu bw'icyo gihe byavuzwe n'abantu bagiye babibwirwa n'ababyeyi babo cyangwa abaturanyi babo. Akenshi ni ibikorwa cyangwa ibintu byatoranyagwa mbere yo kubikwirakwiza. Byaje kugaragara ko iryo hitamo ryavagamo amateka ashigikiye ubwami n'inzu yari ku ngoma. Naho ibitekerezo by'amateka yavugwaga na rubanda wasangaga nta cagura cyangwa ikwizabitekerezo byabibonekagamo nk'uko byagaragaraga mu mateka yavugwaga mu buyobozi. Ariko ayo makuru yavaga muri rubanda na yo ubwayo yatashwaga agaciro n'ukuntu yagendaga ahererekanywa no kuba yiyubakira ku bintu bimeze nk'ingirwabitangaza¹⁷.

Ndetse n'amateka y'ibisekuru by'inzu y'abami ntibyayabuzaga na yo ubwabyo gukoreshwa uko abantu bishakiye. Na yo yabaga ari amateka yemewe n'ubuyobozi kandi akaba agomba kuba ishingiro n'inkingi by'ingoma iri ku butegetsu. Kubera iyo mpamvu yo kuba ishingiro ry'ubutegetsu, ayo mateka yagendaga ahindagurwa, aganishwa iteka ku gushyigikira uko isimburana ku ngoma rigomba gukurikizwa, iyo habaga havutsemo ikibazo. Nubwo hari ikibazo cy'uko ayo mateka yo gusimburana ku ngoma yagiye ahindagurwa, ntibibujije ko agumya kuba isoko nini y'imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda uko ibihe byagiye bisimburana.

A. Kagame yashyize ku mugaragaro ibisekuru byose by'inzu nyiginya yari ku ngoma, ariko hari ubundi bushakashatsi bwakozwe (Vansina J., D'Hertefeldt M., Coupeux A., Kamanzi T., Rugamba C. na Nkurikiyimfura J.-N.) buvuga ko atigeze yibaza ngo ajonjore bihagije amakuru yahabwaga arebana n'ibyo bisekuru. Kubera iyo mpamvu, Vansina J. na Nkurikiyimfura banditse uko babona ibisekuru by'ingoma nyiginya byagiye bisimburana mu bihe byashize. Uko babitondekanije mu bihe

¹⁷ Vansina J., 1962, op.cit. p.23

byashize bitandukanye n'uko byari byatondekanijwe na Kagame, bikaba rero ari ibintu bigiteye impaka.

Ubwiru nubwo ari ibanga rikomeye, ntibwabuze na bwo gukoreshwa mu nyungu z'ubutegetsu ndetse no gusa n'ubwibagirana: ni yo mpamvu Heremans R., Vansina J., D'Hertefelt M. na Coupez A. bemeza nta shiti ko ubwiru butarimo ukuri kubera ko ababuvuga, ari bo biru, bashakaga iteka kuganisha ibintu ahifuzwa ko byerekera mu mikorere yabo. Ikindi kandi, kubera ko amazina y'ubwami yagenda agaruka, ubwiru bwakoraga mbere y'igihe gahunda y'uko ingoma enye zose zizakurikirana.

Icyo nyuma nuko ubwiru, nk'uko A. Kagame abyemeza, hari ibice byabwo bwari butarahishura igihe inyandiko yabwo yaburiraga i Nyanza kwa Rudahigwa. Ibyari bitarahishurwa ni *"Irage ry'abami"* ryavugaga ibyifuzo bya nyuma by'abami n'*"Umurage w'ingoma"* wavugaga iby'umurage wo kwima ingoma. A. Kagame wari ubitse izo nyandiko zombi, yapfuye atazitangaje, kuva ubwo ibanga ryazo riba ritakimenyekanye.

b. Kuvugisha amateka ibyo abazungu bishakiye bashingiye ku by'iwabo

Padiri A. Kagame wanditse amateka atera ikirenge mu cy'abakuru bamubanjirije (Pagès, Delmas L. na de Lacger L.), bikamuviramo kunegurwa ku misobanurire ye y'amateka mvugo, yagendeye ku buryo bukabije ku byanditswe n'abamubanjirije b'abapadiri b'abamisiyoneri. Kimwe na bo yemeye ingirwamugani wa *"hamite-bantu"*, ndetse anemeza na we ibyavugwaga mu kinyejana cya XIX birebana n'uko abantu n'ibintu byagiye biva ku bindi n'uko byagiye bikwirakwira isi. Iyo ngirwamugani wa *"hamite-bantu"* ishingiyeye ku mvugo yemeza ko *"abatutsi bavuye hanze y'u Rwanda"* no ku kwemeza ko *"hari itandukanirizo mu moko remezo"*¹⁸ ariko iyo mvugo ni impimbano, yazanywe na ba mukerarugendo b'abashakashatsi n'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri baturutse i Burayi, bashakira kuvuga impamvu bari mu Rwanda n'ibikorwa byabo mu gihugu. Nk'uko bizwi, iyo ngirwamugani ya *"hamite-bantu"* yari ikiboneka mu myandikire y'amateka ya vuba aha mu Rwanda.

¹⁸ Rutayisire P., 1997, art.cit., p.19

c. Kuvugisha amateka ibyo abanambiragihugu b'Abanyarwanda ubwabo bishakiye

Abanditsi b'amateka y'u Rwanda rwa nyuma y'ubukoroni kugeza kuri jenocide barega A. Kagame cyanecyane kuba yaravugishaga amateka-mvugo ibyo yishakiye ubwe. Bavugaga ko iyo ngeso yayitewe no kurwana ishyaka ry'ubunambiragihugu no kuba yari hafi cyane y'ubutegetsu bw'icyo gihe. Ni ho Vansina J. yahereye ashaka kwerekana ko Kagame A. atakoze akazi k'umunyamateka, ahubwo yakozwe akazi k'"umunyaporitiki"¹⁹. Nta shiti ko iyo mvugo ahanini ishingiyeye ku kwiyemera gukabije kw'abazungu. Ahubwo bigaragara ko Vansina abirengaho akitabaza mu nyandiko ze "ibyanditswe n'icyo gihangange A.Kagame ku myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda"²⁰.

Ntawahakana ariko ko Kagame atari afite aho yerekeza amateka ayashingira cyanecyane ku ngoma kandi akaba yarifashishaga gusa abo yitaga abahanga b'icyo gihe ndetse akaba hari ibyo yagiye ahengeka nubwo Abanyarwanda babyihanganiraga. Imyandikire y'amateka ya nyuma ya jenocide yagombye gukosora ibyakoshejwe bishingiyeye ku mateka mvugo, ku bukoroni no ku bunambiragihugu.

1.2.4. Imyandikire y'amateka nyuma ya jenocide.

Nyuma ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994, imvugo y'abemeraga ingirwamugani wa "hamite-bantu" n'abayirwanyaga yaratsinzwe bivuye ku bushakashatsi bukomeye kandi bushya bwitandukanije n'abari bafite ingengabitekerezo ya gikoroni na nyuma yayo, yo gukoresha amateka ibyo bishakiye bagamije "guca abantu mo ibice ngo babone uko babategeka". Ubushakashatsi bushya²¹ bwahinduye imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda bwerekanye cyanecyane ko ibyateye jenocide byacuzwe n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bwagenderaga ku bintu bisa n'imigani idafite ishingiro. Abanditsi b'amateka mashya y'u Rwanda bayavanyemo ibyo bisa n'imigani ya "hamite-bantu",

¹⁹ Ibidem, p.15

²⁰ Rutayisire P., 1997, art.cit., p.15

²¹ Chrétien J.-P. (sous la dir.), *Rwanda. Les médias du génocide*, Paris, Karthala, 1995; Chrétien J.-P., *Le défi de l'ethnisme au Rwanda et au Burundi, 1990-1996*, Paris, Karthala, 1997; Braeckman C., *Rwanda. Histoire d'un génocide*, Paris, Fayard, 1994 ; Rutembesa F., «Ruptures culturelles et génocide au Rwanda », in *Cahiers du Centre de gestion des Conflits*, n° 2, Butare, Avril 2001, pp. 93-123; Revue d'Histoire de la Shoah, n° 190, janvier-juin 2009.

byari bishyingiye ku ironwabwoko rya gikoroni no ku mico y'imyumvire mvaburayi *“irwanya amateka nyayo n'ingenga bitekerezo y'ibyiswe revorisiyo ya 1959”*²².

Biragaragara ko, bishingiye ku bimaze kuvugwa, imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda igifite byinshi bitumvikanwaho, bitewe cyanecyane n'ibitekerezo bya poritiki bitigeze byumvikanwaho kuva kera cyane. Ikibazo gikomeye mu myandikire y'amateka ni ukutagwa mu mutego wo gukoreshwa mu nyugu za poritiki cyangwa ngo umuntu agwe mu mutego wo kwivugira ibyo yishakiye ubwe kandi yitwa ko yifashisha ibivuye mu masoko y'amateka y'u Rwanda.

Kutagenda ku kuri bisenya burundu ikirangabuhanga cy'umunyamateka ugomba ubundi kukirengera akoresheje ubuhanga bwe n'ubushobozi bwo kunenga ibyo abona bitari byo kandi akabikora yemye. Igihe kirageze ngo imyandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda ive mu bitari ukuri ahubwo ishingire ku mugambi wo guharanira gusa ukuri: ubushakashatsi no kuvuga uko ibintu byagenze koko hatarimo na busa kugoreka ibyifashishwa mu kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda.

²² Ni inyangiko zakunze kwandikwa cyanecyane na D. Murego, F. Nahimana, F. Reyntjens, B. Lukan. Iyi ngengabitekerezo yongeye kubyutswe vuba aha na bamwe mu bahakana jenocide (P. Pean na R. Philpot) mu nzira yabo yo «gushaka ibyo bita ukuri kuruhije». Ubwo bushakashatsi buzabagora igihe cyose bazaba bagendera ku ngengabitekerezo ya jenocide.

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II.

IMBANZIRIZAMATEKA N'IMITURIRWE Y'U RWANDA (1000 MBERE Y'IVUKA RYA YEZU – 700 NYUMA Y'IVUKA RYA YEZU)

Byanditswe na **Célestin KANIMBA MISAGO** †

Imbanzirizamateka n'imiturire ya mbere by'u Rwanda tubisanga mu bihe bya kera cyane, ku buryo bigoranye kubyibukiranya mu mateka. Ariko nubwo imbanzirizamateka n'imiturire ari ibya kera cyane, ni byo bigize imbanda ya byose, idahari ntibyashoboka kubona uko twibuka amateka yacu. Uko kwibuka bishingira ahanini ku byaturutse ku mpinduka zifatiye ku bidukikije, ku bisigaratongo, ku bumenyi bw'imibereho y'abantu, izerekeye iyigandimi n'amateka atanditse; bwose bukaba ari ubumenyi nyunganizi bufasha mu kwandika mbere na mbere amateka y'ibihe imbanzirizamateka, hanyuma n'ay'imiturire.

2.1 Ibihe imbanzirizamateka

Birakwiye kuzirikana ko ibihe bibanziriza amateka bitagisobanurwa gusa nk'ibihe birangwa n'ibitaragiraga inyandiko. Mu by'ukuri andi masoko y'amateka yagiye avoma mu gihe kirekire cyaranze imbanzirizamateka.

2.1.1 Aho u Rwanda ruherereye

U Rwanda ni igihugu gifite ubuso bwa km² 26.338, gisherereye hagati y'imirongo mbariro ya dogere 1° 20' na 2° 50' munsu ya koma y'isi no hagati y'imirongo miganda y'isi ya dogere 28°50' na 30°55'. U Rwanda rugizwe n'urusobe rw'imisozi miremire rukomoka ku kena kigari k'isi gihera ku Nyanja Itukura

kugeza mu magepfo y'ikiyaga cya Malawi, uciye ku biyaga bya Rwicanzige, Rweru, Kivu na Tanganyika.

Ikiyaga cya Kivu gihereye mu nda y'icyo kena, isunzu riseruka rikaba ari ryo ritandukanya ibyogo by'inzuzi za Kongo na Nili. Iryo sunzu ryiswe Kongo-Nili, rigizwe n'ibisi bifite ubugari buri hagati ya km 20 na km 40, bikaba bifite ubutumburuke buri hagati ya metero 2000 na m 3000. Mu Majyaruguru, ibyo bisi bisozwa n'ibirunga bigera ku butumburuke bwa metero 4500 ku kirunga cya Karisimbi.

Hagati y'isunzu rya Kongo-Nili n'ikenya cy'Akagera – Bugesera hari imirambo yo hagati mu gihugu, ifite ubutumburuke buri hagati ya m 1500 na m 2000. Ako karere karangwa n'imisozi itandukanijwe n'ibibaya birangwa n'ibishanga bitetsemo ubutaka bwazanywe n'isuri itemba. Mu burasirazuba hafi y'urubibi na Tanzaniya, uruzi Akagera ruhinguranya ibishanga bigari bihari, bifite ubutumburuke buri hagati ya metero 1300 na m 1500.

2.1.2 Uko ubushakashatsi ku bisigaratongo buhagaze muri iki gihe

Amasoko y'ubumenyi aturuka ku bisigaratongo n'iyigandimi rusange afite uruhare runini mu myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda. Ariko ubushakashatsi bwerekeye ibisigaratongo nta bwo ndetse ahubwo buracyari buke cyane. Nubwo mu gihugu hari ibisigazwa by'ibisigaratongo bitari bike, ubushakashatsi bwimbitse ntibwabuze gutangizwa mu gice cya kabiri k'ikinyejana cya 20. Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1963, ubwo bushakashatsi bwitaga ku bikorwa byihariye kandi bugakorwa ku buryo budahoraho. Igisigazwa cyabonetse bwa mbere ni ishoka ntoya iconze mu isarabwayi, yo mu gihe cya "acheuléen"¹, cyatabururwe hagati y'umwaka wa 1921-1922 i Kavumu, ahahoze ari muri teritwari ya Gitarama. Ahagana mu myaka ya 1936, Boutakoff I.² yakozwe ubushakashatsi mu birombe by'igihe cy'amabuye cya vuba, nko mu buvumo bwo mu ishyamba rya Ruhimandyarya riherereye mu Karere ka Rusizi (mu ntara ya kera ya Cyangugu) aho ibikoresho biconze mu masarabwayi byo mu gihe cy'amabuye cya vuba byatabururwe munsu y'imihoro y'ubutaka bwatuhweho

¹Nenquin J., "Contribution to the study of the prehistoric cultures of Rwanda and Urundi," *Annales-Série in 8°, Sciences humaines n° 59*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1967, p.9.

²Boutakoff I., *Premières explorations méthodiques des gisements de l'âge de la pierre au Ruanda-Urundi. Abris sous roche, ateliers et stations de plein air*, Bruxelles, 1937.

mu gihe cya kera k'icyuma. Muri icyo myaka, igikoresho gisongoye gifite impande ebyiri, cyo mu bwoko bwa "acheuléen" na cyo cyataburawe i Gatumba muri teritwari ya Gisenyi. Hagati ya 1942 na 1958, Maurice Bequaert, umushakashatsi mu Ngoro y'Umurage y'Umwami igenewe Afurika yo Hagati (Tervuren mu Bubirigi), yashyize ahagaragara urukurikirane rw'inyandiko ngufi ku bikoreho bimwe byari bifite umwihariko³.

Nyuma y'ishingwa ry'Ikigo cy'Ubushakashatsi mu by'Ubuganga cy'Afurika yo Hagati (IRSAC) mu mwaka wa 1947, ariko cyanecyane nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'Agashami gashinzwe Ubushakashatsi mu Bumenyi Nyabantu mu mwaka wa 1951 i Butare (yahoze yitwaga Asitirida), ubushakashatsi ku gihe k'ibyuma ni bwo bwatangijwe na Jean Hiernaux⁴ afatanije na Emma Maquet (buri abashakashatsi muri IRSAC) mu mwaka wa 1953. Bashoboye kugaragaza ahantu henshi hari ibibumbano n'ahari ibisigazwa by'inkono bashongesherezagamo ubutare. Ubushakashatsi bwabo bwatumye aho hantu havanwe ibyo bikoreho hagereranywa n'ahandi hakuwe ibisigaratongo mu Karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari.

Byabaye ngombwa gutegereza imyaka ya 1960 kugira ngo habeho ubushakashatsi bwimbitse bukozwe n'inzobere mu bumenyi bw'ibisigaratongo. Muri uwo mwaka, Jacques Nenquin yakozwe ubucukuzi ahantu habiri: ahantu hitiriwe "ikirombe cy'umucanga cya Champion", hafi y'i Butare, n'i Rutonde, hafi y'i Kigali. Mu nyandiko ngufi Nenquin J. yashyize ahagaragara mu wa 1967 yerekana ibyagezweho mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe mu ntara zitandukanye z'igihugu⁵.

Ubushakashatsi bwakurikiyeho binyuze muri za porogaramu zihoraho zatangiye mu mwaka wa 1968 zitangijwe na Francis Van Noten⁶. Ubwo bushakashatsi bwabanje kwibanda ku misezero y'abami kugira ngo habe kugereranya ubuvanganzo nyemvugo n'ibyacukumbuwe nk'ibisigaratongo, hanyuma bwibanda ku hantu haranga igihe cya kera k'icyuma. Ni bwo ubushakashatsi bwatangiye mu ntara zitandukanye mu gihugu:

³Bequaert M., *La position actuelle de la préhistoire au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi*, Berlin, Hambourg Bericht V. Internat. Kongress, 1958, 1961, pp. 84-88.

⁴Hiernaux J. et Maquet E., *Cultures pré-historiques de l'âge des métaux au Ruanda-Urundi et au Kivu (Congo Belge)*, 1^{er} partie, Bruxelles, 1956.

⁵Nenquin J., "Contribution to the Study of the prehistoric cultures of Rwanda and Burundi", *Annales, Serie in 8^o Sciences humaines n^o 59*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1967.

⁶Van Noten F., *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1983.

mu karere gakikije ibiyaga bya Burera na Ruhondo ahagiye Philippe Simon⁷, i Ryamurari muri Ndorwa hajya Tshilema Tshiluka⁸ no muri pariki y'Akagera ahagiye Bernard Lugan. Uyu yabashije gucukumbura ahantu hatandatu harimo ubuvumo bune. Hibanzwe cyanecyane mu magepfo y'igihugu, mu ntara ya Butare, ahakozwe ubucukumbuzi ahantu henshi haranga igihe cya kera k'icyuma, bikozwe na Francis Van Noten, Emile Roche na Marie Claudine Van Grunderbeek⁹.

Mu myaka iyinga icumi yakurikiye, F. Van Noten afatiye ku byo yataburuye ku buryo butunguranye hafi y'umugi wa Butare, yatangije ubushakashatsi bwimbitse bwatumye avumbura inkono bashongesherezagamo ubutare i Kabuye (mu Karere ka Gisagara) no mu nkengero zaho. Mu myaka ya 1978 na 1979, M.-C. Van Grunderbeek yakomeje ubushakashatsi bwe mu burasirazuba, uburengerazuba no mu majyaruguru ya Butare. Na ho yahatahuye inkono nyinshi bashongesherezagamo ubutare, akenshi akaba yarabikeshaga ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi byabaga bihakorerwa cyangwa ingaruka z'isuri.

Ni muri icyo gihe kandi, guhera mu mwaka wa 1978, Bernard Lugan yatangiye gahunda y'ubugenzuzi muri pariki y'igihugu y'Akagera. Yakoze ubucukumbuzi ahantu hane. Ibyo yagezeho muri ubwo bucukumbuzi bwe byerekana ko aho hantu hashize imyaka irenga igihumbi hatuwe. Ababanje kuhatura bakaba bariyambazaga ibikoresho by'amabuye byo mu bwoko bwa *wiltonien*. Naho abahatuye vuba bakaba bariyambazaga ibikoresho bicuze mu butare n'ibibumbano¹⁰.

Philippe Simon yakoreye ubushakashatsi bwe ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Burera hagati ya 1980 na 1981. Yahavanye ibikoresho bihagarariye inganda zitandukanye zo mu gihe cy'amabuye. Hari nk'ibikoresho byo mu bwoko bwa *sangoen* byavuye i Ndago n'ibyo mu bwoko bwa *wiltonien* hafi ya Bugarama. Aha habonetse kandi injyho z'ibibumbano, iza kera

⁷Simon Ph., «La région du lac Burera», Annexe 9, in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Tervuren, Musée royal de l'Afrique centrale, 1983, pp. 137-148.

⁸Tshilema T., «Ryamurari, Capitale de l'ancien Royaume du Ndorwa», Annexe 10, in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1983, pp. 149-153.

⁹Van Grunderbeek M.-C., Roche E., et Doutrelepont H., «L'âge du fer ancien au Rwanda et au Burundi. Archéologie et environnement», in *Journal des Africanistes* 52 (1-2), 1982, pp. 5-58.

¹⁰Lugan B., «Le Rwanda oriental» Annexe 8, in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, 1983, pp.137-148

muri zo zikaba zisa cyane n'ibibumbano byo muri Masangano (mu Karere ka Ruhango)¹¹.

Igitabo cya Van Noten cyashyizwe ahagaragara mu wa 1983 gisubiramo imirongo migari yaranze ubushakashatsi bwakozwe mu ntara zitandukanye z'igihugu kugeza mu mwaka wa 1982.

Guhera mu mwaka wa 1986, Ingoro y'Umurage w'Amateka Kamere y'i Mayanse (Budage) yakoze ubushakashatsi bushingiye ku bumenyi bw'igihu k'isi ahitwa mu Masangano ku buryo bwikurikiranya. Aho hantu hataburawe ibisigazwa by'inyamaswa zo ku gihe k'isaturabuye, ibikoresho byo mu gihe cya kera cy'amabuye n'ibibumbano bya kera. Ingoro y'Umurage w'u Rwanda na yo yahavanye ibisigazwa bisa n'ibyo mu gihe k'ibikorwa by'ubugenzuzi bubanziriza ubushakashatsi nyirizina hagati y'imyaka ya 1999 na 2004. Mu mwaka wa 2006, ubwo bugenzuzi ndetse n'ubucukumbuzi ku hantu haranga igihe cya kera k'icyuma kwasubukwe n'abashakashatsi bo muri *College University of London* bafatanije n'abashakashatsi bo mu Kigo k'Ingoro z'igihugu z'Umurage w'u Rwanda n'abanyeshuri bo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda.

2.1.3 Ihinduka ry'ijuru ry'ahantu n'iry'imiterere y'igihugu

a) Impinduka zo mu gihe cya kera zerekeye imiterere y'ijuru ry'ahantu

Kimwe no mu tundi turere twa Afurika, akarere k'ibiyaga bigari aho u Rwanda ruherereye, kagize impinduka z'ijuru ryako mu gihe k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi, izo mpinduka kandi zikaba zaragize ingaruka ku bimera. Kugeza ubu, ubushakashatsi bwerekeye ubumenyi bw'igihu k'isi, ubwerekeye imiterere n'imisusire yacyo, ndetse n'ubumenyi bw'insinda bukaba buterekana impinduka z'ijuru zaba zarabaye kera. Ariko isesengura riheruka ryerekeye ibisigazwa by'inyamaswa n'iby'ibimera rituma tumenya uko ibidukikije byari biteye, by'umwihariko imihindagurikire ya kera yerekeye imiterere y'ijuru ry'ahantu byaranze impera z'igihe k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi muri Afurika yo hagati n'iy'iburasirazuba. Ibihe by'ubukonje byatumye amashyamba yiyongera, isuri iragabanuka; imvura nyinshi na yo ituma urugero rw'amazi

¹¹Simon Ph., «La région du lac Burera», Annexe 9, in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, 1983, pp. 137-148.

y'ibiyaga n'inzuzi rwiyongera. Ariko ahandi, ubutayu bwatsembye amashyamba, butuma isuri n'umuvumba w'inzuzi byiyongera, urugero rw'amazi y'inzuzi n'ibiyaga na rwo ruragabanuka.

Muri rusange ibyagezweho n'ubushakashatsi biracyatatanye haba mu buryo bw'igihe n'aho bwakorewe. Gusa ubuhari butuma tugira igitekerezo cy'uko imiterere y'ijuru ry'ahantu yagiye ihinduka guhera mu bihe bya nyuma byaranze impera z'igihe k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi. Ahazwi ku izina rya Masangano, mu mahuriro y'imigezi ya Nyabarongo na Mukungwa, ni hamwe mu hantu hagaragaza izo mpinduka zivugwa kandi hakagaragaza mu nshamake amateka y'imihindagurikire yabaye muri kano karere u Rwanda ruherereyemo guhera mu myaka isaga ibihumbi ishize. Aha hantu hatanze amakuru yerekeye ubumenyi butandukanye: ubumenyi bw'amazi, ubumenyi bw'igihu k'isi, ubumenyi bw'ibinyabuzima byabayeho kera, ubumenyi bw'ibisigaratongo n'amateka.

Kugeza ubu ubushakashatsi bwakozwe ntabwo busesuye, bityo bukaba butuzuye. Ariko rero ubwo bushakashatsi bufite akamaro kanini mu by'ubuhanga; ikidanago k'ibimaze kwandikwa gituma dushobora kumenya imbanda z'intangiriro y'isi muri aka karere u Rwanda ruherereyemo guhera mu myaka ibihumbi ijana ishize.

Isesengura ryakozwe ku mihiro y'ubutaka ryerekana ko mu ntangiriro umugezi wa Nyabarongo watembaga ugana mu majyaruguru. Nyuma habaho iruka ry'ibirunga, maze amahindure atemba agana mu magepfo akurikira icyogo cya Nyabarongo. Ayo mahindure yabaye nk'akora umugungiro utuma uwo mugezi uhindura ikerekezo wari usanganywe. Ni bwo ayo mazi ya Nyabarongo atari agifite aho kumenera yabaye nk'akora ikiyaga cyangwa indeko ifukuye buhoro. Muri iyo ndeko hikenekagamo umucanga, ibumba n'ubutaka bwatembanwe n'amazi. Ibisigazwa by'ibinyabuzima biba mu mazi na byo bikaba byiganje muri iyo ndeko.

Buhoro buhoro, amazi ya Nyabarongo yagiye yishakira indi nzira, afata ikerekezo cyo mu magepfo y'uburasirazuba. Indeko yatangiye kugabanuka amazi agenda ashiramo uko amazi yarushagaho guhamya icyogo cy'umugezi wa Nyabarongo. Kubera iyo mpamvu, amazi yaragabanutse cyane mu ndeko ku buryo bitari bigikundira imvubu kuba aho hantu.

Mu gihe imvubu zabaga zoga muri ayo mazi yabaga ashira mu ndeko, imbogo n'inzovu zo zabaga ziri ku nkombe, zirisha cyangwa se zishotse. Ni muri icyo kibariro, ibisigazwa by'amahindure y'ibirunga byageze muri ako gace ka Masangano.

Aho umugezi umaze kugira icyogo cyawo, indeko na yo imaze gukama, ni bwo abantu baje gutura mu nkengeri z'ahahoze indeko, hafi yaho isoko y'amazi ashyushye yashyiraga ubutaka bwa *taraverite*. Ibimenyetso by'uko abantu batuye hafi aho bikaba bigaragara mu mihiho y'ubwo butaka, aho dusangamo n'ibisigazwa by'ibinyabuzima by'ibinyangoro. Ibyo bimenyetso byose bikaba biri muri iyo mihiho iza nyuma y'iyi dusangamo ibice by'amakoro n'umucanga wo mu mazi.

Ahanini ibisigazwa byinshi byagaragaye aho hantu guhera muri metero ebyiri z'ubujyakuzimu. Isesengurwa ryabyo rituruka ku mihiho y'ubutaka itandukanye, ryatumye hatahurwa ibisigazwa by'inyamaswa zabaye aho mu bihe bitandukanye by'ihangwa ry'igihu by'isi. Mu muhiho w'ubutaka bwa *taraverite* n'ubw'umucanga munini ho hagaragaye ibisigazwa by'ibiburangoro nk'ibinyamunjonjorerwa n'amagufwa y'inyamabere nini nk'inzovu, imvubu, imbogo n'ayizindi nyamaswa nka sitatunga. Reba igishushanyo gikurikira :

Igishushanyo cya 1 : Amagufa y'insigarabutaka yabonywe i Masangano



Ibirari by'uko abantu bigeze gutura aho i Masangano byatahuwe ku nkombe z'uruzi Nyabarongo ahahoze indeko iri hafi gukama burundu, ahagendwaga n'imvubu, inzovu, imbogo n'izindi nyamaswa abo bantu baba bararyaga. Iyo gutura kwabaye mu nkengeri z'aho amahindure y'ibirunga yagarukiye. Ibyo birari

by'uko abantu bahatuye byagaragaye mu muferege wa metero ebyiri zibanza, ni ukuvuga ku muhiro w'ubutaka bugizwe na *taraverite* no mu gice cyo hejuru cy'umucanga munini.

Birazwi ko ahagana hagati y'imyaka 70000 na 40000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, ijuru ry'i Rwanda ryahindutse riva mu kiciro cy'umwuka wumutse rikagana mu cy'umwuka uheherewe. Muri icyo gihe, amashyamba yaragabanutse cyane mu gihe ubweya bwiyongeraga. Guhera mu mwaka wa 40000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, ijuru ryo mu Rwanda ryaranzwe n'umwuka uheherewe, muri icyo gihe, ishyamba ryongeye kwagura ubuso, kurusha uko biteye kuri ubu¹². Ahagana mu mwaka wa 30000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, ijuru ryo mu Rwanda ryaranzwe n'ubukakare bityo amashyamba yongera kugabanuka, ari ko ubweya na bwo bwiyongera usibye ahantu hakomeje kugira imvura ihagije.

Ahagana mu myaka ya 18000 na 15000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, icyo gihe habayeho kumagatana n'umwuka ukonje ku buryo ishyamba ryongeye kwiyongera. Nyamara mu gihe cya nyuma k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi (12500 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu), habayeho igihe cy'ubushyuhe n'umwuka uheherewe, kirangwa n'imvura nyinshi ziyongereye cyane hagati y'imyaka ya 8000 na 4000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Urugero rw'amazi y'ibiyaga rwariyongere, maze ahagana mu mwaka wa 5000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu agera ku rugero tubona kuri ubu. Ariko hagati y'imyaka ya 2500 na 2000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, habaye igihe cyo kumagatana cyatumye amazi yo mu kiyaga cya Kivu agabanuka cyane. Ahagana mu mwaka wa 2000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, imiterere y'ijuru ryo mu Rwanda yaranzwe n'ubushyuhe n'umwuka uheherewe byiyongereye ariko ntibyagera ku rugero byagize mbere y'umwaka wa 4000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu¹³.

b. Imihindagurikire y'ibimera

Imihindagurikire y'imiterere y'ibidukikije yatangiye kwigaragaza guhera mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ibintu bifasha kumenya uko ibyo bidukikije byari biteye ni inyamaswa, ibimera, imiterere y'imisozi (ubutumburuke, amabuye, amazi).

¹² Servant M. et Servant-Vildary S., «Nouvelles données pour une interprétation paléoclimatique de séries continentale du bassin Tchadien (Pléistocène récent, Holocène)», in Van Zinderen Bakker E.M., *Palaeoecology of Africa*, VI, pp. 87-92.

¹³Robertshaw W.-P., "Climate change and the rise of political complexity In western Uganda", in *Journal of History*, 41, 2000, pp. 1-28.

Isesengura ry'insinda n'iry'ibisigazwa by'imbaho, hiyongereyeho kubona amakara n'ibisigazwa by'inyamaswa zabaga mu karere bidufasha kongera kurema ishusho y'imiterere y'ibimera byariho hamwe na hamwe mbere y'imyaka 2000.

Hashize imyaka ibihumbi bibiri, ibikorwa by'umuntu bitangiye kwiyongera cyane ku buryo bigira ingaruka ku hantu atuye. Uburobyi n'ubuhigi byiyambazaga gutwika ishyamba, ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi bigenda byangiza buhoro buhoro ibidukikije. Uko kwangirika kwarushijeho gukabya mu gihe cya kera k'ibyuma, ubwo ibikoresho bikoze mu butare byiyambazwaga mu gukonda ishyamba. Ibikoresho biconze mu mabuye byari bimenyerewe gukoreshwa guhera mu myaka isaga miriyoni nta ruhare runini byari bigifite kandi umuriro w'ishyamba na wo ntabwo wangizaga ubweya. Ishyamba ry'ijuri ryo ryari ritaribasirwa no kwangirika.

Mbere y'uko uruhare rw'umuntu ku bidukikije rurushaho kwigaragaza, cyanecyane rushingiye ku bumenyi mu kongera umusaruro w'ibiribwa no gutunganya ibyuma, bigaragara ko ibidukikije byari biteye ku buryo bukurikira: uburengerazuba n'amajyaruguru ashyira uburengerazuba bw'igihugu hari haherereye ubwoko butandukanye bw'ibimera; ishyamba ry'antaraganya rikaba ryari riri ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Kivu, ishyamba ry'urugano ryo mu misozi n'ishyamba ryo munsu y'imisozi yari yiganje mu turere tw'u Rukiga, u Buberuka, ku misozi yose y'ibisi bya Kongo-Nili n'ahari ishyamba ry'ubu rya Nyungwe. Muri make ibyo bimera byari mu karere kari iburengerazuba bwa Mukungwa na Nyabarongo.

Mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, igishanga kirimo nyiramugengeri mu Rugezi, iburasirazuba bw'ikiyaga cya Burera, kiduhamiriza ko higeze kubaho ibimera byo mu misozi miremire. Inkombe z'iburengerazuba bw'ikiyaga cya Ruhondo zo ziduhamiriza ko hari ubweya bufite ishyamba ndetse n'ishyamba ryo ku nkuka yari mu kibaya kiganjemo amahindure yo munsu y'ibirunga. Isesengura ryakozwe kuri nyiramugengeri yo mu kinyejana cya mbere nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu ryerekanye ko munsu y'umusozi wa Rwaza hahoze ishyamba rikikijwe n'ubweya burimo ibiti. Uganu mu magepfo, mu masangano y'inzuzi za Mukungwa na Nyabarongo, hari ishyamba ry'urugano ryo mu misozi miremire rigenda rikagera mu kibaya cy'amahindure kirangwa n'ubweya burimo ishyamba. Uganu muri Kigali y'ubu, i Rwankuba harangwaga n'imisozi ifite ishyamba.

Mu Magepfo y'igihugu, mu karere kava i Ngoma kugera ku Kanyaru ku ruhande rumwe, no hagati ya Ngoma na Gisagara ku rundi ruhande, ahagana hagati y'umwaka wa 200 na 700 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, hari ubweya bufite ishyamba bwagira ndetse n'ibiti binini nko mu karere ka Kigembe. Kuri iyo miterere hiyongeragaho ishyamba ryo ku nkuka ryabaga rikikije imikoki¹⁴. Ubwumagatane bw'ijuru ryo mu Rwanda bwabayeho ahagana mu mwaka wa 2500 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu ryatumye hari amashyamba acika. Imiterere y'ijuru rirushijeho guhehera ryari gutuma ishyamba rirushaho kongera ubuso ahagana mu mwaka wa 2000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, iyo abantu baba bataratangiye kurimbura ibimera.

Ni ahagana muri icyo gihe abantu babayeho mu gihe cya kera k'ibyuma babonye ubutaka bwiza n'ibimera biberanye n'ubuhinzi, ubworozi no gutunganya ibyuma. Gushongesha ubutare bw'icyuma byaba byaramamaye guhera mu binyejana bya mbere nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ubuhinzi bwifashisha ibikoresho bikoze mu cyuma bwagiye bukenera ubuso bugari bwo gukonda. Ibyo bikorwa byo gukonda na byo byatumye ishyamba rigabanuka risigira umwanya ubweya. Mu kinyagihumbi cya kabiri nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, igihe cyo kuraza imirima cyagiye kigabanuka uko umubare w'abaturage na wo wagiye wiyongera. Izo mpamvu zose zishingiye ku buhanga mu bya tekini zatumye ibidukikije byangirika, ubuzima bw'abaturage burahinduka, n'umuvuduko wo kororoka uriyongera.

2.1.4 Ibihe mbanzirizamateka mu Rwanda

Duhereye ku bisigazwa byavumbuwe mu Rwanda no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari, ibihe mbanzirizamateka by'u Rwanda bishobora kugabanywa mu byiciro bibiri bikubiye mu bihe bibiri: igihe cya kera cy'amabuye n'igihe cya kera k'ibyuma.¹⁵

Ibyo bihe n'ibisigazwa by'ibisigaratongo, uhereye ku bya vuba ugana ku bya kera, bikubiye mu mbonerahamwe ikurikira:

¹⁴ Van Grunderbeek M.-C., Roche E., et Doutrelepont H., «L'âge du fer ancien au Rwanda et au Burundi. Archéologie et environnement », in *Journal des Africanistes*, 52 (1-2), 1982, pp. 33-41.

¹⁵Van Noten F., *The archeology of central Africa*, Akademische Druck-und Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1982; Sutton, J.E.G., "The aquatic civilisation of middle Africa", in *Journal of African History*, 15, 1974, pp. 527-546.

Imbonerahamwe ya 1: Ibihe mbanzirizamateka mu Rwanda

Igihe cya vuba k'ibyuma	Hari imbumbo zitandukanye zo mu bwoko bwa <i>urewe</i> .	
Igihe cya kera k'ibyuma	Ibibumbano byo mu bwoko bwa <i>urewe</i> .	
Isenabuye	Hari imbumbo zo mu bwoko butandukanye.	
Igihe cya vuba cy'amabuye	<i>Tshitoliye</i>	<i>Wilitoniye</i>
Igihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye	<i>L u p e m b i y e</i> <i>Sangoen</i>	<i>Magoziye</i>
Igihe cya kera cy'amabuye	<i>Asheleye</i> Imbanziriza <i>asheleye</i> cyangwa <i>olduvayi</i>	

a. Ibihe by'amabuye

➤ Igihe cya kera cy'amabuye

Igihe cya kera cy'amabuye kigaragazwa n'ubwoko bubiri bw'inganda: ubwa *olduvayi* n'ubwa *asheleye*.

Uruganda rwa *Olduvayi*

Ibikoresho bya kera biranga uru ruganda byaturutse mu gishanga cya *Omo*, mu gihugu cya Etiyopiya, bikaba byarakoreshwaga mu myaka iyanga miriyoni ebyiri n'igice. Ibikoresho nk'ibyo byavumbuwe kandi ku nkombe z'ibiyaga n'ibishanga biri hafi y'ikenya cya *Rift Valley* mu majyaruguru ya Tanzaniya, i Olduvayi George ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Turkana muri Kenya.

Ibikoresho biranga uruganda rwa *Olduvayi* bikubiye mu byiciro bibiri bitandukanye, biri hagati y'igihe k'imyaka miriyoni ebyiri n'igice na miriyoni imwe n'igice.

Ibya *Olduvayi* ya kera bikubiyemo imbazo, ibitema bikoze mu mabuye aconze nabi n'utubaru twayo. Byakoreshwaga mu gukata amagufa bavanamo umusokoro, kubaga inyamaswa, kwica inyamabere ntoya, ibikururanda, ibikeri, imiserebanyu n'utunyamasyo.

Olduvayi yisumbuye irangwa n'ibikoze mu ntima zitaremereye z'ibinyampande ebyiri. Amabuye abarizwa muri ibi byiciro

by'uruganda rwa olduvayi ntabwo aragaragara mu Rwanda. Ibi bikoresho byakoreshwaga kandi n'ibisabantu «*hominidés*», bishoboka ko bari ba *homo habilis* bari batunzwe n'ubuhigi no gusoroma. Usibye ibikoresho by'amabuye, ibyo bisabantu byaba byarakoreshaga ibikoresho bisaza nk'ibiti, impu, amagufa, ibishishwa n'ibindi.

Uruganda rwa Asheleye

Uru ruganda rwabarwaratangiye muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba ahitwa Olduvayi George mu ndeko ya II. Uru ruganda rutandukanijwe n'urwa *Olduvayi* n'ubunini bw'ibikoresho bikorwa, biva ku bimene binini byavuye ku bice binini by'amabuye ku buryo kubimena bisaba imbaraga n'ubuhanga. Ibikoresho bigaragara ku migabane yindi yo ku isi yavumbuwe mbere: Afurika, Aziya n'Uburayi bw'epfo n'ubw'uburengerazuba. Uru ruganda rwaba rwaratangiye ahagana mu myaka miriyoni imwe n'igice. Rwabayeho mu gihe kimwe n'urwa Olduvayi mu gihe k'inyaka ibihumbi magana¹⁶.

Uruganda rwa *Asheleye* muri Afurika rurangwa n'ibikoresho bibaje impande zombi n'udushoka tubaje mu bibaru by'amabuye. Ibyo bikoresho biboneka bagenda bavanaho ibibaru ku ibuye rinini. Ubu bumenyi bwitiriwe ibisabantu bya *Homo Erectus* bari batunzwe n'ubuhigi no gusoroma mu turere tw'urweya rurimo ibiti bike. Ba *Homo Erectus* bagendaga bimuka bakurikiye ibiribwa bikomoka ku nyamaswa n'ibimera. Iyi ni yo mpamvu dusanga inganzo nyinshi muri Afurika zihamya kwiyongera kw'amatsinda y'ibyo bisabantu n'umubare w'abayagize.

Hari ibyiciro bitatu bya *Asheleye*: Asheleye ya kera, iyo hagati n'iya nyuma. Muri iki kiciro cya nyuma, ubuhanga bwo gucongana ibuye bwarangwaga n'urusobe rw'ibikoresho, bugaragazwaga no gutegura neza igikoresho no kugitaka, gukora ibikoresho by'umubyimba muto n'iterambere mu mibereho rusange n'uburyo bwo guhiga. Iryo vugurura rituruka kandi no ku ivumburwa ry'umuriro watumye abo bantu birinda ubukonje n'inyamaswa z'inkazi, ndetse utuma banatangira gukora ibindi bikoresho byisumbuye.

Ibikoresho bya *Asheleye* nta hantu biragaragara mu Rwanda; ariko hari ibyagiye biboneka batarinze gucukura ikuzimu nk'i

¹⁶ Daniel J.-Y., *Sciences de la terre et de l'univers*, Paris, Vuibert, 1999, p.595.

Gatumba, i Gatare n'i Remera mu Ntara y'Amajyaruguru, i Rubona mu gishanga gicamo umugezi wa Rwagatovu mu Karere ka Huye. Birashoboka ko mu Rwanda, ubuke bw'inganzo zagaragaye ziranga uru ruganda buturuka ku migereka mike y'ubutaka bw'icyo gihe (reba ifoto ya 2 iri munsu):

Igishushanyo cya 2: Amabuye abaje abitswe mu Nzu Ndangamurage y'u Rwanda i Huye



Igihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye

Muri Afurika yo munsu y'ubutayu bwa Sahara "Igihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye" gihurirana n'igihe mbanzirizamateka k'isaturabuye cyo hagati n'icya vuba. Icyo gihe cyatangiye nyuma y'icya *asheleye*. Kirangwa kandi n'urusobe rw'inganda zishingiye ku ihindagurika ry'ibidukikije no gukomeza gusena ibikoresho bito bikoze mu mabuye.

Abantu babayeho muri icyo gihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye bari abo mu bwoko bwa *homo sapiens*. Mu rwego rwa tekini, igihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye cyaranzwe no kurushaho gukora ibikoresho bito mu mabuye. Uburyo bwo kuvana ibibaru ku ibuye rinini kwasimbuwe no gutegura neza intimatima y'ibuye, bavanaho ibibaru bito bito kugeza bayihaye isura nziza bifuza. Ibyo bibaru barangiza bakabisena kugira ngo bigire isura bifuza neza.

Iryo vugurura rya tekini ryatumye hakorwa ibikoresho bito bigenewe kujya mu kirindi kibaje mu giti cyangwa mu magufa. Gukwikira ibyo bikoresho bikoze mu mabuye bisaba gutegura ubujeni, kubaza ikirindi, gusena icyo gikoresho, gusatura icyo kirindi kibaje mu giti kandi ibyo byose bikaba bishoboka kubera ikoreshwa ry'umurimo.

Ikindi kerekezo cya kabiri ni umwihariko w'akarere watumye abantu bamenyera imiterere y'ahantu hatandukanye. Byatumye abantu bakora ibikoresho bitandukanye biberanye n'imiterere y'ahantu. Mu mashyamba, hagaragaye ubwoko bubiri bw'inganda: urwa *Sangoen* n'urwa *Lupembien*. Naho mu bweya ho hagaragaye inganda z'amabuye mato cyane.

Uruganda rwa *Sangoen* (izina rituruka ku kigobe k'i Sango, ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Victoria muri Uganda) rukusanyije inganzo z'amabuye zakurikiye iza *Asheleye* ziheruka mu bice by'Afurika iri hagati ya za toropiki (imihiro). Ibikoresho bigaragara cyane biranga izo nganzo ni ibisongoye, intorezo zikwanjitse ziteye nka mpandeshatu, ibikuba n'ibiharagata bitandukanye.

Ibyo bikoresho bya *sangoen* byiganje cyane ahari ibimera byinshi. Birashoboka rero ko byaba byaragaragaye bwa mbere muri utwo turere mu gihe cya nyuma k'inganda za *Asheleye* mu bweya bufite umukenke, ariko bikaba bitagaragara mu turere tudafite ishyamba. Hari isano rero hagati y'ibyo bikoresho n'ibihe by'imvura nyinshi byatumye habaho uturere dufite ibimera byinshi.

Mu gice kinini k'ishyamba kimeza ryo hafi ya koma y'isi, inganda za *sangoen* ni zo zihamya ko higeze guturwa n'abantu. Ariko zikaba zerekana ibikoresho byo mu gihe cy'ubukakare, ubwo iryo shyamba ryagabanukaga cyane. Ibyo bikoresho rero bikaba bigomba gusobanurwa dufatiye ku mpinduka z'ibidukikije kurusha uko ibyo bikoresho byaba byerekana iterambere ryerekeye tekini yo kubaza amabuye. Izo tekini n'ibikoresho ubwabyo ntabwo kandi bitandukanwa n'imbibi tuzi kuri ubu, na zo ahanini zidafite icyo zishingiyeho.

Mu by'ukuri ibihe by'inganda za *sangoen* ntabwo bizwi neza. Hari abavuga ko ibikoresho by'izo nganda byaba byaratangiye gukorwa ahagana hagati y'umwaka wa 100 000 na 80 000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ibikoresho by'inganda za *sangoen* byagaragaye henshi hirya no hino mu Rwanda, ariko cyanecyane mu magepfo

y'igihugu. Muri ho twavugaga nk'ahantu hagera kuri 7: i Nyange, ku nkombe z'umugezi wa Kabogobogo hagati ya Mugombwa na Kansi, kwa Campion, i Ruhashya, i Rubona, i Bweya, i Muyaga n'i Kavumu hafi y'igishanga cya Karuruma, iburasirazuba bw'i Kabwayi. Aho hantu hose hagaragaye ibikoresho bisa n'iby'inganda za *sangoen*: udushoka, ibisongoye, ibiharagata. Usibye kuba haragaragaje ibikoresho by'inganda za *sangoen*, ahantu hazwi ku izina ry'*Inganzo ya Campion (sablière Campion)* hanagaragaje ibindi bikoresho byo mu nganda zo mu bwoko bwa *Lupembien* byari bitabye mu mugereko w'ubutaka bukurikira ubwo basanzemo ibikoresho byo mu bwoko bwa *sangoen*.

Hagati mu gihugu, ubushakashatsi bwakorewe i Rutongo, mu masangano y'uruzi rwa Nyabarongo na Shengambule, ahagana ku muhanda wa Kigali-Byumba, bwatumye hatatururwa ibikoresho birimo ikigembe k'icumu kiranga inganda za *sangoen* n'ibindi bikoresho bya *magosien*: imigera isongoje uruhande rumwe, n'ibindi bisongoje impande ebyiri ariko bikoze ku buryo bikwanjitse n'ibifite ubugi burimo amenyo. Ibikoresho nk'ibyo byagaragaye kandi i Nyabwari, ariko gusa ibyaho byari bikoze mu mabuye avunguka no mu masarabwayi y'ikigina.

Ibikoresho by'inganda za *sangoen* byasakaye henshi kandi bikagira umwihariko ushingiyeye ku hantu byabaga biherereye n'iterambere ryabayeho. Ibi bitwereka ko hagiye habaho gukurikiza impinduka zabayeho mu rwego rw'ibidukikije. Ariko, ibyinshi mu bikoresho byagaragaye ni ibyaturutse ku mihiho y'ubutaka iri hejuru. Ibyo bikoresho byamenyekanye neza kandi n'amatariki yabyo amenyekana nyuma yo kubigereranya n'ibikoresho byabonetse muri Afurika yo hagati no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari.

Ibikoresho by'inganda za *Lupembien* ni ibikoresho bifite isura izwi muri Afurika yo hagati, mu karere kahoze gafite ishyamba ryinshi kera. Izi nganda zirangwa n'uruhererekane rw'ibikoresho binoze birimo ibisongoye, ibimeze nk'inkota n'ibindi bitoboye byaje kunonosorwa bigasenwa ku mpande zombi. Imihiro y'ubutaka ya kera igaragaza ibyo bikoresho ifite ibihe byo hagati y'umwaka wa 42000 n'uwa 38000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu.

Ni mu ntara y'uburasirazuba habonetse ahantu henshi muri pariki ya Kagera abashakashatsi basanze ibimenyetso by'inganda za *Lupembien* (reba ishusho rya 3 munsu):

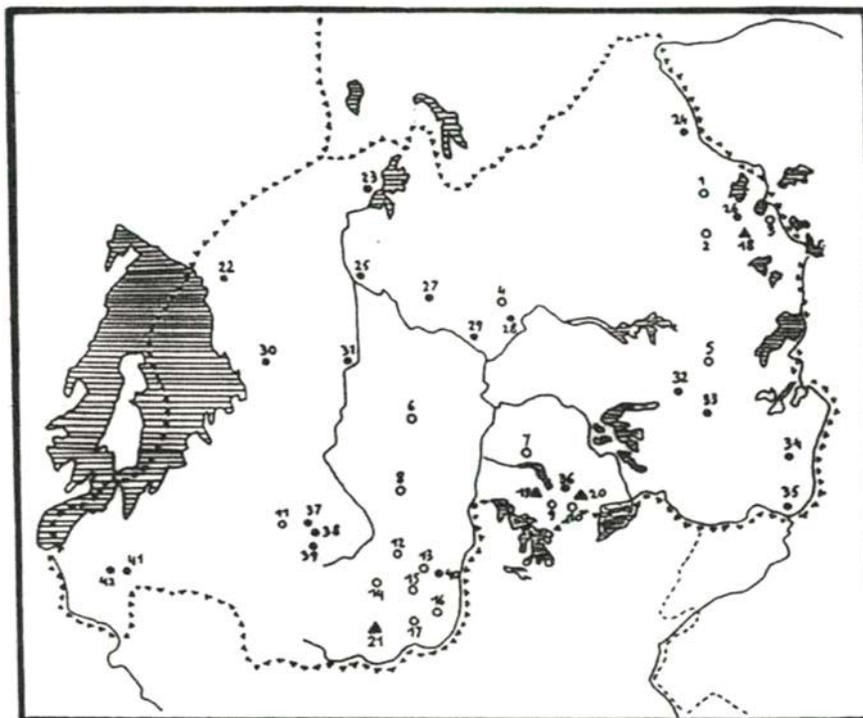
***Igishushanyo cya 3: Amabuye abaje akomoka i Kagitumba
(Pariki ya Kagera)***



Ku misozi ya Kandaro, Nyabwari na Muhororo ndetse no ku musenyi w'imvubu habonetse udushoka duto, ibisongoye n'ibiharagata. Ibikoresho byo mu nganda za Lupembien byagaragaye i Nemba bigizwe n'agashoka gasennye ku ruhande rumwe, intimatima zimeze nk'ingasire, ibifite ubugi burimo amenyo. Umugera w'icumu ukoze mu isarabwayi wabonetse ku butaka hejuru ahitwa i Riba, hafi y'i Kansi ku muhanda Huye-Akanyaru. Ibikoresho bisa n'icyo kandi byabonetse i Mibirizi (mu Karere ka Rusizi), i Kajumbura mu magepfo y'ibiyaga bya Mihindi na Ngurenge muri pariki ya Kagera, i Rwamurumba mu Bugesera hafi y'umuhanda Kigali-Muhinga¹⁷. Muri ako karere ni ho hari haherereye amabuye yo mu bwoko bwa *acheuléen* aconze mu masarabwayi, rusarabwayi no mu gishonyi (reba ikarita n°1):

¹⁷ Ninquin J., "Contribution to the study of the prehistoric cultures of Rwanda and Burundi", in *Annales*, Série 8, Sciences humaines n° 59, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1967; Van Noten, F., *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1983.

Ikarita ya 1: Ahantu haherereye inzibutso z'ibihe byo hagati n'ibya vuba by'amabuye:



Ibisobanuro:

- : Sites du Sangoen et du Lupembien
- ▲ : Sites du Lupembien supérieur
- : Sites du Tshitoliien et du Wiltonien.

1. Muhororo	○	12. Ruhashya	○	23. Nyanga	●	34. Rugamama	●
2. Kindalo	○	13. Muyaga	○	24. Nyamasimbi	●	35. Rusumo	●
3. Plage des hippos	○	14. Campion	○	25. Masango	●	36. Lutete	●
4. Rutongo	○	15. Bweeya	○	26. Nyagasheshe	●	37. Gakanka	●
5. Rwinkwavu	○	16. Dahwe	○	27. Rwankuba	●	38. Gashiha	●
6. Kavumu	○	17. Nyange	○	28. Rutongo	●	39. Lemera	●
7. Leberu	○	18. Kajumbura	▲	29. Rutonde	●	40. Muyaga	●
8. Rubona	○	19. Rwamarumba	▲	30. Muhororo	●	41. Ruhindyarya	●
9. Mulehe	○	20. Nemba	▲	31. Katumba	●	42. Mukinanira	●
10. Murehe	○	21. Liba	▲	32. Bugambira	●		
11. Gashila	○	22. Nyundo	●	33. Remera	●		

VAN NOTEN, F., *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*. Musée royal de l'Afrique Central Tervuren, 1983

➤ **Igihe cya vuba cy'amabuye**

Imvugo “Igihe cya vuba cy'amabuye” ikoresheya muri Afurika yo muni y'ubutayu bwa Sahara iyo bashakaga gusobanura igihe mbanzirizamateka gihereye mu gihe k'isaturabuye cya nyuma. Ni igihe gihwanye n'imyaka igera hafi ku bihumbi 40000. Urusobekerane rw'ibikoresho by'amabuye byahanzwe mu gihe cyo hagati cy'amabuye rwarakomeje no mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye. Ibyo byaturukaga ku kumenyera ahantu hatandukanye, nk'ahaherereye ishyamba n'ahari ubweya.

Icyamba kabiri cya mbere k'iyi myaka, ni ukuvuga hagati y'umwaka wa 40000 n'ubwo 20000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, cyaranzwe n'ibikoresho nzibacyuho, ni ukuvuga ibikoresho bigari bivanze n'ibitoya. Ibikoresho bigari bigizwe n'imihoro, udushoka dusenye, ingasire n'ibindi bisya; ibikoresho bito bito bikwiyeye na byo byakoreshejwe nk'imishyamba, inkero, imigera y'imyamba cyangwa amacumu n'utundi tubuye duta dushobora kujugunywa.

Mu ntangiriro z'igihe cya *holosene*, ni ukuvuga mu gihe cya vuba k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi (10 000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu), umubare w'inzibutso z'igihe cya vuba cy'amabuye wariyongereye, ubuvumo n'amasenga byarushijeho guturwa n'abantu. Umutungo kamere wari uri hafi yabo na wo warakoreshejwe cyane kurusha mbere, kandi ibisigazwa by'inyamaswa byabonetse kuri izo nzibutso zari zitwe bihamya kwitabira ubuhigi no gushishikarira gutega inyamaswa zimwe na zimwe. Nyamara ibikoresho by'izi nganda zo mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye ntabwo bizwi neza imyaka byakoreshejwe mu Rwanda.

Gusa hari ibyiciro bitatu biranga izi nganda: hari icyamba *magosien* kirangwa n'ibikoresho byagaragaye i Rutonde, i Rwankuba hafi y'umuhanda wa Kigali-Musanze. Urwibutso rw'i Rutonde rwo runagaragaza ibyiciro bitandukanye bya *magosien*. Izindi nzibutso ni iziri i Bugambira ku musozi uri hagati y'umugezi wa Gitinga n'urufunzo rwa Kagera, i Rugarama mu burengerazuba bwa Nyarubuye na Nyanza, no hagati y'ibiyaga bya Burera na Ruhondo ku muhanda munini uhuza Ruhengeri na Ntaruka. Ibikoresho biranga *magosien* byerekana iterambere riva mu bikoresho bigari rigana mu bikoresho bito bito; ni igihe k'inzibacyuho gitegura ibikoresho by'inganda za *Tshitolien* na *Wiltonien*.

Uruganda rwa *Tshitolién* rukomora iryo zina ku rwibutso rwa Tshitolo ruherereye mu mirambi y'i Kasai y'Uburasirazuba muri Kongo-Kinshasa. Ni uruganda rwaranzwe n'ibikoresho bifite amasonga abwase, ibisongo by'imyambi bigari bisenye ku mpande zombi n'utubuye duto dufite impande ziconze. Uruganda rwa *Wiltonien* rugizwe n'ibikoresho byabonetse mu buvumo bwari buherereye mu rwuri rwa Wilton, ruherereye mu burengerazuba bw'Intara ya Cap mu gihugu cy'Afurika y'Epfo.

Ni uruganda rw'amabuye matoya yatangiye kugaragara mu myaka ya 18,000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Uru ruganda rurangwa n'ibikoresho bikoze mu mabuye afite ibice by'uruziga, imirongo igorotse ya mpandeshatu, isa na tarapezi, ibikoresho bitobora, n'ibiteye nk'inkero.

Amatariki nyayo yamenyekanye ku nganda zagaragaye mu birombe biherereye muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba, nk'ibyo muri Uganda ni mu buvumo bwa Munyama, no ku kirwa cya Buwuma, ahagana mu wa 14480 ± 130 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Muri Kenya ni mu kena cya Nakuru muri Naivasha (mu mushoro waho), ahagana mu wa 13300 ± 220 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Hari no muri Tanzaniya rwagati, mu buvumo bw'i Kisesa, ahagana mu mwaka wa 18 190 ± 300 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu.

Mu Rwanda, izo nganda zagaragaye aha hakurikira:

- Mu Kinanira, mu buvumo bwakorewemo ubushakashatsi na J. Hiernaux; aho yahasanze imihoro y'ubutaka irimo ibikoresho byo mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye bikurikiwe hejuru n'ibikoresho byo mu gihe cya kera k'ibyuma.
- Mu buvumo bwa Rwabugiri, buherereye muri pariki y'igihugu ya Kagera, ahagaragaye ibikoresho bitoya bikoze mu mabuye byo mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye n'ibibumbano bitatse imanzi z'imirongo ikebye.
- Mu buvumo bwo muri Mucucu, Muhororo n'ubwa Kandaró.
- Hari kandi ku musenyi witiriwe imvubu habonetse ibimenyetso by'ibikoresho byo mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye.

Ibikoresho bitoya bikoze mu mabuye byaba byaragiye bikwikirwa mu birindi bibaje mu biti cyangwa mu magufa. Nyamara, ibyo bikoresho byo birashonga ku buryo bitagaragara nyuma y'igihe runaka. Ariko duherereye kuri iryo terambere rya tekinoroji,

dushobora gutekereza ko habayeho n'iterambere rikomeye mu rwego rw'ubukungu n'umuco. Hari amahirwe menshi yuko imiheto n'imyambi byaba byaratangiye gukoreshwa mu buhigi muri icyo gihe, umuhoro wo gusarura ibinyampeke, insyo n'ingasire byo gusya na byo bikaba byaratangiye gukoreshwa muri icyo gihe. Irindi terambere rikaba ari ugutegura ubushyamba bugenewe imyambi, ikoreshwa ry'*inshundura*, ibikoresho bisongoye mu mabuye, imigera ibaje mu magufa ikenerwa mu gufuma imyambaro (nk'ikomoka mu mpu), cyangwa gutonda amasaro akomoka ku birezi, n'ibindi bikoresho bisongoye nk'indobani bikoze mu magufa.

➤ **Igihe k'isenabuye**

Iri jambo ryabanje gusobanura mbere na mbere Igihe k'ibuye rishyashya" kigatandukanywa n'igihe cya kera cy'amabuye n'ingingo imwe yerekeye tekini, ari yo yo gusena. Nyuma ibisobanuro by'ijambo byagiye byaguka. Guhera mu myaka ishize, igihe k'isenabuye gifite ibisobanuro binonosoye kurushaho, kuko kivuga impinduka mu buryo bwo gutegura ibiryo, kandi ibi ni byo ahanini bitandukanya iki gihe n'ibindi. Muri icyo gihe umuntu yaretse gutungwa gusa no guhiga no gusoroma ibyo mu ishyamba, ahubwo atangira no guhinga no korora. Izo mpinduka zabaye buhoro buhoro zari ziherekejwe na tekini nshya zo gusena, n'izo kubumba, ziherekezwa kandi n'uburyo bushya bw'imiturire, byerekanwa n'imyubakire, gutura begeranye n'ibindi.

Izo mpinduka zishobora kuba zaragize kandi ingaruka ku miterere y'imiryango n'uburyo abantu babonaga isi. Ibyo byerekanwaga n'ibishushanyo byo ku nkuta z'ubuvumo n'imihango bakoreraga abapfuye. Muri rusange igihe k'isenabuye cyagiye gisakara ku buryo butandukanye bikurikije uko uturere duteye. Nko mu turere tumwe, ivugurura ryagiye rigerwaho buhoro buhoro, ribangikanye n'inganda zindi zo mu bihe bibanza.

Mu tundi turere, isenabuye ryagezweho hatabayeho gutegereza igihe kirerekire kandi icyo gihe kirangwa na gahunda igiye umujyo umwe kandi unoze. Ariko mu by'ukuri inkomoko y'igihe k'isenabuye ntabwo ivugwaho rumwe muri Afurika yo hagati ishyira iy'uburasirazuba, no mu Rwanda ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Hari abavuga ko ubumenyi bw'icyo gihe bwaba bwaturutse mu magepfo ya Sahara, hafi y'ikibaya cya Nili,

bugakomeza busakara mu mirambi yo muri Etiyopiya, mbere yo kugera ino. Nyamara ubushakashatsi bwakozwe ku nkombe z'ibiyaga byo muri kano karere bwerekanye ko hari hatuwe ku buryo buhoraho kuva mu myaka myinshi yashize mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu.

Byamaze kugaragara ko guhera mu myaka isaga ibihumbi icumi, abarobyi bari batuye ku buryo burambye hafi y'ibiyaga bigari n'inzuzi zo muri Afurika yo hagati ishyira iyo mu burasirazuba. Muri ako karere k'ibiyaga bigari, ahantu hazwi hagaragaza iyo miturire ni Ishango hafi y'ikiyaga cya Rwicanzige, Turkana no mu buvumo bwa Gambi hafi y'ikiyaga cya Nakuru. Ikindi cyagaragaye kandi nuko muri ako karere imiturire itahindaguritse cyane guhera mu gihe cya nyuma k'ikibariro cya 4 k'imibereho y'isi, cyangwa se mbere yaho. Muri ako karere kandi hagaragaye inganda z'ibikoresho biva mu magufa, ibizwi cyane bikaba ari indobani.

Nk'uko bikubiye muri bimwe mu bisobanuro bitangwa, abaturage bazi neza ibyerekeye ububumbyi, ubuhinzi n'ubworozi baba barafashije mu ikwirakwizwa ry'ubwo bumenyi ubwo bahungaga ubutayu bwa Sahara bwiyongeraga mu bice by'amagepfo guhera mu ntangiriro z'ikinyagihumbi cya gatatu mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Nk'uko byavuzwe hejuru, mu gihe cyo hagati y'ikinyagihumbi cya 8 n'icya 6 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, ijuru ryari rihehereye. Ibiyaga bikaba byari bigari kurusha ubu kandi ari byinshi, imigezi ari miremire kandi ifite umuvumba mwinshi.

Uburyo bwo kubaho bw'abarobyi bwari bushingiye cyane ku kuba batuye hafi y'amazi, ubwoko bw'ibiribwa babonaga hafi aho, n'ubuhanga bakoreshaga mu kuroba no gukora amato. Hari ahantu henshi hatuwe mu misozi ya Sahara no mu nkirirahato zo mu Magepfo y'ubwo butayu, uhereye mu Magepfo ya Niger kugeza muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba unyuze mu kibaya cya Tchad.

Ibindi bisobanuro bitangwa, nuko ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, kenshi bijyana, byaba byaraturutse mu Egiputa bisakara muri Etiyopiya. Igihe k'isenabuye kikaba cyarageze mu mirambi yo muri Etiyopiya, nyuma gisakara mu magepfo mu gihe k'iyimuka ry'amatsinda y'abaturage bavuga indimi za *kushite*. Muri icyo gihugu cya Etiyopiya, mu buvumo bw'ahitwa Gobra hafi ya Axoum, inganda z'amabuye matoya abaje ku buryo

buringaniye ndetse n'ibikoresho by'ibibumbano byatabururwe biri kumwe n'imbuto z'uburo. Basanze byaba byarakoreshejwe mu kinyagihumbi cya 3 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu.

Muri Kenya ho, ntabwo ibimenyetso by'uko ubuhinzi bwatangiye kera biraboneka, mu gihe ibyerekanaga ubworozi byo bigaragara hafi y'umuhora wose w'ikenya cya Valley kugeza muri Tanzaniya ndetse no mu misozi yo hafi yaho. Amahirwe yuko ubuhinzi bwaba barahabaye mbere y'ikinyagihumbi cya 3 akaba ari make. Nyamara ubworozi bw'amatungo magufi nk'intama, ihene hanyuma amatungo maremare bwo barahabaye guhera mu kinyagihumbi cya 3. Ibyo bishimangirwa n'amagufa y'intama, ihene n'ay'amatungo maremare yagaragajwe n'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe. Hafi y'u Rwanda, mu cyogo k'ikiyaga cya Victoria, bahasanze ibisigazwa by'intama, ihene n'inka.

Nta bimenyetso bihagije byemeza ko mu Rwanda twagize igihe k'isenabuye. Gusa hari ibimenyetso byerekanaga igihe k'iherekanyaga hagati y'igihe cya vuba cy'amabuye n'igihe cya kera k'icyuma. Hari ahagaragaye imihiro y'ubutaka irimo urunyurane rw'ibikoresho byo mu gihe cya vuba cy'amabuye n'injyamba z'ibibumbano. Ibyo bikaba byasobanurwaga hifashishijwe ibizwi mu mibereho y'abantu cyangwa habaye kugereranyaga no gushyira mu gaciro.

Ibisonuro bya mbere bishingira ku mubano cyangwa ihahirana hagati y'abaturage bo mu bihugu bibiri bitandukanye; bamwe bakoresha ibikoresho bikoze mu mabuye, abandi baratangiye guhinga no gutunganya ibyuma. Ibindi bisobanuro bishingira ku iyimuka ry'abantu: aho abasangwabutaka babaga bakiri mu gihe cy'amabuye bakiriye ubumenyi bwo kubumba bwo mu gihe cya kera k'icyuma babuvomye ku bimukira bari babasanze. Hashingiye ku iyigandimi, mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, abaturage b'aborozi baje baturutse mu Majyaruguru y'Uburasirazuba bw'Afurika baba barazanyaga mu magepfo y'Afurika inka zikomoka ku mugabane wa Aziya¹⁸.

¹⁸ Epstein H., The origin of the domestic animals of Africa, vol. I et II, in *Africana*, New York - London- Munich, Publ. corp., 1971; Ehret C., "Cattle keeping and milking in Eastern and Southern African History: The linguistic evidence", in *Journal of African History*, 8(1), 1967, pp. 1-17.; Ehret C., "Patterns of Bantu Central Sudanic Settlement in central and Southern Africa", in *Transafrican Journal of History*, 3(1), 1968, pp. 1-71. Ehret C., "The first spread of Food production to southern Africa", in Ehret C., Posnansky, M. (éds), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, 1982, pp. 158-181. ; Bender M.-L., "Livestock and linguistics in North and East

b. Ibihe by' icyuma cyangwa ibihe by'ubutare

➤ Igihe cya kera k'icyuma

Byaragaragaye ko itunganyabyuma rizwi muri aka karere k'ibiyaga bigari, cyanecyane hashingiwe ku nkono nyinshi zagaragaye n'ibibumbano bijyana na zo¹⁹. Iryo tunganyabyuma akenshi ryagiye ribangikana n'ibisigazwa byerekana ishongesha ry'ubutare: amatafari, inkero z'imivuba, inkamba n'ibiroba biranga aho izo nkono zari zubatse. Ahantu ikenda haturutse amatafari yakoreshejwe mu kubaka izo nkono zari zifite umubyimba n'ishusho bitandukanye uko uturere dutandukanye. Inkono za kera muri zo, zaba zarubatswe mu kinyejana cya 7 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ariko rero ibikorwa byo gushongesha ubutare bw'icyuma kwasakaye cyane mu gihe cyakurikiye ivuka rya Yezu.

Ariko rero, gucukura ubutare bw'icyuma byaba bitarakorwaga cyane, nubwo ubutare butari ikibuze. Ibyo bituma duhamya yuko itunganyabyuma ryakomeje gukorwa ku buryo bw'ubukorikori.

Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe bukaba bwaribanze cyanecyane mu Ntara y'Amagepfo, aha hoze ari muri Butare, aho ibikorwa byo gushongesha ubutare bw'icyuma byari byarasakaye cyane hagati y'ikinyejana cya 3 n'icya 7 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ibyo bikaba byaraturutse ahanini ku buhahirane hagati y'u Rwanda, ibindi bihugu bikikije ibiyaga bigari n'ibihugu biherereye mu burasirazuba bw'Afurika. Ubwo buhahirane no kugenderana hagati y'ibyo bihugu by'Afurika bikaba byaratangiye kera cyane kurusha uko byandikwa mu bitabo by'amateka.

Kugeza ubu, inkono 14 ziremye ku buryo bumwe ni zo zataburuwe. Zirasa, gusa zigatandukanywa n'umubyimba wazo. Zifukuye mu butaka ku burebure buri hagati ya cm 20 na 60 kandi zikagira umurambararo uri hagati ya cm 80 na 90. Ariko zimwe muri izo nkono zifukuye mu butaka zikaba zaragiraga ibipimo byisumbuyeho nk'izabonetse i Nyaruhengeri na Cyamukuza.

Ibyo bintu byose byataburuwe byagaragaye byuzuye ibisigazwa by'ibishyamba byabaga bipfundikiye inkono, bigafasha gufungirana

African Ethnohistory", in *Current Anthropology*, 23(3), 1982, pp. 316-317.

¹⁹ Schmidt P., *Historical Archeology: a structural Approach in an African Culture*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1978.

ubushyuhe bw'ubutare kugira ngo umushonge uboneke vuba. Igishyaba cyabaga gifite umurambararo ugenda ugabanuka uhereye ku munwa ujya ku ndiba. Byabaga bibumbye ku buryo bw'imihiro y'ibumba igerekeranye, zigasa n'iziburungushuye nk'umutemeri. Amabondo yabaga asenye n'intoki, rimwe na rimwe ku ruhande rw'imbere hagaragara imirambo y'intoki, naho ku mubyimba inyuma hari imanzi z'imirongo ikebye.

Ariko hari inyibutsa nyinshi zagaragaye zari zifite inkono zikozwe mu matafari y'amabumbano, cyanecyane nk'ayo ku misozi ya Kabuye, Gahondo na Remera. Ku musozi wa Kabuye inzibutso 34 zashyize ahagaragara ibisigazwa by'inkono. Ahafukuye harimo amatafari, inkero z'imivuba, inkamba, amakara n'injyo nkeya (reba ifoto ikurikira):

Igishushanyo cya 4 : Amatafari yabonywe i Muyunzwe (Ikinyejana cya 7)



Ku musozi wa Gahondo, inzibutso 5 zerekanye ibintu bitandukanye, birimo amatafari, ibice by'inkero, amakara, injyo zifite ijosi rifunganye n'amabondo yiburungushuye kandi bikagira akanogo mu ndiba. Naho ku musozi wa Remera, hataburawe igice k'itafari n'ibibaru by'inkero, injyo zifite ijosi rifite impande 3-4 n'urugara rutatse n'imanzi z'urugenyo (reba ifoto ikurikira):

Igishushanyo cya 5: Akajyo kariho ibishushanyo byarangaga ububumbyi bwa Urewe.



Inzibutso z'ibibumbano zo mu gihe cya kera k'icyuma ni nyinshi. Ni ibibumbano byabonetse bibangikanye n'ibikorwa by'ubucuzi. Ibyo bibumbano birangwa n'ijosi rifunganye, bikagira akanogo mu ndiba, bikaba akenshi bitatse n'urugenyo cyangwa imanzi z'imirongo itandukanye ikebye (reba ifoto ikurikira):

Igishushanyo cya 6: Icyungo cyo mu bwoko bwa Urewe gifite intoboro munsi.



Hari ubwo kandi ibyo bibumbano biba biciye imanzi z'inziga zinjiranamo cyangwa imirongo ibangikanye iringaniye, cyangwa utubabi dusa n'ibice by'inziga cyangwa za mpandeshatu. Indiba iba idafukuye cyane, ifite akanogo cyangwa se itanafukuye na

mba. Isuzuma ry'amabondo ryerekanye yuko guhera mu ndiba kuzamura byagiye bikorwa ku buhanga bwo kugerekeranya imihoro y'ibumba igiye yizengurukije. Umubyimba w'ikibumbano ukaba utari munini kandi inyuma hasenye neza ku buryo bunozze.

Ibumba rikoresheye rikaba ryarabaga rivanze n'insibo igizwe n'umusenye w'amasarabwayi, inkurwe ndetse harimo n'utwatsi. Ibubumbano byo byabaga ari bitoya, kandi muri rusange biri mu byiciro bibiri:

- Hari ibubumbano bifite ijosi rifunganye, bikagira urugara n'amabondo yiburungushuye;
- Hari ibubumbano bibwase, bifite amabondo manini, ijosi rifunganye.

Inzibutso zagaragaje ibubumbano byari ku gasi ni nyinshi: hari i Butare, Gishubi, mu Masangano, i Rugobagoba, i Rutare, i Shori.

Mu majyaruguru mu kirombe bacukuramo nyiramugengeri mu Kiguhu, ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Ruhondo, habonetse ibubumbano bifite urugori rugorotse n'indiba ishashe, biciye imanzi z'imirongo igiye iberamye, ndetse imwe igizwe na mpandeshatu. Izo manzi zenda gusa n'izagaragaye ku bubumbano byabonetse mu ishyamba rya Ruhimandyarya (mu Karere ka Rusizi).

Izo nyibutso zose zatanze ibubumbano birangwa n'umusozo w'urugara uciye imanzi z'imirongo iri hagati y'ibiri n'itandatu. Kubitaka bikaba bihera ku musozo, n'uturongo dushushanyije nk'amahwa y'ifi, imirongo itambitse n'ishushe nka mpandeshatu zinjiranamo. Ariko imitako yiganje ikaba igizwe n'imanzi z'imirongo itandukanye.

Mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, ibubumbano byaturutse mu kirombe bacukuramo nyiramugengeri mu Kiguhu, ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Ruhondo byo bifite umwihariko. Imihoro y'ubutaka bwa kera bwerekanye ibubumbano bifite urugara rushinze, indiba ishashe n'urusobe rw'imanzi zigizwe n'imirongo itandukanye²⁰.

Inyinshi mu nyibutsa zagaragaye ahantu hari hasanzwe hari ubweya bufite n'amashyamba make ariko ni gake zagaragaye mu mashyamba y'inkomane. Aho hantu rero ubweya bufite n'ishyamba rike, ijuru ryaho rirahehereye, ubushyuhe bwaho ntibuhindagurika

²⁰ Simon Ph., Annexe 9: La région du lac Burera in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1983, pp. 146.

kandi n'imvura irahagije ku buryo ubutaka bwaho bubereye ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, n'ubucuzi. Ni ko biteye mu karere ka Butare. Ubutumburuke buringaniye bwari bubereye ihinga ry'uburo n'amasaka, byari indyo fatizo yo muri icyo gihe, bwari bubereye kandi ubworozi bw'amatungo maremare. Ibyo kuko imisozi ifite ubutumburuke bwo hejuru itarangwaho isazi za tsetse.

Ibimenyetso bigaragaza ko mu Rwanda ubuhinzi n'ubworozi byakorwaga guhera mu kinyejana cya 3 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ubworozi bukaba ari bwo bwemezwa ndetse kurusha ubuhinzi. Ku misozi iherereye mu magepfo ya Butare, ubutaka bwaho bwarangwaga n'ubweya bufite ishyamba ry'inkomane rifite ibiti binyuranye kurusha ubu, ariko byoroshye gutema kandi bibereye amatungo²¹. Ni muri ako karere, hafi y'inkono yo gushongesherezamo ubutare i Remera habonetse amenyo y'inka, yaba yarabayeho ahagana mu mwaka wa 220 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, ni ukuvuga mu kinyejana cya 3. Ayo matariki akaba ari ayo mu gihe kimwe n'ayerekeye amagufa y'inka n'intama yabonetse i Tongo mu majyaruguru ya Goma ho muri Repuburika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo²² (reba ishusho n'ikarita bikurikira):

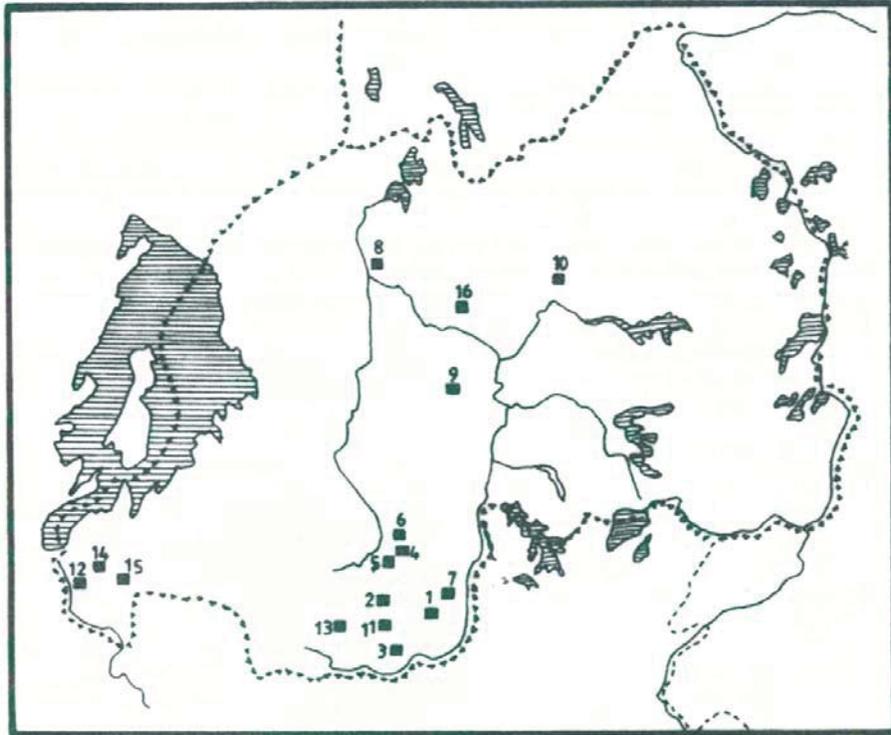
Igishushanyo cya 7: Iryinyo ry'Inka ryabonywe i Remera (Akarere ka Gisagara)



²¹ Van Grunderbeek et al., 1982, *op.cit.*, p.32.

²² Kanimba C.-M., Shumbusho G., *Archaeological and ethnoarchaeological Research in the Zones of Rutshuru and Masisi in Northern Kivu*, Nyame Akuma, 38, 1992, pp. 66-71

Ikarita ya 2 : Ahabonetse ibimenyetso byaranze igihe k'Icyuma cya kera



- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. Kabuye | 9. Rogobagoba |
| 2. Ngoma | 10. Rutare |
| 3. Kansi | 11. Sholi |
| 4. Karubanda | 12. Kabaza |
| 5. Maara | 13. Karavumba |
| 6. Nyirankuba | 14. Mukinanira |
| 7. Gishubi | 15. Ruhimandyarya |
| 8. Masango | 16. Base |

Igihe cya vuba k'icyuma

Icyo gihe cyatangiye ahagana mu kinyejana cya 8 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Cyaranzwe n'ibibumbano bitakishije urugenyo n'ibikoresho byinshi by'ibicurano. Ku nzibutso zimwe nko mu Kiguhu, hagaragaye inkono zitakishijwe urugenyo zivanze n'inkono zitakishijwe imirongo ishushanyije nk'amenyo y'urukero (reba ishusho ya 8 ikurikira):

Igishushanyo cya 8: Ikibumbano kiriho imihiro ku rugara no hagati y'ijosi n'amabondo.



I Kiguhu kandi habonetse injyo z'ibibumbano byari bitatse hakoreshejwe urugenyo, bikaba bisa n'ibyabonetse ku njyo zataburuwe mu Bugarama zari mu umuhiro y'ubutaka bwo hejuru. Aho habonetsemo kandi injyo zitakishijwe imirongo ishushanyije nk'amenyo y'urukero²³. Ibibumbano byo mu Kiguhu n'ibyo mu Bugarama bishobora kuba ari ibyo mu gihe kimwe, nubwo ubushakashatsi bwerekeye icyo gihe ari bukeya. Inzibutso nkeya zavuyemo bene ibyo bibumbano byagaragaje ko ari ibyo hagati y'ikinyejana cya 8 n'icya 10 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ibibumbano byavuye i Mucucu na Cyamukuza ni ibyo mu kinyejana cya 8, naho ibyavuye ku Kameru no mu Kinkomane byabumbwe hagati y'ikinyejana cya 9 n'icya 10²⁴.

I Ryamurari, ahantu hatuwe mu kinyejana cya 17, ubushakashatsi bwashyize ahagaragara ibintu ndangamurage bigizwe n'amagufa. Abahanga mu bumenyi bw'amagufa bakaba bahamya yuko ayo magufa ari ay'amatungo maremare n'amagufi. Amagufa y'amatungo maremare akaba ari ay'inika. Ibihanga bibiri byavumbuwe bikiri byose biri kumwe n'ibisigazwa by'ibindi bihanga byenda kuba birebire, byerekana neza ko ibyo byari ibimasa by'inika zo mu bwoko bwa *Ankole* zari henshi

²³ Simon Ph., 1983, *op.cit*, p. 145.

²⁴ Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Butare, INRS, 1983, p.62.

mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari²⁵. Ibice by'amagufa y'amatungo magufi byo bikaba byaba iby'ihene n'intama. Aho hantu kandi haturutse ingasire n'uduhini duto tukoze mu mabuye dusa n'ibigikoreshwa mu Rwanda iyo basya amasaka cyangwa uburo. Ibyo bibumbano kandi bikaba bitakwa hakoreshejwe urugenyo bazingurizaho.

Ibyo bimenyetso byose bigaragaza uruhare rw'abantu, hamwe n'ibyo bisigazwa by'amagufa y'amatungo maremare n'amagufi bitwereka ko ubukungu ngandurarugo bw'abari batuye aho hantu bwari bushamikiye ku musaruro uturuka ku buhinzi n'ubworozi. Muri icyo gihe guhiga no gusoroma byakorwaga nk'ibyunganira. Iyo ni yo mpamvu inyama z'inyamaswa z'ishyamba n'amafi byaribwaga n'Abanyarwanda bake, ubundi bikaba bibujijwe ku bantu benshi.

Nubwo bivugwa ko igihe cya kera n'icya vuba k'icyuma bitandukanye ku buryo butagaragara cyane, ariko bifite itandukaniro rinini ryerekeye imisusire n'umubyimba w'ibikoresho by'ibibumbano n'iby'ibyuma. Mwene ibyo bikoresho byo mu gihe cya vuba k'ibyuma bifite umubyimba munini kandi bikaba bikoze ku buryo bukwanjitse; gutaka ndetse no gusena umubyimba w'inyuma bikaba bitarakorwaga neza.

Izo mpinduka zikaba zituma hibazwa ibibazo bitandukanye: ese iyo mikorere yazanywe na nde? Ni itsinda rindi ry'abantu baje cyangwa ni iterambere ryo muri ako karere? Nyamara izo mpinduka ntabwo zigaragaza gusa ku byerekeye tekini, ahubwo zinagaragara ku byerekeye iyangirika ry'ibidukikije riturutse ku bikorwa by'umuntu. Ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi byaba byaratumye habaho ubwiyongere bw'abaturage. Abashakashatsi bamwe bakaba bemeza ko iryo vugurura ryaba ryazanywe n'Abarenge (bivugwa na Hiernaux na bagenzi be, Kagame, Kanyamacumbi). Abarenge bivugwa ko bari abo mu bwoko bw'Abasinga bari bafite igihugu cyabo guhera mu burasirazuba bwa Masisi muri Repuburika Iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo kugera ku Kanyaru. Butare ikaba na yo yari iherereye muri icyo gihugu²⁶. Amateka atandutse akaba yemeza ko abo bantu ari bo ba nyiri ibikoresho bikoze mu byuma, bagacukura amariba ku rutare²⁷.

²⁵Tshilema T., «Ryamurari, Capitale de l'ancien royaume du Ndurwa», in Van Noten, *Histoire archéologique du Rwanda*, Annexe 10, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1983, pp. 150-151.

²⁶Kanyamacumbi P., *Société, culture et pouvoir politique en Afrique interlacustre*, Kinshasa, Ed. Select, 2001, p. 232.

²⁷Kagame A., *Un abrégé de l'ethnohistoire du Rwanda*, Butare, EUNR, 1972, p. 27.

2.2 Imiturirwe y'u Rwanda

Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 no mu ntangiriro z'icya 20, ibitekerezo byinshi, ndetse hafi ya byose, byemezaga ko Afurika yatuwe n'abantu bagendaga bahimukira baturutse muri Aziya. Uyu mugabane wa Aziya ukaba warafatwaga kugeza icyo gihe nk'ingobyi y'inyoko muntu n'isoko y'impinduka ndangamuco muri Afurika. Iryo yimuka ry'abantu rikaba ari ryo ryabaye ifatizo ry'ibitekerezo byasobanuraga imiturirwe y'akarere u Rwanda ruherereyemo n'isakara ry'ibikorwa bigize isanzuramuco.

Ni muri icyo kerekezo abakoroni banditse amateka y'u Rwanda, imyandikire yanakomeje nyuma kubera inyungu za poritiki, bavuga yuko imiturirwe y'u Rwanda yabaye ikurikije iyimuka ry'abantu ryagiye rikurikirana mu bihe bitandukanye. Dukurikije iyo myandikire y'amateka y'u Rwanda, bivugwa ko Abatwa ari bo babanje gutura, bakaba bafitanye isano ya hafi n'abandi basangwabutaka bo muri Afurika. Bari batunzwe no guhiga no gusoroma. Bakaba baragiye bigizwa mu ishyamba n'Abahutu baje babasanga.

Ibitekerezo bitandukanye byaratanzwe bigerageza gutanga inkomoko y'Abahutu bitiranywaga na ba Bantu: hari ibitekerezo bihamya ko baturutse muri Oseyaniya, ibindi bikavuga mu Majyaruguru y'Uburengerazuba y'Akarere k'ibiyaga bigari byo muri Afurika (ni ukuvuga muri Cadi, hagati ya Kameruni na Nijeri). Igihe baba baraje gutura cyabanje gushyirwa mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, ariko nyuma kiza kwimurirwa mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Byavugwaga ko mu mwaduko wabo, Abahutu bari batunzwe no guhinga no korora amatungo magufi, kandi bakaba bari bazi gucura mbere cyangwa nyuma yuko batura u Rwanda.

Ibitekerezo bya mbere byerekeye yuko inkomoko y'Abatutsi ari muri Etiyopiya byatangiye kugaragazwa mu kinyejana cya 19. Byavugagwa ko Abatutsi n'Abahima bari basangiye inkomoko n'Abagala bakomoka kuri Semu na Hamu. Abo bantu, nyuma yo kuva muri Etiyopiya, bahanze igihugu cyabo cya Kitara, cyaje nyuma kwigabanyamo izindi mpugu. Abatutsi bo biswe aborozi, kandi amatungo yabo asa n'ay'Abagala afitanye isano n'inka zo mu bwoko bwa Zebu ziba mu Buhinde. Ku bw'ibyo izo nyandiko zikemeza ko abo "bahamite" bakomoka muri Aziya.

Ibitekerezo bishyigikira inkomoko yabo kuri Hamu byari bijyanye n'ingengabitekerezo y'ubusumbane hagati y'amoko. Inyandiko na za raporo z'ingendo zakozwe ndetse n'ibindi bitabo byatangajwe hagati y'umwaka wa 1891 na 1950 byose byamamazaga kandi ku buryo buteguye ishusho yo kwigarurira no gutegeka rubanda rw'Abahutu b'abahinzi bikozwe n'abahamite" b'aborozi. Ibyo bitekerezo bikocamye ni byo byabaye intandaro y'ingenzi y'ubugizi bwa nabi bwagiye bwisubira kenshi kugeza ku bwicanyi bwa gaheza bwa jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994. Tuributsa cyanecyane ibitekerezo byagiraga Abanyarwanda bamwe abasangwabutaka abandi bakaba abimukira, byabaga bikubiye mu mbwirwaruhame za Perezida Kayibanda n'iya Léon Mugesera ubwo yamamazaga amacakubiri (reba mu gice cya 5).

Mu by'ukuri abantu benshi mu miryango yabo bakomeje kwibaza cyane ku kibazo k'inkomoko zabo ariko usanga ibisubizo bikubiye mu migani²⁸. N'umuryango nyarwanda na wo wihangiye imigani kandi urayibungabunga ari na ko uagenda uyiherekanya uko imyaka ihita. Birakwiye rero ko habanza gusuzumwa ibikubiye muri iyo migani mbere yo kwita ku bitekerezo byaje mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 byerekeye imiturire y'u Rwanda.

Kandi impamvu yabyo tugomba kuzirikana ni iyi: Afurika ntabwo ari umugabane abantu bagiye bimukamo gusa, ahubwo ubu Afurika ifatwa nk'ingobyi y'inyoko muntu. Koko rero ni muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba habonetse ibisigazwa by'imibiri y'abakurambere ba kera b'abantu b'uyu muni. Ibyo byagaragajwe n'ubushakashatsi guhera mu gice cya kabiri k'ikinyejana cya 20 byatumye habaho ibitekerezo bishya byerekeye imiturire y'abantu, iterambere ry'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi ndetse n'umwaduko w'ubucuzi.

2.2.1 Amateka atanditse yerekeye imiturire: imigani n'ibitekerezo

Iyo usomye ibitekerezo n'amahame byanditswe n'abamisiyoneri ndetse n'abakoroni ku miturire y'u Rwanda, bigaragara ko umuryango gakondo w'Abanyarwanda wari ufite imyumvire itandukanye cyane n'iy'abo Banyaburayi. Iyo usuzumye imigani Abanyarwanda bagiye bahererekanya uko imyaka yahise, bahamya ko bakomoka ku musekuruza umwe. Ibyo bikaba

²⁸ Bishikwabo C., « Mythes d'origine et Croyances religieuses. Base d'une communauté », in *Centre de civilisation burundaise. La civilisation ancienne des peuples des Lacs*, Colloque de Bujumbura (4-10 Septembre 1979), 1981, pp. 64-80.

bituma ushaka gukurikirana imiturire y'u Rwanda yagombye gusuzuma neza iyo migani. Isuzuma ry'iyi migani n'ibitekerezo ryerekana ko hariho inzira ebyiri zerekeye imiturire y'u Rwanda, ariko zikagira ikita rusange zihuriraho: zombi zishingiye ku bantu babiri ari bo Kigwa na Gihanga.

Mu ntangiriro z'umugani wa *Kigwa* cyangwa se uw'*Ibimanuka*, batubwira ko umukurambere w'Abanyarwanda, ubundi witwa *Shyerezo* mu bindi bitekerezo, cyangwa se *Sebantu* mu bindi, yari asanzwe atuye mu ijuru abana na se w'abantu. Uwo mukurambere akaba yari afite abagore babiri: Gasani na Nyabunyana (hamwe witwa Nyabuhoro cyangwa se Nyampinga). Inkundwakazi ya *Shyerezo* akaba yari Gasani, ariko akaba ingumba mu gihe Nyampinga we yari yarabyaye umwana w'umuhungu witwa *Mututsi* n'umukobwa witwa *Nyampundu*.²⁹ Agiriwe inama n'umuja we, *Gasani* yahishe umutima w'imfizi mu gicuba, akajya abuganzamo amata, amezi ikenda arashira, ari bwo havukagamo umwana w'umuhungu muri icyo gicuba. Uwo mwana yahawe izina rya *Sabizeze* cyangwa se *Mana* mu iyindi migani (rikomoka kuri Rurema, *Imana*). Kubera kuzimura by'Umutwa, *Shyerezo* yaje kumenya imivukire y'uwo mwana *Sabizeze*, arabisha, avuga ko azica uwo mwana. Ni bwo *Sabizeze* yahungaga ijuru aciye mu mwenge. Nyuma ni bwo yafashe izina rya *Kigwa*, waguye aturutse mu ijuru³⁰.

Usomye neza izi nkuru, asangamo ibyiciro bikurikira:

- *Kuza ku isi kwa Kigwa na bagenzi be bitwa Ibimanuka*: baza ku isi, *Sabizeze* yahindutse *Kigwa*. Yashyikiye mu burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda rw'uyu munsi, mu Mubari. U Mubari wategekwe n'umwami Kabeja, wo mu bwoko bw'Abazigaba. *Kigwa* yahageze aherekejwe na mwene se *Mututsi* na mushiki wabo *Nyampundu*, n'umutwa wari hamwe na mushiki we, n'inyamaswa zitandukanye harimo imfizi *Rugira* n'inyana *Ingizi*, imfizi y'intama *Rugeyo* n'inyagazi *Mudende*, imbwa y'impwerumwe *Ruzunguzungu* n'imbwakazi *Rukende*, isake *Rubika* n'inkokokazi *Mugambira*. *Ibimanuka* bazanye kandi imbuto zitandukanye zo kubiba, bazana umuriro n'imyuga ine y'ingenzi ari yo ubucuzi, ububaji, ubukannyi n'ubuhigi.

²⁹ Sebasoni S., *Les origines du Rwanda*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, p. 13. ; Kayishema J.-M., «Mythes et croyances au cœur du génocide au Rwanda », in *Etudes Rwandaises*, n° 9, Septembre 2005, p.45.

³⁰ Kayishema J.-M., 2005, *art.cit.*, p.46.

- *Gushyingirana kwa Kigwa n'abo bazanye ndetse n'inkomoko y'amoko atandukanye: iyororoka ry'itsinda ry'Ibimanuka ryerekanwa mu buryo butatu.*
 - Ku ruhande rumwe, iryo yororoka ryabaye ku buryo bw'amacugane. Kigwa yarongoye mushiki we Nyampundu, babyarana abana babiri byibuze harimo uw'umukobwa witwa Sukiranya;
 - Mututsi kubera gutinya amacugane, yambutse uruzi rw'Akagera ajya hakurya. Mu kugaruka ni bwo yarongoye mwishywa we Sukiranya, babyarana abana batatu: Serwega, Muha na Mukono, ari bo bakurambere b'Abega, Abaha n'Abakono.
 - Ariko hari ibindi bisobanuro byemeza ko habaye gushyingirana hagati y'abo bashya bari baje n'abasangwabutaka: umukobwa (cyangwa umwuzukuru) wa Kabeja yashakanye na Kigwa cyangwa se Kazi ukomoka kuri Kigwa ku gisekuru cya gatandatu. Umuhungu waturutse kuri iryo shyingirana ni Gihanga, wahanze ubutegetsu bw'ingoma y'Abanyiginya.
- *Ivuka n'ubuzima bwa Gihanga, wahanze ubutegetsu bwa cyami bw'Abanyiginya:* Mu mabyiruka ye, Gihanga bivugwa ko yari aherereye mu Mubari (mu burasirazuba), ubundi akaba mu Bugoyi hafi ya Rwerere (mu burengerazuba). Bikaba bigaragara ko Gihanga avugwa ku buryo butandukanye: yasimbuye se cyangwa umukurambere we Kigwa, nk'intwari yazanye imyuga itandukanye (yari umuhungu w'umucuzi na we ubwe akamuba, yari afite ukuboko kwiza mu myuga y'ububaji no gukana), Gihanga yari yiyemeje kugenda yigarurira impugu zari zigize u Rwanda rw'ubu n'ibihugu birukikije nk'u Burundi, i Nduga, u Bukunzi n'u Bunyabungo. Yashyize ikicaró cy'ubutegetsu bwe bwa cyami i Buhanga (muri Musanze) aho amariye kurongora umukobwa wa Jeni, umwe mu bami ba nyuma b'ingoma y'Abarenge (bo mu bwoko bw'Abasinga). Ahanga ingoma y'ingabe yitwaga Rwoga (umukurambere wa Karinga). Gihanga kandi agaragara nk'umukurambere w'ubwami bwose bwo muri aka karere: u Burundi, u Bunyabungo, i Ndorwa, u Bushubi na Karagwe.
- *Ivumburwa ry'inka n'itangira ry'ubworozi butanga umukamo:* ubwo Nyirarucyaba, umukobwa Gihanga yabyaranye na Nyamususa, yahungiraga mu ishyamba

nyuma y'amakimbirane yari yagiranye n'umwamikazi Nyirampirangwe (bamwe bita Nyirantibangwa), yahaye n'umuhigi (bamwe bita Kagesera, abandi Kazigaba) aramurongora. Umunsi umwe uwo muhigi atahana mu rugo inka n'iyayo yonkaga, ni bwo Nyirarucyaba avumbuye akamaro k'amata, amenya gukama no gucunda. Ibyo yaje kubyereka se Gihanga wari warafashwe n'indwara ya macinya maze arakira. Gihanga abifashijwemo n'umupfumu Gakara yaje kuvumbura ahantu hari ishya rinini ry'inka, mu buvumo bwa Rugezi, ariko imfizi Rutenderi iramucika.

- *Kugabana amatungo n'ububasha ku bakomoka kuri Gihanga*: Gihanga yateranije abamukomokaho bose mu nama yabereye i Humure mu Mutara, maze abahungu be abagabanya inka yari afite, abo bahungu kandi ni bo baje guhanga ubwami bwabayeho mu Rwanda no mu bihugu birukikije³¹.

Ibi rero bitandukanye n'ibyanditswe hambere na bamwe mu bashakashatsi ku mateka y'u Rwanda nka Pagès na Delmas³², kuko nta ho tubona muri uyu mugani w'*Ibimanuka* havugwa ubutegetsi cyangwa kwigarurira ubutegetsi bikoze n'ubwoko runaka bw'Abanyarwanda. Ubwoko buvugwa gusa ni umuryango w'Abatwa bari baherekeje Sabizeze, n'undi Mutwa wamennye ibanga ry'uko Sabizeze yavutse. Naho izina "Mututsi" ryo rikoresheya muri uwo mugani nk'izina rya se wa Serwega, Muha na Mukono ntabwo rikoresheya nk'iriranga ubwoko.

Ibitekerezo ku nkomoko y'Abanyarwanda bivuga amoko kugira ngo habe itandukaniro hagati y'abatuye u Rwanda tuzi. Ayo moko yari afite akamaro kanini mu mibereho ya buri munsi. Urugero: nko kuba Abazigaba bari abase b'Abanyiginya aho babaga bagiye gutura bwa mbere. Ayo moko kandi yatumaga habaho kumenya ashobora kurongorana hagati yayo kuruta kujya gushaka mu yandi. Kimwe cya kabiri cy'ako kamaro kagaragara mu mugani w'ihangwa ry'u Rwanda bikerekanwa n'uruhare rwa buri bwoko mu muryango nyarwanda no mu mateka. Muri uwo mugani hagaragaramo ibyiciro bitatu by'amoko:

³¹ IRDP, *Histoire et Conflits au Rwanda*, Kigali, 2006, pp. 7-8 ; Kagame A., *Inganji Karinga*, Kabgayi, 1959 (2e Ed.), p. 21-23. ; Sebasoni S., 2000, *op.cit.*, pp. 14-17.

³² Pagès A., *Un royaume hamite au centre de l'Afrique*, Bruxelles, Marcel Hayez, 1933, p. 107. ; Delmas L., *Généalogie de la noblesse du Ruanda*, Kabgayi, Vicariat Apostolique du Rwanda, 1950.

- Amoko atanga abami bakomoka kuri Gihanga: Abanyiginya, Abashambo, Abahondogo, Abatsobe;
- Amako y'ibibanda, batanga abagabekazi, bakomoka kuri Mututsi: Abaha, Abakono, Abega;
- Amoko y'abasangwabutaka kenshi yitirirwa Abahutu kandi nta soko n'imwe ibyemeza: harimo Abazigaba, Abagesera, Abasinga³³.

Akamaro k'aya moko mu gihe k'imihango yo kwakira abaturage bashya baje gutura ahantu bwa mbere ni ko gasobanurwa n'imigani yerekeye inkomoko yabo. Ni ko Abiru batatu bakuru cyangwa se "abami b'imihango" baturukaga muri ayo moko: Umutsobe, Umukono n'Umusinga. Dushingiye kuri ibyo hari isano hagati y'imigani ya Gihanga, Kigwa n'Ubwiru.

Ikindi kandi twavugaga nuko ibisobanuro bihabwa amoko avugwa mu migani y'inkomoko atari bimwe n'ibihabwa amoko mu kinyejana cya XX, cyanecyane mu gihe cy'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwategekaga Ruanda-Urundi. Muri make, kuva kera Abanyarwanda bivugaga bashingiye ku moko avugwa mu migani y'inkomoko badashingiye ku moko ya Hutu, Tutsi, Twa.

Naho ku byerekeye aho Sabizeze yashyikiye mu Mubari, byaje gusobanurwa nyuma na bamwe mu bashakashatsi, cyanecyane abambari b'intekerezo zifatiye kuri Shemu, nk'aho ari ukuza mu Rwanda kw'Abanyiginya baturutse mu burasirazuba. Iyo bavugaga Abanyiginya kandi byabaga bisobanuye ko bashakira kuvugaga Abatutsi biyibagije yuko mu Rwanda nta bwoko bwari bwihariwe n'itsinda rimwe (Hutu, Tutsi, Twa), tumenyereye kwita ubwoko. Ikindi kigaragara kandi nuko amateka atanditse yerekeye imitirirwe y'u Rwanda nta cyo avugaga cy'uko Abazigaba, Abagesera cyangwa andi moko mbere y'ubutegetsu bw'Abami b'Abanyiginya bari Abatutsi cyangwa Abahutu. Abashakashatsi barimo nka M. d'Hertefelt na J.-P. Chrétien³⁴ bashimangiye ko amoko y'i Rwanda uko ari 18 yari ahuriyemo n'abitwa Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa.

Mu bitekerezo bimwe, bafatira ku mateka ya kera cyane iyo basobanura inkomoko y'Abanyarwanda. Hari urutonde rw'indangabihe rw'abakurambere uko byerekanwa n'amasoko atandukanye:

³³ IRDP, 2006, *op.cit*, p. 8.

³⁴ D'hertefelt M., *Les clans du Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C, 1971. ; Chretien, J.-P., *L'Afrique des grands lacs. Deux mille ans d'Histoire*, Paris, Aubier, 2000.

Imbonerahamwe ya 2: Urutonde ndagabihe rw'Ibimanuka mu Rwanda³⁵

	Raporo ya Guverinoma (1926:54)	Kagame A. (1943,1959)	Pagès A. (1933) A.Albert, 1933	Delmas L. (1950)
1	Nkuba		Randa	Nkuba (Shyerezo)
2	Kigwa		Muntu	Sabizeze (= Kigwa)
3	Mututsi Nyampundu (sic)			Muntu (Umuhungu wa Sabizeze na Nyampundu)
4	Kimanuka		Kazi	Kimanuka
5	Kijuru		Nkuba	Kijuru
6	Kobo		Kigwa	Kobo
7	Merano		Kimanuka	Merano
8	Randa		Kijuru	Randa
9	Muntu		Kobo	Gisa
10	Kazi		Kizira	Kizira
11	Gisa	Gihanga I Ngomijana	Gihanga	Kazi

³⁵ Nkurikiyimfura J.-N., *Un modèle d'exploitation des généalogies accompagné de réflexion sur les chronologies établies à partir de la généalogie dynastique du Rwanda*, Mémoire de D.E.A., Université de Paris I, 1982-1983, p. 7.

12	Musindi (Umuryango w'Abenengwe)	Kanyarwanda I Gihanga		Gihanga, se wa / n'umugore : 1) Nyamususa (umukobwa wa Jeni) : - Sabugabo (Abashambo) - Mugondo (Abahondogo) - Kanyarwanda (Abanyiginya) - Nyirarucyaba (Abacyaba) 2) Nyirampigiye nyina wa Rutsobe (Abatsobe) 3) Nyirampi- rangwe : - Gafomo (bita Gashubi) 4) Nyangobero
13	Kisila Nyamigezi (Umuryango w'Abazigaba)	Yuhi I Musindi	Kanya- rwanda	
14	Gihanga (+ Nyamususa) - Kanyarwanda - Mugondo - Kanyandorwa (+ Nyila- mpingiye) - Rutsobe	Rumeza	Musindi	
15	Kanyarwanda	Nyarume	Rumeza	
16	Musindi	Rukuge	Nyarume	
17	Rumeza	Rubanda	Rukuge	
18	Nyarume	Ndahiro I Ruyange	Rubanda	
19	Lukuge	Ndoba	N d o b a (sic)	
20	Rubanda	Samembe	Samembe	
21	Ndoba	Nsoro I Samukondo	Nsoro	

Ukurikije imbonerahamwe iri hejuru, abakurambere b'Abanyarwanda bakurikiranye mu buryo bw'iherekanya ry'ibihe, nyamara urwo rutonde rutegurwa uko abanditsi babyumva. Ibi bikaba byaba biterwa n'uko amakuru bashingiraho aba aturutse mu nkuru babwiwe n'abaturage, inkuru zishobora kurangwa n'inyongera, kwibagirwa cyangwa n'inyuranya rishingiye ku ntara. Hiyongeraho yuko muri ibyo bitekerezo by'inkomoko, ibyiza n'imyato byitirirwa intwari ebyiri zahanze u Rwanda bigenda bigaruka nk'ibiranga akamaro k'uwo mwami : Kigwa, uba mu ijuru, ukora ibitangaza; Gihanga, uba ku isi, wigarurira impugu. Ibyo bikaba ibimenyetso by'abantu bamwe urebye, bo soko yo gutunga no gutunganyirwa, y'ubuhangange, yo kororoka, yo kweza no gutsinda intambara.

Imigani y'inkomoko ishamikira cyane ku nkingi z'ibihe n'ahantu habera ukubaho k'u Rwanda. Ifasha mu gusobanura no gutegura ingamba z'ubutegets; ituma habaho gukomeza kw'ibikorwa, gusobanura aho abantu batuye n'ububasha bahafite. Kigwa na Gihanga bagaragara nk'abakurambere b'umuryango mugari w'abami b'Abanyiginya uko bagiye bahererekanya ubutegets hagati ya se n'umwana we nubwo rimwe na rimwe atari ko byahoraga bigenda. Muri iyo migani, Gihanga agaragara nk'umwana wa Kazi, wari umucuzi, ko na we yaje gutora uwo mwuga akanongeraho ububaji no gukana impu. Gihanga afatwa nk'umuntu wari ufite impano zo gutunganya isanzuramuco no guhanga ibihugu. Ubwo Gihanga yarambagiraga u Rwanda na zimwe mu mpugu zirukikije, yabaye umugenzi ukomeye cyane w'igitinyiro ku buryo icyubahiro yari afite cyari gihagije kugira ngo igihugu agezemo kimuyobokeye, ubundi akigabire umwe mu bahungu be: rimwe wamusangaga mu Nduga kwa Mashira, mu Bukunzi yaje kuba igihugu cy'abami b'Abavubyi, mu Burundi mu magepfo y'u Rwanda kwa Rugamba, mu Bunyabungo no mu Buhanga ku mwami w'Abasinga Jeni rya Rurenge, umukobwa we Nyamususa akaba yaraje no kurongorwa na Gihanga.

Dukurikije iyo migani nanone, ku butegets bwa Gihanga, igihugu cyaragutse cyane kubera kwigarurira izindi mpugu zari zigikikije. Uhereye mu Mubari ahafatwa nk'ingobyi y'u Rwanda, Gihanga yatunganije ibihugu byari bihakikije, ubundi agirana amasezerano n'ibindi ashingiye ku gushyingirana n'abami babyo. Ni uko yagiranye amasezerano n'umwami w'Umusinga Jeni, uyu amwigishije ibyerekeye inzira z'ubwiru, anamuraga ingoma ye y'ingabe ari yo Rwoga kuko nta muzungura w'umuhungu

yari afite. Gihanga ni we wahanze u Rwanda na we aruraga abahungu be ari bo: Gahutu, Gatwa na Gatutsi. Mu bitekerezo bimwe, bavuga ko Gihanga ari we wabyaye Kanyarwanda, ari na we yaraze u Rwanda. Kanyarwanda na we nyuma abyara abahungu batatu bavuzwe hejuru. Ibitekerezo byo muri rubanda byerekana ibimenyetso bibiri bisobanura uburyo ari Gihanga wahanze u Rwanda. Ibyo bimenyetso ni ibi: Ingoma (y'ubwami) n'inka. Ni yo mpamvu bavuga ngo *Gihanga cyahanze inka n'ingoma*. Ubundi bakamuhimba Ngomijana.³⁶ Ndetse mu bindi bitekerezo batanga ibisobanuro byisumbuyeho, nko kwerekana uko u Rwanda rwagutse.³⁷

Mu rwego rwo guhamya ukuri kw'ibyavugwagwa n'ibyo bitekerezo ku miturirwe y'u Rwanda, hatanzwe ibisobanuro bindi kuri Gihanga. Twavuga nko kuvuga zimwe mu ngo ze yari afite: nko muri Buhanga, mu birometero bike uturutse aha hoze hazwi ku izina rya Ruhengeri, ahantu hari ishyamba hafi y'umugezi wa Mukungwa; nko muri sheferi ya Kibari ku Kangoma. Ibyo binavugwa aha hoze ari misiyoni ya Rurindo, aho bahamya ko Gihanga yari afite urugo ku musozi wa Ruhanga. Ahandi havugwa ko hari urugo rwa Gihanga ni i Nyamirembe ya Humure mu Mutara. Amateka atanditse y'u Rwanda anatubwira abagore n'abana be, ari bo³⁸:

- Nyamususa, umukobwa wa Jeni ya Rurenge, umwami w'Abasinga. Uyu ni we nyina w'abami barimo Sabugabo, se wa Mushambo wahanze ingoma y'Abashambo;
- Nyirampigiye (umuvandimwe wa Nyamususa, ariko bikaba bishoboka ahubwo ko yaba yari umuja we), akaba nyina wa Rutsobe, sekuru w'Abatsobe;
- Nyirampirangwe, ni nyina wa Gafomo, wahimbwe Gashubi wakanze imfizi Rutenderi nk'uko bivugwa mu migani;
- Mugondo, akaba ari we se wa Gahondogo, wahanze ingoma y'Abahondogo, bategekaga Bugesera;
- Gahima wari muto mu bahungu ba Gihanga, ari na we wamusimbuye ku Ngoma y'u Rwanda. Ni we mukurambere w'Abasindi bahimba Abanyiginya mu izina ry'ubwami³⁹.

³⁶Kayishema J.-M., 2005, *art.cit*, p. 49.

³⁷IRD, 2006, *op.cit.*, p. 8 na Nyagahene A., 1997..

³⁸Delmas L., *Généalogie de la noblesse du Rwanda*, Kabgayi, Vicariat apostolique du Rwanda, 1950, p.11.

³⁹Delmas L., *Généalogie de la noblesse du Rwanda*, Kabgayi, Vicariat apostolique du Rwanda, 1950, p.11.

Hanyuma kandi amateka atanditse avuga ahantu Gihanga yahambwe, haba ari Nyamirembe ya Gishubi mu ntara ya Nyanza.

Ibi bitekerezo n'imigani byose byerekeye iturwa ry'u Rwanda ni ibihangano byakozwe bitandikwa, bihuza ireme ry'uburyo bw'imibereho rusange n'ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda rwa kera. Kuvuga ko bitahinduka kwaba ari uguca umugani. Ikibabaje nuko ibikubiyemo byafashwe nk'ukuri kw'ibikorwa byabayeho koko. Bimwe muri ibyo bitekerezo n'imigani byakoreshejwe n'abanyamateka n'abanyaporitiki ku nyungu zabo, maze bashaka ibisobanuro bifite ikerekezo cy'amoko gusa.

Urugero rwivugira ni urwa Maniragaba Baributsa⁴⁰ wabeshyuye ubuvandimwe bwaranze kuva kera abavandimwe batatu b'Abanyarwanda: Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Yateruye igitekerezo ke ashingiye ku mugani w'abahungu ba Gihanga nk'uko wanditswe na Myr Bigirumwami. Umugani utangira uvuga ko Gihanga atari yamenya ibihe by'ihinga n'ibihingwa biberanye na byo. Kubera ibyo bahingaga uko babonye, bityo rimwe imyaka ikera ubundi ikarumba. Igitondo kimwe Gihanga atuma abahungu Gahutu na Gatutsi kwa Kibariro kugira ngo bamubaze ibihe by'ihinga binogeye buri gihingwa.

Abo bavandimwe babiri baragiye bagera kwa Kibariro. Bahageze Gahutu aravunyisha asaba ko bamubwirira Kibariro ko amufitiye ubutumwa buturutse kuri Gihanga. Kibariro amutumaho ko yaza kuza kumureba mbere yuko bucya. Abavandimwe bajya kuryama, ariko Gahutu aza kugira ikibazo cyo kuruka. Gatutsi abibonye arimuka ajya kuryama mu nzu ya kambere, aho Kibariro yari aryanye. Kibariro akangutse abaza umugore we impamvu abahungu ba Gihanga bataje kumubaza amakuru yerekeye ibihe by'ihinga. Avuga ko nibakererwa atari bubakire cyangwa se ababeshya. Nyuma y'ibyo, Kibariro akomeza kuganiriza umugore we amubwira ibihe by'ihinga.

Gatutsi wari uryanye muri icyo nzu amaze kubita mu gutwi, yisubirira mu nzu barimo we n'umuvandimwe we. Mu gitondo, Gahutu arabyuka, asanga Kibariro, uyu amubwira ibinyoma

⁴⁰Maniragaba Baributsa, « Le mythe des fils de Gihanga ou l'histoire d'une fraternité toujours manquée », in Bangamwabo F.-X. et al., *Les relations interethniques au Rwanda à la lumière de l'agression d'Octobre 1990. Genèse, soubassements et perspectives*, Ruhengeri, EUR, 1991, pp. 61-119.

gusa gusa. Buri gihe iyo Gahutu yabazaga Kibariro ibisobanuro, yamusubizaga ko “*avugisha gusa abanyabwenge*”.

Nyuma y’ibyo baratashye, Gihanga ababonye arishima, ababaza ibisubizo by’icyari cyabajyanye. Gahutu asubiza ko Kibariro yamuhaye ibisubizo bitari byiza, kuko yavugaga vuba ku buryo atashoboraga kumukurikira. Ibyo birakaza Gihanga kubona Gahutu, wari mukuru kuri Gatutsi, adashobora kumuha igisubizo kiza. Ni bwo Gatutsi ashize se ku ruhande, amubwira byose byerekeye ibihe by’ihinga n’imyitwarire mibi yaranze Gahutu mu rugendo rwabo. Gihanga ateguka Gatutsi kwica Gahutu ariko Gatutsi aramuhakanira. Ni bwo Gihanga yabwiye Gahutu ko atazaba umukuru w’umuyobozi nk’uko byari biteganijwe, ahubwo ko agiye kuyoborwa na Gatutsi. Kuva ubwo Gahutu akarara adasinziye, maze Gihanga amutegeka kuba umurinzi wa Gatutsi mu ijoro, kandi ko azaba umugaragu we akajya ahabwa amata yo kunywa. Gatutsi nubwo azatakaza inka ariko hari izindi nyinshi zizavuka ku buryo zizororoka kuko yazirazwe. Naho ku byerekeye Gatwa, azakora nk’uheka Gatutsi.

Iki gitekerezo, kimwe n’ibindi twerekanye mbere, byasobanuwe na Maniragaba Baributsa harebwa gusa amoko. Kuri Maniragaba Baributsa ibi bitekerezo bigamije kwerekana ko Umututsi asumbye cyane Umuhutu ashingiye ku nkomoko ye yo mu ijuru, ku bwenge bwe n’izindi mpano ze zitandukanye cyane n’inenge z’Umuhutu n’Umutwa zisobanuye urwego rwabo rwo hasi mu mibereho. Baributsa yateye rero mu rya Delmas wahakanye ko *Ibimanuka* bikomoka mu ijuru.

Kuri we, *Ibimanuka* babayeho mu gihe kimwe n’*Abasita*, abami ba mbere bakomoka kuri Hamu bayoboye u Bunyoro, bwari intara y’igihugu cya kera cya Kitara. Avuga neza ko nta sano bafitanye n’*Abasita*, ariko ko na bo bakomoka kuri Hamu nka bo. Hanyuma yerekana inzira *Ibimanuka* baciye kugira ngo bagere mu Rwanda: “*Mu gihe Abasita baturaga i Bunyoro; bakomeje urugendo rwabo berekeza mu magepfo, baca muri Nkole na Mpororo, mbere yuko bagera mu Rwanda, mu karere ka Mutara...Nubwo uyu mugani uvuga gusa abantu batatu ari bo Sabizeze, Mututsi na mushiki wabo Mpundu, ntabwo bari bonyine bo muri ubwo bwoko; kandi nta shiti bari kumwe n’abagaragu babo b’Abahutu babafashaga kuragira no kurongora amashyo yabo*”⁴¹.

⁴¹ Delmas L., *Généalogie de la noblesse du Rwanda*, Kabgayi, Vicariat apostolique du Rwanda, 1950, p.8.

Aba bashakashatsi bombi bahakanye inkomoko yo mu ijuru y'umukurambere w'Abanyarwanda. Kuri bo iyi migani yose yahimbwe kugira ngo herekanwe ko Abanyarwanda basangiye inkomoko. Ariko si byo kuko bene iyo migani (ibitekerezo) biboneka mu nkuru, ku isi yose, abantu bagenda bahererekanya. Iyo migani n'ibitekerezo bigira akamaro nk'ak'igihango k'imibereho myiza, cya poritiki, mbese ni itegeko nshinga ritanditse, ryo musingi w'ubutegetsi bufite imizi yemewe mu buryo nyemvugo.

Ibitekerezo by'inkomoko ubundi byagombaga kuba umuzi wa kera w'u Rwanda n'ubumwe bwa poritiki busumbye urusobe rw'intara, amoko n'umubano hagati y'abantu, byakoreshejwe mu kwerekana itandukaniro hagati y'Abanyarwanda. Byagiye bihindurwa, bikemezwa mu byiciro byinshi, bikuzuzwa mbere yo kongera gusomwa bisesengurwa n'abanyamahanga no gukoreshwa muri poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu. Ikindi kandi kigaragara nuko umuryango nyarwanda wa kera utari uzi ibyerekeye ibitekerezo by'iyimuka ry'abantu byashimangiwe n'Abanyaburayi ba mbere bageze muri Afurika. Ibyo bitekerezo ni byo byashyigikiwe kandi byamamazwa na bamwe mu benegihugu.

2.2.2 Ibitekerezo bigezweho ku iturwa ry'u Rwanda: ibikubiyemo n'uko bikoreshwa

Ikibazo cy'uko u Rwanda rwagiye ruturwa, ni ikibazo gifite intera ndende muri poritiki n'ingengabitekerezo. Ibyanditswe n'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni banditse ku mateka y'u Rwanda babikoze baranganjwe imbere n'ingengabitekerezo ironda amoko n'ibitekerezo byo gukwirakwira isi byashyizwe imbere cyane mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 no mu ntangiriro z'icya 20. icyaje kubabaza nuko ibyo bitekerezo bivangura amoko bikanazana amacakubiri byaje gusakazwa hirya no hino n'inzego z'itangazamakuru bikanashyigikirwa n'abanyabwenge bamwe⁴² ndetse n'abafite inshingano za poritiki⁴³.

Icyo kerekerezo cyahawe ikirari n'abahanga mu bumenyi bw'imibereho n'imico y'abantu baminuje mu gutandukanya amatsinda y'abantu, barayasumbanyishanya, banemeza ko adakomoka hamwe; ayo matsinda ni yo yaje kwitwa "amoko" ya

⁴² Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.* pp. 19-70

⁴³ Kabwete Mulinda C., «La généalogie de l'idée du peuplement du Rwanda : Considérations sur l'autochtonie des Rwandais », in *Cahiers du Centre de Gestion des Conflicts*, n° 5, 2002, pp. 49-70.

ba Bantu, ba Hamite cyangwa ba Nilotika. Ni muri urwo rwego, bemeje ko u Rwanda rwatuwe n'abimukira bagiye baza mu bihe bitandukanye. Bityo amateka y'u Rwanda yose agira umuzi mu iyimuka ry'"ubwoko" bwaje bwigarurira ubwo busanze kubera bwari bubusumbije ubushobozi. Habanje Abahutu bigaruriye Abatwa babahigikira mu ishyamba, hanyuma haza Abatutsi bo bategetse ayo matsinda yandi baje basanga.

Ikindi gikomeye kandi kibabaje nuko abanyaporitiki benshi babibonyemo inzira yo gushimangira poritiki y'amacakubiri n'ivangura byushirije kuri jenocide. Ikindi kandi ni ugusobanura amateka y'umuryango nyarwanda byagiye bishyigikirwa n'itangazamakuru mpuzamahanga. Gusobanura rero imiturirwe y'u Rwanda byari bishamikiye cyanecyane ku ngingo zerekeye indimi kurusha gushingira ku bimenyetso by'ibisigaratongo cyangwa ubumenyi bw'imibereho y'abantu.

a. Ingingo zishingiye ku ndimi

Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 no mu ntangiriro z'icya 20, benshi mu bahanga mu ndimi bibwiraga yuko abantu bahuriye ku kuvuga ururimi rwa bantu, ururimi rwandikwa bahereye ku magambo batiye mu zindi ndimi nshya, basangiye kubaho, bakora ubuhinzi, ubworozi bari bazi n'ubucuzi. Iyo myuga yamenyekanye cyane ku mugabane wa Aziya ikaba yarageze muri Afurika yo munsu y'ubutayu bwa Sahara izanywe n'abantu bakomoka kuri Hamu. Abo bakomoka kuri Hamu bakaba barafatwaga nk'abirabura ariko bari bafite ubwenge busumbye ubw'abandi, bakaba ari bo bazanye iterambere muri ako gace ka Afurika.

Mu gice cya kabiri k'ikinyejana cya 20, ingengabitekerezo ishingiyeye ku bakomoka kuri Hamu yaje gusimbuzwa iyiswe ko ishingiyeye ku Bantu. Itsinda rya Bantu riba ipfundo ryo gusobanura ingengabitekerezo zose n'amateka y'u Rwanda. Mu rwego rwo kurushaho gusobanura ku buryo bwa gihanga, abahanga benshi mu ndimi bakoresheje amagambo yo mu ndimi za bantu kugira ngo basobanure ibikorwa byerekeye ubuhinzi, ubworozi n'ubucuzi. Gukora batyo bimye agaciro cyangwa biyibagiza abandi Bantu batavuga indimi za bantu bari bari mu Rwanda mbere yuko abavuga indimi bantu bagera mu gihugu.

Biragaragara ko hagendewe cyane ku bisobanuro byaturukaga mu mahanga kandi bashishikarira cyane gushimangira

inkomoko y'abantu n'uko bagiye bimukira mu gihugu. Iby'uko muri aka karere hamye hatuwe kuva kera nk'uko byerekanwe mu gice cya mbere k'iyi nyandiko byarirengagijwe⁴⁴. Birakwiye rero ko hatekerezwa uburyo bwo gukoresha impurirane z'ubumenyi butandukanye mu rwego rwo gusobanura imiturirwe y'u Rwanda n'uko ibikorwa ndangamuco byagiye byigaragaza. Ibyo bikaba bituma ingingo zisobanura imiturirwe y'u Rwanda n'iy'akarere k'ibiyaga bigari muri rusange zikwiye gusubirwamo.

Mu kinyejana gishize cya makumyabiri, inzira nyinshi z'intekerezo zaratanze kuri iyi ngingo y'imiturire. Ni byo dusanga mu nshamake iri mu ngingo enye nk'uko byakurikiranye:

Ikiciro cya mbere kiri ahagana mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 no mu ntangiriro z'icya 20, ni ukuvuga ahagana hagati ya ± 1863 na 1924, gifatiye ku bitekerezo byemeza ko abaturage ba Afurika baba bakomoka muri Aziya⁴⁵. Abatwa n'Ababoshima cyangwa aba Sani, babimburiye abandi gutura, babanje gutura mu ishyamba no mu bweya. Izo ntekerezo zibanze cyanecyane ku myimukire ibiri: abiswe aba Hamite n'aba Bantu. Nyamara itandukaniro hagati y'aba Hamite n'aba Bantu ntabwo ryagaragaraga neza muri icyo gihe. John Speke we yabonaga aba Hamite ari bamwe n'aba Bantu ahubwo batandukanye n'Abatwa (*pygmées*)⁴⁶. Ahubwo ubwo yageraga muri Etiyopiya, yavuze ko Abatutsi bafitanye isano n'aborozi b'Abagala.

Abahanga bamwe basanga aba Bantu ari itsinda rikomoka ku kwivanga kw'Abatwa n'aba Hamite, mu gihe abandi bemeza ko ari ubwoko butandukanye n'ubw'aba Hamite.⁴⁷ Ni muri icyo kerekezo, Von Götzen yavugaga ko Abatutsi ari Abahamite bategeka Abahutu. Uko gutegeka Abahutu bikaba bikomoka ku mugani wa Hamu na wo ufite isoko mu gusobanura nabi ibyanditse muri Bibiriya, aho bavugaga ko amoko aturuka ku ngaruka z'umuvumo w'umwe mu bana ba Nowa, witwaga Shamu, uyu bakavugaga ko ari we mukurambere w'abirabura bagenewe kuba abagaragu b'abavandimwe ba Shamu ari bo Semu na Yafeti. Akarere k'ibiyaga bigari bya Afurika kakaba gafite uruhare

⁴⁴Kanimba Misago C., «Peuplement ancien du Rwanda : à la lumière de récentes recherches », in *Cahiers du Centre de gestion des conflits*, n° 7, 2003, pp. 47-81.

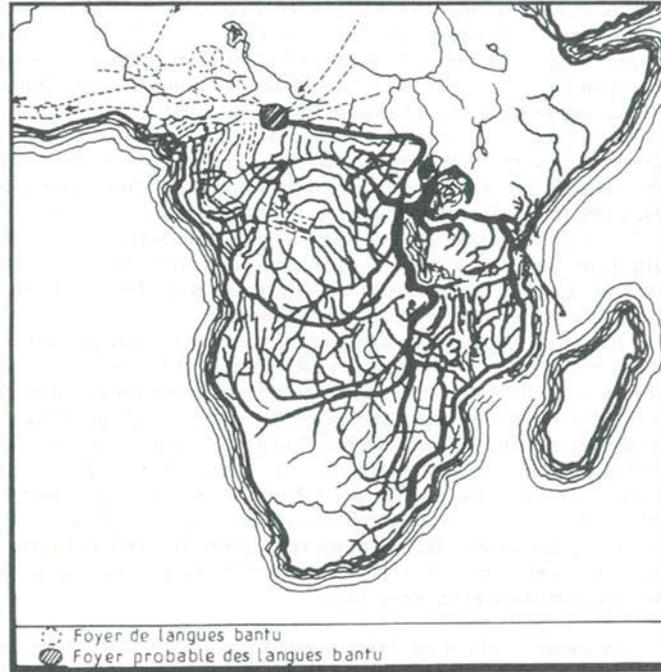
⁴⁵Lepsius, R., *Nubische Grammatik. Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrika's*, Berlin, 1880; Van Oordt J.-F., *Origin of the Bantu*, Cape Town., 1907, p. 5; Müller F., *Allgemeine Ethnographie*, Vienne, Alfred Hölder, 1879.

⁴⁶ Cornevin R., *Histoire de l'Afrique*, Tome II, Paris, Payot, 1966, p. 152.

⁴⁷Johnston H.-H., "The origin of the Bantu", in *Journal of African Society*, 6, 1907, p. 335.

runini rero mu iyandikwa ry'amateka y'ikwirakwira ry'abavuga indimi za bantu⁴⁸ (nk'uko byerekanwa ku ikarita n° 3 ikurikira):

Ikarita ya 3: Inkomoko n'inzira z'imyumukire y'indimi zegereye iza bantu n'indimi za bantu



Bivugwa ko ikwirakwira ryabo ryaba ryaratangiye ahagana mu kinyejana cya 2 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Bitwaje intwaro n'umutungo uhagije, bayobowe n'ibikomerezwa bikomoka kuri Hamu, bagiye bigarurira impugu zari zituwe n'abaturage bake b'abasangwabutaka.

Ikiciro cya kabiri, gihera mu mpera z'imyaka 25 ya mbere y'ikinyejana cya 20 kugeza mu mpera z'intambara ya kabiri y'isi, cyaranzwe no kwibaza ku ishingiro ry'iyimuka ry'abantu baturutse hanze y'Afurika. Guhera ahagana mu myaka ya 1920, ivumbura ry'ibice by'imibiri y'abantu bakurambere (*australopithèques*), cyanecyane mu gice cy'Afurika y'Epfo⁴⁹ byatumye abantu batangira kutemera ibitekerezo byashyigikiraga ko Abanyafurika bakomoka hanze y'uwo mugabane.

⁴⁸Johnston H.-H., *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu languages*, Oxford, 1919-22, p.28.

⁴⁹ Coles M., *The Prehistory of East Africa*, New York, MC Million, 1963.

Nyamara ariko nubwo ibyo byatangiye kugibwaho impaka, ntabwo byabujije ibyo bitekerezo by'iyimuka gukomeza kugira uruhare runini mu iyandikwa ry'amateka. Gusa hatekerejwe cyane ku buryo iryo yimuka ryagiye rigenda, inzira zacibwaga n'amatariki byabereyeho imbere ku mugabane w'Afurika. Ni muri urwo rwego, amateka y'imiturirwe y'akarere k'ibiyaga bigari yashyizwe mu bice bitatu. Abakomoka kuri *Sani* (ari bo *Ababoshima* n'*Abahotanto*) ni bo bagize itsinda rya kera cyane ryaje kubona haza nyuma abitwa *Caucasoïdes*, baje gukurikirwa n'aba *Bantu* bahageze mu gihe cya kera k'icyuma.

Muri icyo gihe, ingengabitekerezo ya *hamite* yarigishijwe kandi irasakazwa cyane mu Burundi no mu Rwanda, aho yahitaga yumvikana ku buryo bwihuse kubera impamvu ebyiri: ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bwabivanagamo ibisobanuro bifite imizi mu mateka kugira ngo busobanure poritiki yabwo yo kwimira bamwe no gutonesha abandi. Abategetsu bakurikiyeho, baba Abatutsi basimbuwe n'Abahutu, bese babigiriwemo kandi babishyigikiwemo n'ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya Gatorika mu Rwanda n'ibihugu byahoze bikoronije u Rwanda, na bo bakomereje muri iyo nzira bayitirira ko ifite ibisobanuro bya gihanga nyamara bagamije gushimangira poritiki y'ivangura yabafashaga kubungabunga inyungu zabo no kugira ngo batinde ku butegetsu.

Ingengabitekerezo ya *hamite* yakomeje gushimangira ibiterekezo bidafite imvano bishyigikira ivangura mu gihe cy'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni ku ruhande rumwe, hanyuma ku rundi bibangikana n'ibifatiye ku ngengabitekerezo ya *bantu*, byagize uruhare runini mu ishimangirwa ry'irondakoko nyuma y'ubwigenge. Uko ibihe byahitaga ni ko hagendaga havugwa cyane ko amoko atandukanye, bishingikirije impamvu zidafite imvano n'ibinyoma bitandukanye. Ibyo byose byamamazwaga cyane n'inyandiko zerekeye imibereho y'abantu, za raporo z'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi n'abamisiyoneri, ariko cyanecyane inyigisho zo mu mashuri, amenshi yayoborwaga n'abamisiyoneri.

Abategetsu gakondo b'Abatutsi bishimiye iyo migirire kubera ko yabahaga ibisobanuro by'ukwikanyiza kwabo kwari gushyigikiwe kandi gukomezwa n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bwashimangiye ingamba z'umutekano w'imbere n'inyuma y'igihugu. Kwitegereza iyo migirire yose byatumye Abatutsi bari bashyigikiwe bumva babyishimiye naho rubanda rutabonaga ku byiza by'igihugu birushaho kubatera kumva bahejwe⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ Chrétien J.-P., 2000, *op.cit.*, pp.163-164.

Ikiciro cya gatatu cyaranzwe no gukemanga bikomeye ibitekerezo bya hamite n'impaka zitoroshye ku byerekeye inkomoko y'indimi za bantu.⁵¹ Isoko n'inzira zaciwe mu isakazwa ry'indimi za bantu byakuruye ibisobanuro bitandukanye⁵². Umugani w'abahamite wahimbwe mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 mu rwego rwo gusobanura ibyarangaga isanzuramuco muri Afurika wararwanyijwe ahagana mu myaka ya 1949 maze bigaragara ko nta kuri wari uhatse ahagana mu myaka ya 1954⁵³. Mu by'ukuri nta muntu utuye ku isi w'umuhamite⁵⁴. Muri icyo gihe, ibitekerezo bishimangira ikwirakwira ry'aba bantu ni byo byamamaye mu gusobanura imiturirwe y'Afurika yo hagati, y'iburasirazuba n'iyi mu magepfo. Ubwo abahanga mu bumenyi bw'imibereho y'abantu, abo mu bumenyi bw'ibisigaratongo n'abahanga mu iyigandimi barushanijwe mu gushaka ingingo za gihanga zishyigikira ibyo bitekerezo⁵⁵.

Ikiciro cya kane cyaranzwe cyane n'ingingo ya Greenberg yemeza yuko isoko ya bantu iri mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba y'intara yitirirwa ba bantu uyu muni. Iyo ngingo yashyigikiwe n'abahanga mu iyigandimi benshi. Ikwira ry'abantu bavuga indimi za bantu ryerekanwa n'ikarika yakozwe n'abahanga mu iyigandimi bo muri Kaminuza ya Cologne, ari bo Heine B., Hoff H. na Vossen R.⁵⁶. Iyo karita yerekana uko bakwirakwiye, inzira baciye n'ibyiciro byaranze iryo sakara. Ikwira ry'ururimi rukurambere rw'indimi bantu ryaba ryaratangiye ahagana hagati y'imyaka y'ibikumbi 3500 na 5000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu naho

⁵¹ Murdock G.-P., *Africa: its people and their culture History*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1959.

⁵² Greenberg J., *Languages of Africa*, la Haye, Mouton, 1963, p. 38.; Murdock G.-P., *op.cit.*, pp. 279-291.; Guthrie M., "Bantu origins", in *Journal of Africa Languages*, 1(1), 1962, pp. 9-21.; Heine B., "Zur genetischen Gliederung der Bantu Sprachen", in *Afrika und Übersee*, 56, 1973, pp. 164-185.; Heine B., Hoff H. et Vossen R., "Neuere Ergebnisse Zur Territorialgeschichte der Bantu", in Möhlig W, Rottland F. et Heine B. (éds.), *Zur sprachgeschichte und Ethnohistoire in Africa. Neue Beiträge africanistischer Forschungen*, Berlin, Reimer, 1977.

⁵³ Greenberg J., "Linguistic Evidence regarding Bantu Origins", in *Journal of African History* 13(2), 1972, pp. 180-216.

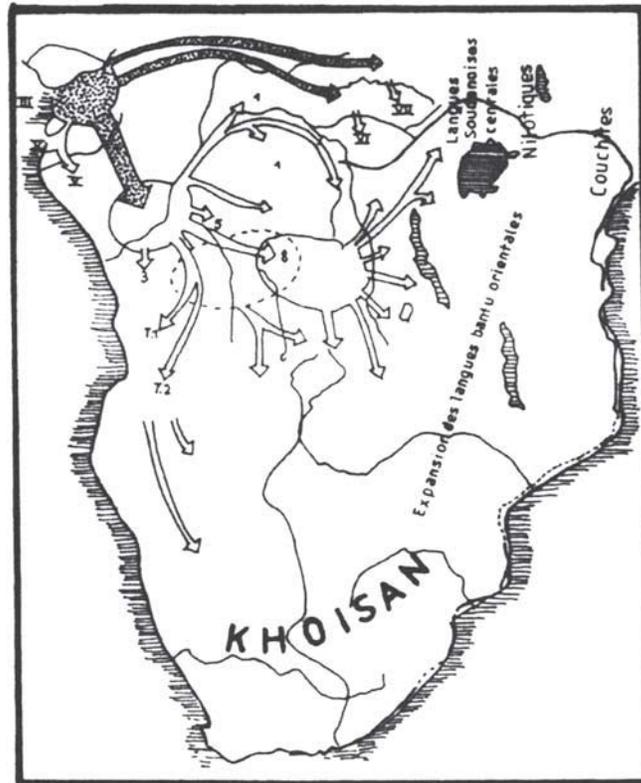
⁵⁴ "It would be well-nigh impossible to point to an individual and recognize in him a Hamite according to racial, linguistic and cultural characteristics to fit the image that has been presented to us for so long. Such an individual does not exist" (Sanders, E.R., "The hamitic hypothesis; its origin and functions in time theories").

⁵⁵ Murdock G.-P., 1959, *op.cit.*, pp. 279-291.; Hiernaux J., "Bantu expansion: the evidence from physical anthropology confronted with linguistic and archaeological evidence", in *Journal of African History*, IX, 4, 1968, pp. 505-516.; Posnansky M., "Bantu genesis. Archaeological reflexion", in *Journal of African History*, 9(1), 1968.

⁵⁶ Heine et al., 1977, *op.cit.*, 71

itsinda ryerekeje mu burasirazuba ryo riza mu wa 3000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu⁵⁷. Ibyo bisobanuro byemewe n'abahanga benshi mu byerekeye ibisigaratongo, ndetse banagerageza kubishyigikira batanga amatariki ahamya igihe hariyeho hagagarira ubumenyi bwitirwa aba bantu (Reba ikarika ya 4 n'ya 5 zikurikira):

Ikarita ya 4: Ikwira ry'indimi za bantu: ibihe n'inkomoko z'isakara

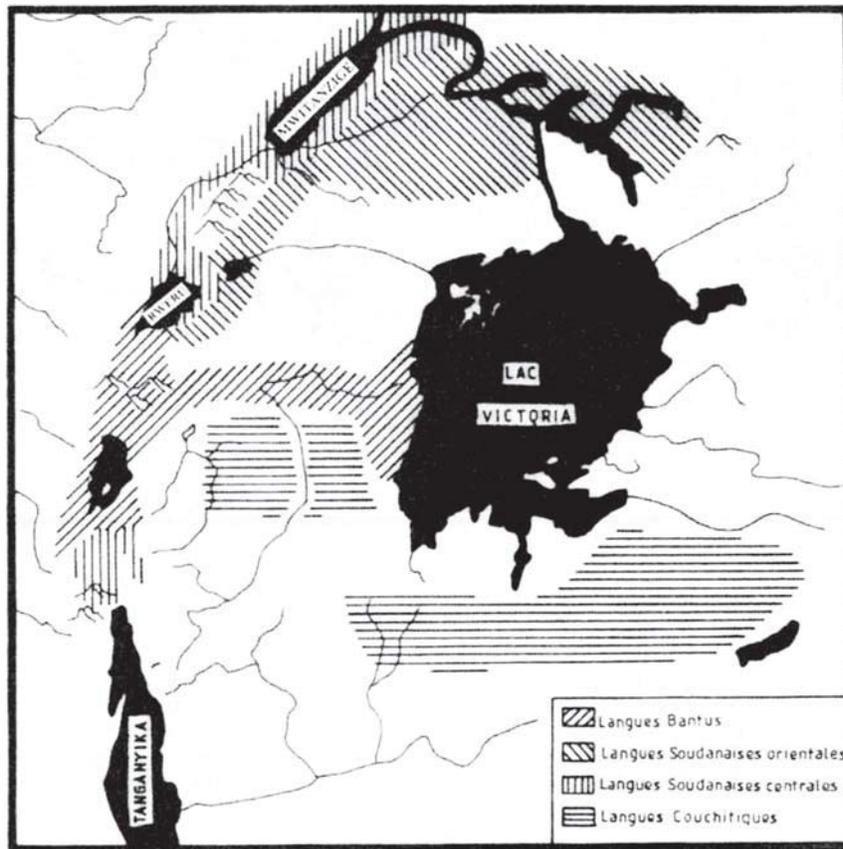


Uburyo bwa kabiri bw'ibisobanuro, bushyigikira ko habayeho iterambere ritandukanye ry'indimi za bantu zikomoka iburasirazuba n'iz'iburengerazuba. Abavuga izo ndimi za bantu mu burasirazuba baba barahereye ku isoko yabo, iherereye ku rubibi rwa Nijeriya na Kameruni, bakazenguruka ishyamba ryo hafi ya toropiki mu majyaruguru, ubundi bagakwirakwira mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari, hanyuma bagaturuka aho basakara muri

⁵⁷Ehret C., "The first Spread of Food Production to Southern Africa", in Ehret C., Posnansky M. (éd), *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*, 1982, pp. 158-181.

Afurika y'uburasirazuba n'ayo mu magepfo (byanditsweho na: Coupez n'abandi, 1975; Bastin n'abandi, 1983; Vansina, 1984).

Ikarita ya 5: Aho amatsinda y'indimi zivugwa mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari zari zihereye hagati y'imyaka ya 1000 na 500 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu.



Ubumenyi bw'ibisigaratongo bukaba bwaratumye ibisobanuro bishingiye ku mateka byari byatanzwe bisubirwamo, cyanecyane butanga amatariki yashingirwaho mu gutanga ibisobanuro ku mateka ya kera⁵⁸. Kubera iyo mpamvu ibisobanuro byari bigezweho mu gice cya kabiri k'ikinyejana cya 20 byarushijeho gukurura impaka ndetse bimwe ntibyakomeza gufatwa nk'ukuri

⁵⁸Phillipson D.W., «L'expansion Bantoue en Afrique orientale et méridionale les témoignages de l'archéologie et de la linguistique», in Bouquiaux L. (éd.), *L'expansion bantoue. Société des Etudes linguistiques et anthropologiques de France*, Paris, 1997, pp. 649-684.

gusesuye⁵⁹. Nubwo isesengura ryimbitse rishamikiye ku iyigandimi ryaba ryarerekanye ko ingingo zisobanura ikwirakwira ry'itsinda ry'indimi za bantu ziturutse mu burengerazuba bw'akarere k'ibiyaga bigari zigifitiwe ikizere, haracyariho gushidikanya ku byerekeye intangiriro, imvano, amatariki, ubunini n'ibirari by'amasibo y'abimukira.

b. Ibisobanuro bishingiye ku bumenyi bw'abantu

Kugeza mu myaka iheruka, ibisigazwa by'imibiri y'abantu bakurambere byatahuwe muri Afurika yo munsu y'ubutayu bwa Sahara byashyizwe mu byiciro bine dusanga mu turere dutatu: abakurambere b'abirabura bo muri Afurika y'u Burengerazuba, abakurambere b'abanyaburayi n'abakurambere b'abakoyisa bo muri Afurika y'u Burasirazuba n'iyoy mu Magepfo n'impunyu zo mu ishyamba ry'inzitane kandi hari ubukonje. Amateka y'imiturirwe y'Afurika y'u Burasirazuba, ashingiye kuri iyo myumvire, na yo yashyirwaga mu byiciro bitatu: amatsinda y'abakurambere b'Ababoshima cyangwa Abakoyisa ni bo babanje gutura mbere yuko haza abakurambere b'abakokaze baje baturuka mu majyaruguru y'Afurika. Aba ni na bo bitiriwe umwaduko w'inganda z'amabuye zitiriwe i Kapu n'udushya two mu bihe by'isenabuye.

Kugera kw'abakurambere b'abirabura muri Afurika yo hagati, iy'uburasirazuba n'iy'amagepfo byahujwe n'isakara ry'indimi z'abantu bavuga indimi zo mu itsinda rya bantu. Iyo mitekerereze yagize igihe kinini yemerwa cyane nubwo biturutse ku bikanka byavumbuwe mu karere ka Afurika y'ibiyaga bigari n'iy'u Burasirazuba, byatangiye gukemangwa⁶⁰. Ibisigazwa byaturutse ahantu hatandukanye muri ako karere k'Afurika byatumye hafatwa imyanzuro y'agaciro mu mateka y'imiturirwe y'Afurika yo hagati n'iy'uburasirazuba:

1) Itsinda ry'abakurambere b'abirabura ryageze muri Afurika yo hagati ishyira iy'uburasirazuba guhera ahagana mu mpera z'ikibariro cya 4 k'imibereho y'isi. Mu kibaya cya Kenya, igikanka cy'umuntu witiriwe uwo ku musozi wa Lukenya byavuzwe ko yabayeho ahagana mu myaka ya 17,600 mbere

⁵⁹Lugan B., 1997, *op.cit*; Chretien J.-P., *op.cit*.

⁶⁰Bräuer G., "The morphological differentiation of anatomically modern Man in Africa", in *Zeit. Morph. Anthropol*, 69(3)-1978, pp.266-292.

y'ivuka rya Yezu⁶¹. Ibyo bisigazwa bikaba byarahawe amatariki amwe n'ay'ibiyagaragaye mu majyaruguru y'ikibaya cya Semiliki. Muri icyo kibaya hari ahantu henshi hatahuwe ibikanka by'abantu. Kuri site ya 11 y'i Shango, ahantu haherereye ku mweya w'uburengerazuba bw'ikiyaga cya Rwicanzige, ku muhiro w'ubutaka ubanza hasi hataburuwe ibihimba bigera kuri makumyabiri. Ibyo bihimbwa bikaba ari iby'abantu baba barabayeho ahagana hagati y'imyaka 20000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Aho hataburuwe kandi amagufa 2 mu gice cy'ahantu amazi yakamye ahagana hagati y'imyaka ya 6890 na 6815 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ku kirometero kimwe uturutse aho kuri site ya 11 y'i Shango, hari site ya 14 na yo y'i Shango yatanze igikanka cy'umuntu basanze mu gice kiri hagati yu umuhiro w'ubutaka n'urugero rw'aho amazi yahoze atarakama. Uwo muntu akaba yarabayeho ahagana mu myaka ya 20000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Naho site ya Katanda² yerekanye ibikanka by'abantu baba barabayeho ahagana mu myaka isaga 18000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu⁶².

2) Ibikanka byinshi byari byaritiriwe amatsinda y'abakurambere b'abakoyisa cyangwa abanyaburayi ubu byashyizwe mu itsinda ry'abakurambere b'abirabura. Igikanka cy'umuntu cyabonetse kuri site y'i Shango ya 11 gishushe cyane n'iby'abantu bo muri iki gihe bavuga indimi zo mu itsinda ry'indimi za Nilotika n'iry'indimi za bantu. Naho ibikanka bya kera, byataburuwe mu mihiro y'ubutaka bwo hagati y'imyaka ya 25000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu no munsu ya 6890 ± 75 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu byo biri mu itsinda ry'ibisigazwa by'imibiri y'abakurambere b'abirabura yavumbuwe muri Afurika y'Uburengerazuba n'iyi mu Majyaruguru⁶³.

⁶¹Rightmire G.-P., "Problems in the study of later Pleistocene Main Africa" in *American Anthropologist*, 77, 1975, pp.28-51.; Gramly R.M. et Rightmire G.-P., "A fragmentary cranium and dated Late Stone Age assemblage from Lukenya Hill, Kenya", in *Man* (N.S.) 8 (4), 1973, pp. 57-79

⁶²Brooks, A.S., Smith C.C. 1987, "Ishango revised: New Age Determination and cultural Interpretations", in *African Archaeological Review*, 5, pp.72-75.; Boaz N.T., Pavlakakis, P.P. et Brooks, A.S., "Late Pleistocene – Holocene human Remains", in Boaz N.T. (ed), *Evolution of Environments and Hominidae in the African Western Rift Valley*, Martinsville, Virginia Museum of Natural History, 1990, pp. 291-298.

⁶³Brooks, A.S., "Late Pleistocene – Holocene human Remains", in Boaz N.T. (ed), *Evolution of Environments and Hominidae in the African Western Rift Valley*, Martinsville, Virginia Museum of Natural History, 1990, pp. 291-298.

3) Urusobe rw'amatsinda y'abantu batandukanye bashingiye ku hantu batuye byo ni ibya kera.

Ntabwo rero bikwiye gushingira ku buryo abantu bagiye bimuka ngo hasobanurwe itandukaniro hagati y'amatsinda y'abantu bariho ubu. Ariko kandi urusobe rw'imibereho itandukanye iranga abantu bo muri iki gihe si rwo rwarangaga abantu bo mu gihe mbanzirizamateka. Imiryango y'abantu ihora ihinduka; buri gihe yakira imigirire mishya kubera kuyakira cyangwa kuyivanga n'iyabo.

Ibimenyetso by'ibisigaratongo byerekeye imiturire ya kera bigizwe n'ibikoresho byahanzwe cyangwa byakoreshejwe, inyubako n'ibindi bimenyetso byasizwe n'abantu nk'uko byagaragajwe mu gice cya mbere cy'uyu mutwe ahavugwaga aho ubushakashatsi bugeze muri iki gihe. Ibyo bimenyetso ariko ntabwo bihagije kubera ko ubwo bushakashatsi butaragera kure; ubuheruka ni ubwo mu myaka ya 1980 kandi na bwo bukorerwa ahantu hake cyane⁶⁴.

Guhuza ibimaze kugerwaho nk'uko byagaragajwe hejuru byatuma hatangwa inzira zashingirwaho mu kwandika amateka y'akarere k'ibiyaga bigari n'ay'u Rwanda. Gusoma usesengura amateka y'imiturire ya vuba bisaba kuzirikana ku byagezweho n'ibikorwa by'ubushakashatsi bwakozwe mu bumenyi bunyuranye: imihindagurikire y'ibidukikije guhera mu gihe cya nyuma k'ikibariro cya 4 k'imibereho y'isi, ubumenyi bw'ibisigaratongo, iyigandimi, n'amateka atanditse.

Nubwo ibyavumbuwe mu rwego rw'ibisigaratongo bikiri bikeya urebye aho ubushakashatsi bwabereye n'igihe bwamaze, ibyo byose bituma imbibe z'amateka y'imiturire y'u Rwanda zimurwa zikava mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu nk'uko byakunze kwandikwa. Hashingiwe ku miterere y'ijuru ry'akarere u Rwanda ruherereyemo, bigaragara ko hatuwe kuva kera. Iyo miturire ikaba ihamywa n'ibikoresho bikoze mu mabuye, byaba ibikoze mu magufa y'inyamaswa, byaba ndetse n'ibisigazwa by'imibiri y'abantu biranga ibihe byose mbanzirizamateka. Rimwe na rimwe ibyo bikoresho byabaga biherekejwe n'ibihangano bitandukanye (imitako, imitamirizo,

⁶⁴ Nenquin J., "Contribution to the Study of the prehistoric cultures of Rwanda and Burundi", in *Annales, Série 8, Sciences humaines*, n° 59, Tervuren, Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1967, pp.17-19.

ibibaje n'ibishushanyo biri ku nkuta z'ubuvumo) bitumenyeshya imiterere y'umuco n'ubugeni bw'abo baturage.

Ariko dukwiye kwirinda kwitiranya uko abantu babaye muri aka karere kacu kuva mu myaka isaga ibinyagihumbi amagana n'imiturire y'abakurambere b'Abanyarwanda. Aba bakurambere batuye u Rwanda mu binyagihumbi bibiri bya nyuma mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu. Ntibinakwiye kandi ko twakwitirira iyo miturire n'iyimuka ry'amatsinda y'abantu, nk'ikwira ry'abantu bavuga indimi za bantu. Amateka y'imiturire ntakwiye kandi kwitiranywa n'ibivugwa n'imigani y'inkomoko ivunagura uruhererekane rw'ibikorwa byaranze amateka, igahuza ibihe bya kera bitandukanye hagamijwe gushyira intangiriro y'amateka mu ihangwa ry'ibihugu tuzi.

Ahagana mu mpera z'igihe cyo hagati k'ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi, abaturage bari baturiyeye inzuzi n'ibiyaga, bari batakimuka hato na hato mu myaka ya 25000, bari batunzwe n'ubuhigi, uburobyi no gusoroma. Guturira ibiyaga byaje gushimangirwa kandi n'ubwinshi bw'ibiribwa kamere nk'amafi yo mu mazi ndetse n'imiterere y'ijuru yari ibereye abantu. Ni muri urwo rwego habayeho iterambere rikomeye ry'ibikoresho bifashishaga mu buhigi no mu burobyi. Muri ibyo bihe hagaragaye inganda zitandukanye; mu ishyamba hari ibikoresho bibaje ku mpande zombi, mu gihe mu Bweya ho harangwaga n'ibikoresho bito bisenye mu mabuye.

Abarobyi bari batuye ku nkombe z'ibiyaga bo bateje imbere inganda z'ibikoresho bikoze mu magufa byarangwaga cyanecyane n'indobani. Izo nganda, za kera cyane mu kibaya cya Semiliki kurusha ahandi, ni ho zaturutse zikwirakwira muri Sahara, mu kibaya cya Nili no muri Afurika y'Uburasirazuba⁶⁵. Muri make rero aka karere kari isangano n'inkomoko ya byinshi biranga isanzuramuco guhera mu myaka ibihumbi ishize. Ahagana rwagati mu gihe gisoza ikibariro cya kane k'imibereho y'isi, imiturire yaranzwe n'urusobe rw'impinduka kandi ishingira cyane ku mpinduka z'ijuru ry'akarere. Amatsinda atandukanye yagiye atura mu turere dutandukanye, bityo abantu baturanye bagahurira ku mpinduka z'imibereho y'ibinyabuzima n'aho biba, bakagira kandi n'uburyo bw'imibereho n'ubukungu bisa.

⁶⁵Feinzelin J., *Les fouilles d'Ishango*, Brussels, Institut des Parcs Nationaux du Congo belge, 1957.

Kugeza ahagana mu mwaka wa 2000 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, aka karere kari gatuwe n'abantu batunzwe no guhiga no gusoroma, biyambaza ibikoresho bikoze mu mabuye. Ariko ahagana mu mpera z'ikinyagihumbi cya mbere mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, aborozi bavugaga ururimi rwo mu itsinda ry'indimi za *nili na sahara* (izo muri Sudani yo hagati n'iz'inkurambere za nilotika) n'iry'iza *kushite* baturutse mu majyaruguru no mu burasirazuba bw'aka karere baje kuhatura⁶⁶. Itsinda ry'abavuga indimi za *nili na sahara* batuye kuva muri Uganda y'ubu kugeza ku kiyaga cya Tanganyika naho itsinda ry'abavuga indimi za *kushite* batura mu magepfo n'iburasirazuba bw'ikiyaga cya Victoria, bakaba ari na bo baba barageze mu burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda no mu Burundi nk'uko tuhazi muri iki gihe.

Usibye ubutunzi bw'amatungo maremare, aya matsinda mashya yakoraga n'ubuhinzi bw'ibinyampeke nk'amasaka n'uburo. Ibyo bihingwa bikaba byaramenyereye n'abantu mu karere gaherereye hagati y'igihugu cya Cade (Tchad) n'icya Etiyopiya. Ni muri icyo gihe kandi irindi tsinda ry'abavuga indimi zo mu itsinda rya bantu baturutse mu burengerazuba baza gutura muri aka karere. Batura mu gice gihereye hagati y'ibiyaga bya Rwicanzige na Kivu no kugera mu burengerazuba bw'ikiyaga cya Victoria (reba ikarita ya 5). Abagize iri tsinda bahingaga ibinyabijumba n'ibinyamisongwe nk'ibikoro n'ibishyimbo by'inkori⁶⁷.

Mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, kubumba no gucura ni ho byageze muri aka karere. Mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, iyo myuga yakwirakwiye henshi, nyamara biragoye guhamya itsinda riri ku isonga mu kwadukana iyo myuga. Muri rusange mu binyagihumbi bya mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu hari ibikorwa bitatu by'ibanze byaranze iterambere ry'ubukungu, imibereho myiza na poritiki muri aka karere:

- Iyimuka ry'amatsinda y'indimi aturutse mu ntara zitandukanye,
- Iyaduka ry'ububumbyi n'ubucuzi,
- Ikwirakwira ry'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi.

Amatsinda mashya y'indimi yaturutse mu majyaruguru no mu

⁶⁶Lugan B., *Histoire du Rwanda. De la préhistoire à nos jours*, Paris, Bartillat, 1997. ; Chrétien J.P., 2000, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

⁶⁷ Schoenbrun D.L., "We are what we eat: an ancient Agriculture between the great Lakes", in *Journal of African History*, 34, 1993, pp 1-31. ; Schoenbrun D.L., "A green Place, a good Place. Agrarian Change, Gender, and Social Identity in the Great Lakes Region to 15th Century", in *Social History of Africa*, Heinemann, 1998, pp.41-43.

burengerazuba yimukira mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari. Hagati y'ikinyejana cya 7 n'icya 3 mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu, ni bwo hakwirakwiye ubuhanga bwo gushongesha ubutare bw'icyuma nk'uko byerekanwa n'ibisigazwa by'amatafari y'inkono bashongesherezagamo n'inkamba. Kuri ibyo bimenyetso by'ubucuzi hiyongeraho ibikomoka ku bubumbyi byenda gusa hose mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari. Muri icyo gihe cyose ndetse no kugeza mu ntangiriro za nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, abantu bari baturiyeye aka karere bari mu matsinda afite ubuzima butandukanye. Amatsinda amwe akaba yaratungwaga no gusoroma no guhiga, hakiyambazwa ibikoresho bikoze mu mabuye naho andi matsinda akita ku bworozi n'ubuhinzi, akiyambaza ibikoresho bikoze mu cyuma.

Birakwiye kumenyekana ko ibimenyetso by'ubworozi n'ubuhinzi bwakorwaga mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu bikiri nkene. Nyamara haba mu majyaruguru cyangwa se mu burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda, uherye muri Sudani ukagera muri Kenya, iyo myuga yombi, yerekeye guhinga ibinyampeke no korora, iraharangwa kandi ibyo byahamijwe guhera mu kinyagihumbi cya gatatu mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu⁶⁸. Dushingiye kuri ibyo, kandi turebye uko u Rwanda rusa n'ururi mu muhora waciwemo n'abaganaga gutura mu magepfo, byatuma twemeza u Rwanda rwakiriye za tekini zo kubona ibyo kurya mbere yuko zigera mu turere tw'amagepfo y'Afurika muri rusange. Gusa ubworozi bw'intama bwo bukomoka ku nkombe ya Kapu mu kinyejana cya mbere mbere y'ivuka rya Yezu⁶⁹.

Mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere (nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu) ayo matsinda y'abaturage baturutse mu bice bitandukanye bashoboye guhererekanya ubuhanga mu by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi n'ubwerekeye ibimera n'amatungo atandukanye. Ubwo bumenyi butandukanye ndetse n'ubwerekeye gutunganya icyuma ni byo byatumye abagize ayo matsinda bashobora kwihanganira impinduka zitandukanye z'ibidukikije zabayeho. Ni mu kinyejana cya 3 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, gutunganya icyuma byamamaye kurushaho; ibyo bikaba byaratewe ahari no guhahirana n'ibice by'iburasirazuba.

⁶⁸ Robertshaw P., "The Elmenteita: an early Food-producing culture in East – Africa", in *World Archaeology* 20 (1): 1988 : 59-69.; Sutton J.E.G., "Prehistoire de l'Afrique orientale", in Ki-Zerbo J. (dir), *Histoire générale de l'Afrique I. Méthodologie et Préhistoire*, Paris, Stock, Unesco, Jeune Afrique, 1980, pp. 489-527.

⁶⁹ Avery G., "Discussion on the age and the use of tridal fish-traps", in *South Africa. Archaeological*, Bull. 30, 1975, pp. 105-113.

Ahagana mu kinyejana cya 7 n'icya 8 nyuma y'ivuka rya Yezu, ni bwo hadutse ubundi bwoko bushya bw'ibibumbano butari butatse cyane kandi butanonosoye. Gusa byari bifite ubunini bukabije kandi bitandukanye ku buryo bugaragara mu mibumbirwe yabyo. Impinduka zabaye mu bikorwa ndangamuco n'iterambere ryabaye mu rwego rwa tekini zaba kandi zaranabaye mu zindi ngeri nk'ubukungu, imibereho myiza na poritiki. Guturana igihe kirekire kw'ayo matsinda y'abantu kwatumye habaho guhuza ingeri z'umuco n'imiterere y'umubiri, hanyuma n'indimi zari zitandukanye n'izo mu itsinda rya bantu. Iyo nzira yo guhuza yatangiye kandi guhura kw'abo baturage kukiba.

Igabanyamo kabiri ryoroheje ritandukanya aborozi b'Abatutsi n'abahinzi b'Abahutu rikomoka gusa ku ngengabitekerezo y'irondamoko n'amacakubiri. Naho gukomera kuri umwe muri iyo myuga bigaragara nk'uburyo bwo gushaka igisubizo cya ngombwa cyo kuzuzanya no kumenyera imiterere itandukanye y'ahantu nk'uko yagiye ihindagurika biturutse ku bikorwa bya muntu. Ibyo kandi birumvikana ko mu turere twose tw'u Rwanda iyo gahunda itagiye umujyo umwe cyangwa ngo igire uburemere bungana.

Mu by'ukuri rero ihererekanya ry'ibihe ryerekeye imiturire y'amatsinda tuzi kuri ubu nk'uko tubisanga mu bitabo by'amateka y'u Rwanda nta shingiro bifite mu rwego rw'ubuhanga. Inyandiko zerekeye ibisigaratongo n'izerekeye ubumenyi bw'imibereho y'abantu zihamya imiturire y'amatsinda y'abantu bavugaga ururimi rutaramenyekana ariko rugomba guhabwa agaciro mu iyandukura ry'ibyabaye. Birakwiye rero ko ayo makuru na yo yashyirwa ku rutonde rwerekeye imiturirwe y'aka karere.

Muri rusange rero gutanga amatariki no gusesengura imiturire y'abaturage b'u Rwanda ni ibyo kwitonderwa, bisobanuye ko amavu n'amavuko y'u Rwanda atarasobanuka neza.



III

AMATEKA Y’U RWANDA KUVA MU NTANGIRIRO KUGEZA MU wa 1900

Byanditswe na **Gamaliel Mbonimana**

URwanda rwo mu mpera zo mu kinyejana cya XIX rwari igihugu cyagiye gikura buhorobuhoro gitangiriye ku musozi wa Gasabo. Uyu musozi wari uyobowe n’umutware w’Umunyiginya. Uko u Rwanda rwagendaga rukura mu binyejana byinshi ni ko rwagendaga rwiubaka mu birebana n’ubutegetsu bwa poritiki, bw’ingabo, bw’ubukungu, n’ubwimibanire n’umuco byaje gutangaza abakerarugendo b’abashakashatsi n’abamisiyoneri b’abavaburayi ba mbere.

3.1. U Rwanda rwa Gasabo n’“impugu” zirukikije

Mu ntangiriro, u Rwanda rwagiye rukura ruherereye ku musozi wa Gasabo wagiye wiyongeraho indi misozi y’“Ibihugu” byari bikikije u Buganza ari byo u Bwanacyambwe, u Buriza, u Busigi n’u Busarasi.

3.1.1 U Rwanda rwa mbere mu Buganza

U Rwanda rwa mbere rwitwaga u Rwanda rwa Gasabo rwari akantu gato kari mu Karere k’ubu ka Gasabo, aho umugezi wa Nyabugogo uvira mu kiyaga cya Muhazi. Mu ntangiriro y’igihe kitwa icy’amateka, kigizwe n’abami b’ibitekerezo, u Rwanda rwayoborwaga n’umwami Ruganzu Bwimba wabaye uwa mbere mu bami bazwi mu mateka kuva mu kinyejana cya XIV kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX¹.

¹ Inyandiko isobanura ko u Rwanda rwagiye rwaguka ishingiyeye ku byanditswe n’abantu benshi, barimo Kagame A., *Inganji Kalinga*, Kabyayi 1943; Kagame A., *Un abrégé de l’ethno-histoire du Rwanda*, Butare, EUNR, 1972; Anonyme, *Historique et chronologie du Rwanda*; Vansina J., *L’évolution du royaume rwanda des origines à 1900*, Bruxelles, 1962., Vansina J., *Le Rwanda ancien. Le Royaume nyiginya*, Paris, Karthala, 2001.

Ingoma y'u Rwanda yayoborwaga n'abami bava mu bwoko bw'abanyiginya. Ni bo bashinze ingoma y'ubwami bwo mu Rwanda. Andi moko y'Abanyarwanda yafatanije rugikubita n'Abanyiginya kurema u Rwanda, ni ay'Abasinga, Abega, Abaha, Abakono, Abazigaba n'Abatsobe bese kandi babaga bafite uruhare bihariye. Ruganzu Bwimba waba yari umukuru w'inzu cyangwa w'umuryango w'Abanyiginya yashoboye kwishyiraho aba umwami, yimika ingoma y'ingabe Rwoga. Aho hantu hari haberanye n'ubuhinzi, ubworozi bw'inka no guhiga. Ni ho u Rwanda rwahereye rukura rugana iburengerazuba bw'umugezi wa Nyabarongo, ruza kuruta uko rungana ubu ku ngoma ya Kigeli IV Rwabugiri.

Mu mateka mvugo, bivugwa ko u Rwanda rwa mbere rwabanaga n'andi moko kandi byari bihuriye mu byo bita "Konfederasiyo". Icyo gihe byari ibihugu bito bito bingana na za sheferi zitwa "ibihugu" zari zigizwe n'u Buganza, u Bwanacyambwe, u Buriza, u Busigi n'u Busarasi.

a. Umugani w'inkomoko y'Abanyiginya

Inkomoko y'Abanyiginya ivugwa mu gitekerezo kitwa "Ibirari"². Icyo gitekerezo kivuga umugani utangaje wa Sabizeze cyangwa Kigwa waba yaravukiye mu ijuru yarasamiwe mu cyansi cy'amata. Ngo se Shyerezo, utishimiye iryo vuka rya Sabizeze ridasobanutse neza, ni we watumye amanuka ku isi yo hasi, agwa mu Mubari wari utuwe n'Abazigaba bayoborwaga n'umwami Kabeja. Ngo Kigwa yari kumwe na murumuna we Mututsi (sekuraza w'Abega, Abaha n'Abakono) na mushiki wabo Nyampundu n'amatungo agizwe n'ingabo n'ingore.

Uwo mugani w'inkomoko³, uvuga ko Kigwa agera kuri Gihanga wahimbye ingoma y'ubwami. Hari amateka mvugo asobanura ko ahubwo Gatutsi, Gahutu na Gatwa bari bene Kanyarwanda, hari navuga ko Kanyarwanda uwo kimwe na Kanyandorwa, Kanyabuha, Kanyabungo na Kanyaburundi yari umuhungu wa Gihanga. Ngo Gihanga yashatse abagore mu miryango y'Abasinga,

² Delmas L., *Généalogie de la noblesse (les Batutsi) du Rwanda*, Kabyayi, 1950, p.6; Coupeux et Kamanzi Th. *Récits historiques Rwanda*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1962, pp. 18-25 ; Smith P., *Le récit populaire au Rwanda*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1975, p. 71

³ Chrétien J.-P., Mythes et stratégies autour des origines du Rwanda (XIXe-XXe siècles) in Chrétien J.-P. et Triaud J.-L. (sous dir.), *Histoire d'Afrique. Les Enjeux de mémoire*, Paris, Karthala, 1999, p. 282; De Heusch L., *Mythes et rites bantous. Rois nés d'un cœur de vache*. Paris, Gallimard, 1982.

Abatsobe, Abashambo n’abandi kandi ngo yazengurutse mu Rwanda rwose no mu Burundi no kugera za Rutshuru (ho mu burasirazuba bwa RDC y’ubu).

b. icyo gitekerezo cyavugwagaho iki?

Imvugo y’umugani ntabwo aba ari imvugo y’igitekerezo cy’amateka nk’uko bamwe babikeka. Uwo mugani uvuga inkomoko y’amoko amwe n’amwe afite aho ahuriye n’Abanyiginya n’ingoma. Ni amoko y’ibimanuka agizwe n’Abanyiginya, Abega, Abakono, n’Abaha. Aya moko ya nyuma uko ari atatu yitwa ay’*Ibibanda* cyangwa amoko avamo abamikazi (ubwoko bw’Abagesera bwo bwagize Umwamikazi umwe ari we nyina wa Kigeri III Ndabarasa ntabubarirwamo).

Amoko y’abitwa *Abasangwabutaka* ari yo y’Abazigaba, Abagesera n’Abasinga. Hari abavuka mu miryango imwe n’imwe muri ayo moko bagiraga uruhare mu mihango yihariye: nko kwerekana ahazashyirwa ibibanza by’abashaka kubaka bo mu yandi moko n’amazu y’abami cyane cyane, kuyobora imihango yo kwirabura n’iyo kwimika umwami mushya n’iyindi.

Ntabwo imvugo hejuru cyangwa hasi ivuga na busa amajyaruguru cyangwa amagepfo nk’uko abanditsi bamwe b’ibirebana n’amoko, cyanecyane abanyamadini, babivuze. Ahubwo byaba ari ukuvuga “*iburyo, ibumoso, inyuma, imbere, ishyamba, ibishanga, ikibaya, imisozi*”. Abanyarwanda baheragaho mu mvugo yabo isanzwe. Ntabwo bivuze rero ko Ibimanuka byavuye kure nk’uko abakerarugendo b’abashakashatsi n’abamisiyoneri bamwe babyanditse. Iyo mivugire yuko u Rwanda rwaba rwaratuwe, banditse nta gihamya ishingiraho na busa mu mateka mvugo azwi. Ikindi nuko ahantu havugwa muri uwo mugani hagaragaza ko uwo mugani wagiye uhindagurwa, bigaragara ko hahindagurwa kenshi hajyanye n’uko u Rwanda rwari rumeze mu mpera z’ikinyejana cya XIX. Ubu tugiye kuvuga “ibihugu” byari bikikije u Rwanda rwa mbere n’akamaro byagize.

Bwanacyambwe⁴

U Bwanacyambwe mu ntangiriro z’u Rwanda bwakoraga ku Buriza bw’amagepfo (Umusozi wa Kabuye-Jabana-Bweramvura). Cyari igihugu k’ingoma y’ubwoko bw’Abongera. Umwami w’u Bwanacyambwe yitwaga Nkuba ya Nyabakonjo. Ingoma ye

⁴Hari ahantu henshi mu Rwanda hatangizwa n’inyito “bwana” bishobora kuba bifitanye isano na “bene” bivuga abakomoka kuri.

y'ingabe yitwaga *Kamuhagama*⁵. Abakomoka kuri Bwimba, bari basanganywe igice cy'u Bwanacyambwe, ni bo bashatse kwagura ingoma yabo. Birashoboka ko baba barabitewe no gushaka urwuri rw'inka zabo zari zimaze kuba nyinshi. Ibyo ari byo byose, nyuma ya Ruganzu Bwimba, ingoma nyiginya yahinduye umurwa mukuru wayo.

➤ U Buriza

Igihugu cy'u Buriza (bwa Gasabo: imfura ya Gasabo) cyari gifite amateka akomeye cyane mu birebana na poritiki n'umuco. Ni ho hari umusezero w'abami ahitwa i Butangampundu. Mbere u Buriza bwari ingoma y'uwitwa Migina, ingoma y'ingabe ye ikitwa Bushizimbeho. Yishwe na Kigeri I Mukobanya. Ubundi U Buriza bwari kimwe mu bihugu byigenga byari biriho igihe cy'u Rwanda rwa mbere. Bwari butuwe cyanecyane n'Abasinga b'Abarenge, Abacyaba n'Abongera. Ndetse Abongera ni bwo bwoko bwari bukomeye muri ako karere kari kagizwe hafi n'u Buriza bwose, igice cy'u Bumbogo n'icy'u Bwanacyambwe⁶. Abongera ni bumwe mu bwoko bukuru muri icyo gice.

➤ U Busigi

U Busigi⁷ bwari agace gato k'u Rukiga, bukaba bwari igihugu cy'Abavubyi. Uretse impinga ya Buhamba aho umugi wa Byumba wubatse ubu mu Karere ka Gicumbi, ahasigaye hose h'u Rukiga hitwa "*URwanda-Igihugu cy'Abaturanyi*". Hari ibitabo ku mateka y'u Rwanda bivuga ingoma y'Abavubyi bo muri ako karere bitwa Abasigi, bivuga abatuye ahitwa i Busigi.

Hari imvugo isa n'ibintu by'umugani ivuga ko ari umwami w'u Rwanda, Ruganzu II Ndori, wahaye ububasha bwo kuvuba imvura umuvubyi wa mbere w'u Rukiga. Ngo yabituraga ko bari baramucumbikiye. Ubusanzwe Abasigi bavuga ko ari Abasindi. Birashoboka ko Nyamikenke, umwe mu bami babo b'ibihangange,

⁵Nyiligira Th., *Monographie historique du Bwanacyambwe des origines à 1930*, Mémoire de licence, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1988.

⁶ Hashobora kuvugwa u Bwongera bw'amajyaruguru butandukanywa n'u Bwongera bw'Amagepfo bwari bugizwe n'Akarere k'u Burwi mu magepfo y'u Rwanda rw'ubu, bwageraga mu Busanza. Ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori, u Bwongera bw'Amagepfo bwatwarwaga na Nyaruzi rwa Haramanga, umurwa we wari ahitwa «*Mu Mukindo wa Makwaza*», hafi y'igishanga cy'Akanyaru mu magepfo y'Akarere k'ubu ka Gisagara.

⁷ Kagubali J.-P., *L'évolution socio-politique du Rukiga de 1895 à 1945*, Mémoire de licence en histoire, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1988

yaba yarihaye ububasha bwo kuvuba imvura ngo abone uko ashobora gutegeka abaturage b'aho mu Busigi.

• **Ubutegetsu bw'Abavubyi b'Abasigi**

Abavubyi bo mu nzu y'Abasigi bari abatware b'umuryango nk'abandi bose. Havugwaga iki ku mavu n'amavuko y'ubuyobozi bw'umutware w'abo Basigi? Uwo mutware yari afite inshingano zo kurengera ingabo ze no kumenya umutekano w'abo ashinzwe. Birumvikana kuko muri icyo gihe cy'umutekano muke kandi uhoraho, kunyaga inka cyangwa ubutaka bikorwa n'imiryango ifite amaboko byafatwaga nk'igikorwa cy'ubutwari aho gufatwa nk'ubujura bugayitse. Ikindi nuko muri ibyo bihe bya kera kwihorera byari ibintu byemewe. Muri icyo gihe cy'umutekano muke kandi uhoraho, nyakamwe yamburwaga inka n'imirima bye n'imiryango ikomeye ku buryo bworoshye. Kugira ngo adahora arenganywa yakoranaga igihango n'umutware cyangwa abatware bakomeye.

Abanyaruko, bakomoka mu nzu ya Minyaruko ya Nyamikenke, bari umuryango ukomeye cyane mu Busigi. Ntabwo kandi umuhango wo kuvuba wari uw'Abasindi bose, ahubwo wari uw'umuryango w'Abasigi. Ariko abavubyi b'i Busigi ntabwo bari bafite urwego rushinzwe ubwiru n'imihango yose igendanye n'ubuyobozi nk'uko biboneka mu zindi ngoma z'ubwami hafi ya zose zo muri aka karere k'Ibiyaga bigari. Ni yo mpamvu umuntu atakwemeza ko u Busigi bwari ingoma nyangoma nubwo umukuru wabwo atemeraga kuyoboka ingoma nyiginya y'u Rwanda. Kandi abaturage b'i Busigi ntibategekwe guha amaturo abavubyi. Ariko ubwoba bwo gutinya ko *umuvubyi* yateza ibyago mu myaka yabo yatumaga abaturage baho bibwiriza gutanga ikoro ry'abavubyi rigizwe n'igice cy'umusaruro wabo. Ndetse iyo habaga ikiza mu myaka, abaturage bo mu tundi turere bazaga mu Busigi gusaba ko *umuvubyi* w'aho yabatabara.

• **Icyavugwa ku Busigi**

Biragaragara ko u Busigi butari igihugu igihe u Rwanda rwa mbere rwiremagaga. U Busigi kandi ntibwari igihugu kiyoborwa n'umwami nk'uko byari bimeze mu Nduga, i Gisaka n'i Ndorwa. Hari *umuryango w'abavubyi* wari uhafite ubuyobozi bw'imihango ntibigire icyo bibangamira ingoma nyiginya. Ariko nta gihamba cyo kwemeza ko u Busigi bw'Abavubyi bwabayeho igihe kimwe n'u Rwanda rwa mbere.

Biragaragara ko ibisekuru n’abami b’u Busigi ari bigufi cyane ugereranyije n’iby’abami b’ingoma nyiginya, bikaba bitera ikibazo ndetse ko hari abandika gusa abatware babiri b’Abasigi kuva kuri Ruganzu II Ndori: dore uko bigaragara mu “Imbonerahamwe” ikurikira.

Imbonerahamwe ya 3 : Abami b’u Rwanda n’Abami b’u Busigi

Abami b’Aganyiginya	Abavubyi b’u Busigi			
	A.Kagame	Historique et chronologie	A.PAGES	J.P.KABUGALI
1.Ruganzu Ndori(1510-1543) 2.Mutara Semugeshi(1543-1576) 3.Kigeri Nyamuheshera(1576-1609) 4.Mibambwe Gisanura(1609-1642) 5.Yuhi Mazimpaka(1642-1675) 6.Cyirima Rujugira(1675-1708) 7.Kigeri Ndararasa(1708-1741) 8.Mibambwe Sentabyo(1741-1746) 9.Yuhi Gahindiro(1746-?) 10.Mutara Rwogera(?-1853) 11.Kigeri Rwabugiri(1853-1895) 12.Yuhi Musinga(1897-1931) 13.Mutara Rudahigwa(1931-1959)	1.Nyamikenke 2.Minyaruko	1.Nyamikenke 2.Minyaruko 3.Mudahimurwa	1.Nyamikenke 2.Nzarubara 3.Minyaruko	1.Nyagasongo I 2.Nyamikenke I 3.Minyaruko 4.Mudahimurwa 5.Gacoco 6.Nyamikenke II Nzarubara 7.Nyagasongo II Mpungirehe

Byakusanyijwe n’umwanditsi abivanye mu nyandiko zitandukanye

Hari amateka mvugo yemeza ko Nyamikenke I yabayeho ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori naho Nyagasongo II Mpungirehe akaba yarabayeho ku ngoma ya Mutara III Rudahigwa. Hagati aho hakaba hari ibisekuru 12 by’abami b’Abanyiginya naho mu bavubyi b’i Busigi bakaba batanu gusa. Uko kudahura biterwa n’uko nubwo Ruganzu II Ndori yabayeho bwose, ibyinshi mu bimuvugwaho bikaba bisa n’imigani nubwo afatwa bwose nk’umwe mu bami bakuru bashinze inzego nyinshi. Umuntu yahita avuga rero ko abami b’Abasigi bashatse kubyuririraho ngo bavuge ko igisekuruza cyaho cyabayeho ku gihe k’igihangange Ruganzu II Ndori. Ibyo byo gushaka gufatira amateka cyangwa ibintu bikomeye bimwe kuri Ruganzu II Ndori, binakomoka ku mandwa, havugwa ko umutware wazo Ryangombe na we yaba yarabayeho ku ngoma ya Ruganzu II Ndori.

➤ U Busarasi

U Busarasi kari agace kayoborwa na Sambwe, akaba umuhungu wa Cyabugimbu. Bwari bugizwe n'igisozi kinini cyambukiranya imisozi ya komini za kera za Tare na Shyorongi, naho igice cya komini za kera za Musasa na Rushashi kitwaga icyo gihe Gitindagasani. Hari amateka mvugo ya kera yemeza ko u Bumbogo butanganaga icyo gihe n'icyaje kwitwa u Bumbogo mu gihe cya gikoroni, bwatsinzwe na Mukobanya (waje kuba Kigeri I). Atera Sambwe wa Cyabugimbu watwaraga teritwari y'u Busarasi, ukuyemo umusozi wa Nyamweru (yongewemo n'abakoroni), ukanakuramo imirenge ya Shyorongi- Kanyinya igomba kuba yarayoborwaga n'ingoma ya Mugina. Abamukomokaho baje kwemezwa nyuma ko bari bafite ingoma y'ubwami igendera ku bwiru. Bari batuye i Shyorongi yari umurwa waho mukuru. Sambwe yaje kugwa muri icyo gitero, asimburwa n'igikomangoma Karimbi, mwene se w'igikomangoma Mukobanya⁸.

Ariko ikizwi ubu nuko bitoroshye kumenya neza igihe izina rya *Bumbogo*⁹ ryatangiriye gukoreshwa. Mbere yuko higarurirwa n'ingoma nyiginya, ako karere kayoborwaga n'Abega b'Abaswere. Bisa ariko naho batigeze barwanya na busa ko higarurirwa n'Abanyiginya. Ariko barekewe imwe mu mihango bakoraga nko kuyobora umuhango w'*Umuganura*, kandi wari umuhango ukomeye ku ngoma nyiginya: amasaka, uburo, isogi n'inzuzi zari imbuto nkuru zoherezwaga ibwami igihe cy'uwo muhango mukuru w'*Umuganura* byahingwaga i Bumbogo. Bisa nkaho ari uguhera mu kinyejana cya XIX u Bumbogo bwategetswe n'Abatsobe bafashwaga n'Abega b'Abaswere mu gukora umuhango w'*umuganura* ibwami.

Umurwa mukuru w'Abega b'Abaswere, bari abami b'i Bumbogo cyangwa abami b'*Umuganura*, wari i Huro. Wari ukomeye kandi ugizwe n'amazu menshi cyanecyane ay'abaje kuyoboka *Umwami* yakoranaga n'abakuru b'imiryango bamaturaga buri mwaka imbuto z'*umuganura*. Ingoma ngabe y'abo Bega b'i Bumbogo yitwaga *Karihejuru* naho amazina y'ubwami yabo yari Nyamususa, Musana na Mumbogo¹⁰. *Umwami* w'i Bumbogo yabwiraga abiru izina ry'uzamusimbura, bakarigira ibanga. *Umwami* mushya kandi yimanaga na nyina mu mihango yakorwaga nijoro.

⁸ Kagame A., *op.cit.* pp. 65-66.

⁹ Buregeya S., *Les paysans du Bumbogo face aux autorités traditionnelles et coloniales* (1990-1956), Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 1996.

¹⁰ *Umwami* wa nyuma w'i Bumbogo, Nyamurasa IV Kabano, yimye muri 1925, acirirwa mu Kinyaga muri 1928 bikoze n'ubutegetsu bw'ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi.

3.2. U Rwanda rwaguka.

Kuri rubanda rusanze, u Rwanda rwari igihugu kigari cyageraga aho ijuru riterwa inkingi! Birerekana ko kwaguka k'u Rwanda byari bimenyerewe n'Abanyarwanda. Uko kwaguka byatewe nuko rwiyoungereyeho ibihugu byinshi: i Gisaka, i Nduga, u Bukunzi n'u Busozo, u Bunyambiriri, u Bwanamukari, u Burwi, u Bugoyi, u Bufumbira, u Mubari, u Bugesera, i Ndorwa, u Busigi, u Bufundu n'u Buyenzi.

3.2.1 U Rwanda ruhangana n' i Gisaka: Ruganzu Bwimba na Robwa

Mu ntangiriro y'ingoma ya Ruganzu I Bwimba, u Rwanda rwari rufite umurwa warwo mukuru i Gasabo, agasozi kari mu burengerazuba bw'amagepfo y'ikiyaga cya Muhazi. icyo gihe Ruganzu yari akiri muto, akayoborerwa u Rwanda na nyina Nyiraruganzu Nyakanga wo mu bwoko bw'Abasinga. Yafashwaga mu mirimo ye na mubyara we Nkurukumbi wa Nyebunga. Mu bandi bari bakomeye ibwami muri icyo gihe, umuntu yavugaga abiruka nka Nyaruhungura w'Umutsobe, Kenge (w'Umunyiginya wo mu nzu y'Abakobwa), Gitandura (w'Umusinga) na Mukubu (wo mu Baha)¹¹.

Umwami Bwimba yari afite murumuna we muto na mushiki we wari ugeze igihe cyo gushyingirwa ari we Robwa. Umugore we muto Nyakiyaga yavugaga mu Bega. Amateka mvugo y'u Rwanda avugaga ko Ruganzu I Bwimba na mushiki we Robwa bapfuye nk'abatabazi b'ingoma. U Rwanda rwari ruhanganye n'ibihugu bibiri bikomeye cyane: mu magepfo hari u Bugesera, bwategekwe icyo gihe na Nsoro Bihembe mu burasirazuba hari i Gisaka cyategekwe na Kimenyi I Musaya. Umwami w'u Bugesera yari afitanye umubano wa gicuti n'umwami w'u Rwanda. Naho Kimenyi Musaya we yashakaga kwigarurira igihugu cy'Abanyiginya. Kugira ngo agere kuri uwo mugambi, asaba Robwa kuko abapfumu be bari bamuraguriye ko umwana bazabyarana ari we uzatsinda u Rwanda.

Ruganzu Bwimba n'abajyanama be bari bazi uwo umugambi mubisha w'umwami w'i Gisaka banga ko arongora Robwa. Ariko umwamikakizi n'umutoni wari ukomeye Nkurukumbi bo bashakaga ko amurongora kuko bumvaga ari ugushakira igihugu amaboko agifitiye akamaro. Baba ari bo batsinda, Kimenyi

¹¹ Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., p. 57

Musaya arongora Robwa. Ariko mbere yuko ubukwe buba umwami Ruganzu Bwimba amenera mushiki we ibanga, na we yemera ko atazabyarana na Kimenyi umuhungu uzatsindisha u Rwanda. Nyuma yaje kubwira musaza we ko atwitwe, ariko ko aziyahura atarabyara uwo mwana batinyaga.

Ibwami bemeza ko haba undi mutabazi witanga kimwe na Robwa. Indagu zihama Nkurukumbi ngo abe umutabazi ku rugamba ahapfire: Nkurukumbi yanga kuba umutabazi, indagu zemeza umwami ubwe. Mbere yuko yitanga nk'umutabazi asiga aciye iteka ko ubwoko bw'Abasinga butazongera kuvamo umugabekazi, bitewe no guhana uko kwanga kwitangira igihugu bya Nkurukumbi. Hagati aho, Nyakiyaga, wa mugore muto wa Bwimba, abyara umwana w'umuhungu bamwita Rugwe. Gitandura ajya kubwira iyo nkuru umwami wari ku itabaro, ahita ahabwa ikuzo we n'abamukomokaho ryo kujya yita amazina abana b'abami mbere yuko umwami ubwe yita izina.

Bitewe n'uko Rugwe yari akiri umwana, kandi kizira ko umutabazi yasubira inyuma ku mpamvu iyo ari yo yose, Ruganzu aha ubuyobozi bw'igihugu Kenge kugeza igihe Rugwe azashobora kukiyobora ubwe. Ibyo birangiye, Ruganzu atangiza imirwano, yicwa n'Abanyagisaka mu mirwano yabereye i Nkungu ya Munyaga. Intumwa ijya kubikira Robwa, mu gihe Kimenyi Musaya yamuhaga ingoma ngabe y'i Gisaka, Rukurura, ashaka kumubwira ko azaba umugabekazi w'icyo gihugu ashaka kumuhoza urupfu rwa musaza we, Robwa ahita yiroha kuri iyo ngoma, ahita yiyica n'umwana yari afite mu nda. Amateka mvugo y'u Rwanda yamugize intwari byahebuje, amushyira no mu batabazi b'ingoma kimwe na musaza we Ruganzu Bwimba. Kugeza ubu nta kimenyetso kiriho kinyomoza iyo nkuru ihesha ishema ingoma nyiginya.

3.2.2. Itsindwa n'iturwa ry'i Nduga: ishingiro rishya ryo kwaguka kw'ingoma nyiginya

Iki gice cy'amateka gishobora kugabanywamo ibice bine: Intangiriro yo kwaguka k'u Rwanda ku ngoma ya Kirima Rugwe, itera rya mbere ry'Abanyoro ku ngoma ya Kigeri Mibambwe, Igitero cya kabiri cy'Abanyoro no gutsindwa kwabo ku ngoma ya Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi no gutsindwa kw'i Nduga ikomekwa ku Rwanda.

a. U Rwanda rwaguka ku ngoma ya Kirima Rugwe

U Rwanda rwa mbere rwafataga impinga ya Mageragere na Nyamweru byahoze mbere na mbere ari iby'ingoma y'u Bugesera ariko "Umwami waho Nsoro Bihembe akaba yari yarabitanze ku buntu"¹². Umwami w'u Rwanda, Kirima Rugwe, abifashijwemo n'umuhungu we Mukobanya, avanaho imitegekere yahurirwagaho n'ibihugu twavuze, ya "konfederasiyo" yahozeho hagati y'u Rwanda na byo. Abami b'ibyo bihugu abasimbuzabashoboraga kunyagwa igihe abishatse. Ariko hasigara abami b'abavubiyi bo mu Busigi. Nyuma, bivugwa ko Kirima Rugwe, abifashijwemo na Mukobanya yambutse umugezi wa Nyabarongo agatangira kwigarurira uduhugu twari mu majyaruguru y'i Nduga: u Bushegeshi (bwaje guhinduka nyuma Uruyenzi mu Karere k'ubu ka Kamonyi), Bunyagitunda (bwitwaga Gishubi, nyuma buhinduka Rukoma ku gihe cy'ubukoroni), Bunyatwa (bwaje guhinduka Burembo n'imisozi ibukikije yabaye Ndiza mu bukoroni bw'Ababirigi). icyo gihe Ngoga, mwene Mashira, atera u Rwanda mu bitero byinshi mu burasirazuba bw'umugezi wa Nyabarongo. Ndetse Abanyanduga bigeze kwigarurira igihe gito Nyakabanda mu Karere k'ubu ka Nyarugenge bashobora kuhira inka zabo mu mariba ya Muhima¹³.

b. Igitero cya mbere cy'Abanyoro ku ngoma ya Kigeri Mukobanya.

Igitero cya mbere cy'Abanyoro cyateye ku ngoma ya Kigeri Mukobanya. Abanyarwanda bavuga ko abateye bari abuzukuru b'umwami w'u Bunyoro witwaga Cwa¹⁴. Igitero cy'Abanyoro cyaje gikomeye kandi nta cyo gisiga inyuma, ari injyanamuntu. Hari amateka menshi kandi anyuranye avuga iby'icyo gitero, amwe ashingiye ku bwiru andi ashingiye ku bitekerezo n'amakuru. Habaye imihango yo gutsinda ayo makuba. Urugero ni igiti cy'Umuganzacyaro cyatewe aho Abanyoro batsindiwe ku musozi wa Runda yo mu Karere ka Kamonyi h'ubu. Igitero cy'Abanyoro cyarabaye rero koko, ntawugihakana. Hari n'imiryango ikomoka

¹² Kagame A., 1972, *op. cit.* p. 257

¹³ Idem, p. 76. Amateka mvugo ntiyavuze ibyo bintu Kagame A. akomozaho agira ati: "Nta gushidikanya i Nduga na yo yagabye ibitero ku Rwanda. Kimwe muri byo cyakomeje kwibukwa ngo cyageze kure ku buryo cyambutse Nyabarongo kiyobowe n'igikomangoma Ngoga, mwene Mashira" (*ibid.* p. 76).

¹⁴ Abenecwa: ijambo rivuga Abanyoro (rb. *Poèmes dynastiques*, Collection de Jan Vansina (inédit).

ku Banyoro yabonekaga kera mu Ndara (hafi y'i Butare), i Buringa (mu Karere k'ubu ka Muhanga).

c. Igitero cya Kabiri cy'Abanyoro ku ngoma ya Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi

Mu burengerazuba bwa Nyabarongo, ngo Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi yaba yarigaruriye igice kimwe k'ingoma y'i Nduga yayoborwaga icyo gihe na Mashira ya Nkuba ya Sabugabo wo mu bwami bw'Ababanda. Ariko i Nduga yarongeye iritegeka vuba. Igitero cya kabiri cy'Abanyoro giteye, Mibambwe Mutabazi yagombye guhunga. Abanyoro bakwira igihugu cyose. Muri icyo gihe Mibambwe Mutabazi yahungiraga mu Kinyaga, umwami w'i Gisaka, Kimenyi Shumbusho, yigarurira na we u Buganza n'u Bwanacyambwe.

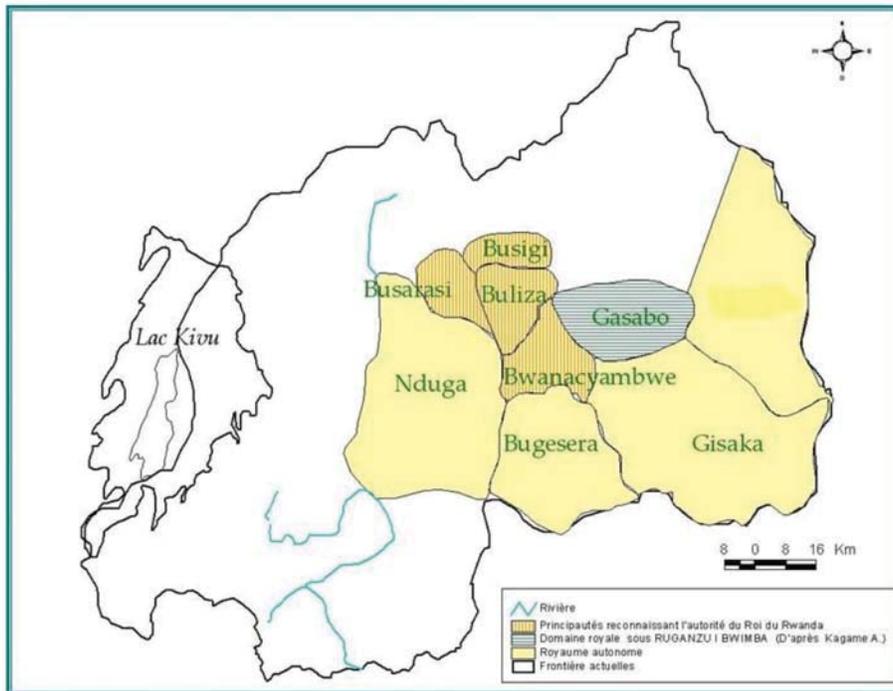
d. Itsindwa burundu ry'i Nduga

I Nduga yafashwe burundu Mibambwe Mutabazi amaze kuva mu buhungiro. Yifashishije ingabo ze n'amacuti ye (Abasinga cyanecyane), maze Mashira n'igice kinini cy'umuryango we kirazima. Ibyo byabereye i Nyanza (mu Karere k'ubu ka Nyanza). Kuva ubwo imiryango myinshi y'Ababanda ihita ihungira i Burundi. Abagumye mu Nduga muri bo bakomeje kurwana mu gihe k'ibinyejana birenga bitatu. Hagati aho Yuhi Mpazimpaka, amaze kwitegereza uko ibintu bimeze, ashya abo bamurwanyaga bose mu mutwe umwe yise "Umutwe w'Ababanda"¹⁵ wayoborwaga n'umuhungu we Nyarwaya Karuretwa.

Nuko Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi, bari barahimbye "Nkvimbere" (kubera igikomere cy'umwambi mu gahanga yari yararashwe n'Abanyoro mu ntambara y'i Musave) yigarurira burundu i Nduga ndetse ubwo abami benshi b'Abanyiginya batangira kuhatura. Kuva ubwo ibitero byinshi by'urugamba bitangira kujya bitera ari ho biturutse. Mu by'ukuri kuba u Rwanda rwari rwatakaje u Buganza n'u Bwanacyambwe kandi n'i Gisaka gifite ingufu ku buryo budashidikanywa, byatumye ingoma nyiginya ishingira ikicarwo cyayo gikuru mu burengerazuba bwa Nyabarongo (mu Ntara y'ubu y'Amagepfo) cyanecyane mu turere tw'ubu twa Kamonyi na Ruhango (Reba ikarita ikurikira).

¹⁵ Uwitwa Rubuguza wo mu ngabo z'Ababanda ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira yaje kuba umucengeri w'u Rwanda rurwana n'i Gisaka.

Ikarita ya 6: U Rwanda ruvuka (Gasabo) n’“ibihugu” bibanyi (ikinyejana cya XIV)



Aho byavuye: LUGAN B., Histoire du Rwanda : De la Préhistoire à nos jours, Paris, Bartillat, 1997, P84.

3.2.3 Ingorane zikomeye cyane za poritiki: ingoma ya Yuhi Gahima na Ndahiro Cyamatare

a. Ku bwa Yuhi Gahima

Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi yaje gusimburwa na Yuhi Gahima. Amaze gutanga ashyingurwa ahitwa i Kayenzi mu Ntara y’ubu y’Amajyaruguru. Abami bafite izina rya Yuhi batabarizwaga bose i Kayenzi. Ingoma ye yo ku karubanda yari izwi ku izina rya *Kibanza II*. Mu bahungu benshi bamukomokaho, twavuga nka Juru, sekuruza w’inzu y’Abenejuru na Bamara, se wa Byinshi. Uyu Byinshi ni we sekuruza w’umuryango mugari w’Abanyabyinshi; ni yo ikomeye cyane mu Banyamurenge.

b. Itanga rya Yuhi Gahima n'intambara y'isimburwa rye

Amateka mvugo yemeza ko Yuhi amaze gutanga, havutse igice cy'abantu barwanya Ndahiro Cyamatatare¹⁶ wari wamusimbuye ku ngoma. Mu bakomeye muri abo bantu, harimo bene Yuhi Gahima babiri, Juru na Bamara. Ariko hari abavandimwe babo Binama, Gacu na Karangana bari bagumye ku ruhande rwa Ndahiro Cyamatatare, abamurwanya bitaga ko yigize umwami atabikwiye. Cyamatatare yaje gutegura intambara yaje guhitana Juru¹⁷. Bamara arwanira kumusimbura, ndetse ateguka igice cy'uburasirazuba bwa Nyabarongo¹⁸. Amaze gupfa asimburwa n'umuhungu we Byinshi.

c. Itanga rya Ndahiro Cyamatatare

Muri izo ntambara z'abavandimwe, Nsibura Nyebunga, umuhinza wo ku Idjwi, afatanyije na Nzira ya Muramira akaba n'umwami w'u Bugara, batera Ndahiro Cyamatatare i Gitarama mu ntara yo hambere yitwaga Kingogo (mu Ntara y'ubu y'u Burasirazuba). Ndahiro akomerekeramye mu mubande waje kwitwa kuva ubwo Irasaniro. Yambuka umugezi wa Kibirira amaraso ye avanga n'amazi y'umugezi. Ni yo ntandaro yuko cyaziraga ko umwami w'u Rwanda yambuka uwo mugezi wa Kibirira; bagombaga kuwuzenguruka, bagaca haruguru y'isoko yawo. Uwo muhango warubahirijwe by'umwihariko na Kigeri Rwabugiri, Mibambwe Rutarindwa ndetse na Yuhi Musinga yarabikoze mu wa 1929, igikomangoma Léopold w'u Bubiligi cyaje gusura u Rwanda. Umusozi wa Rugarama, aho ingabo z'u Bugara zatsinze Cyamatatare, witwa «*Rubi rw'inyundo*». Ayo makuba yabereye igihe kimwe n'ibindi bintu bikurikira:

- Iyicwa ry'umugabekazi Nyirandahiro Nyirangabo wicanywe n'abagore ba Cyamatatare; aho baguye hitwa «*Mu miko y'abakobwa*»;
- icyunamo cyo kwibuka ayo makuba cyamaraga ibyumweru bibiri muri Gicurasi mbere yuko *Umuganura* uba mu kwezi kwa Kamena¹⁹;
- Ibura ry'ingoma Ngabe Rwoga yatwawe na Nsibura²⁰;
- Ihishwa ry'ingoma y'ibwami *Cyimumugizi* mu buvumo

¹⁶ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.* p. 87.

¹⁷ Juru ni we igisekuruzwa cy'Abenejuru gikomoraho iryo zina. Ni bake ariko barazwi.

¹⁸ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.* p. 88.

¹⁹ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, p. 91.

²⁰ Idem

bw'ahitwa «*Mu Rutaka*»(mu Karere k'ubu ka Muhanga). Gitandura, ni sekuruza w'Abasindi b'Abatandura, ari we Bihubi uvugwa ko ari we wise amazina abana ba Musinga yakomokagamo;

- Ibyago bitagira urugero byakurikiye amakuba y'i *Rubi rw'i Nyundo*: ibyorezo by'inzara, indwara z'amatungo, inzangano n'ubwicanyi bukabije. Byari ngombwa ko haboneka umukiza, akongera akabyutsa u Rwanda rushya. Yaje kuba Ruganzu Ndori.

3.2.4. Gusubizaho ubwami no kubukomeza

a. Ingoma ya Ruganzu Ndori

Nta gushidikanya ko Ruganzu Ndori ari we mwami w'ikirangirire mu nzu y'Abanyiginya. Kwamamara kwe byamugize umuntu w'akataraboneka, ariko ni we waremye anatunganya inzego nyinshi mu zaranze cyane amateka y'u Rwanda, igihe cy'ubwami. Ibitekerezo bishingiye ku ngoma ye bimuvugaho ibintu bisa n'ibitangaza n'ibikorwa by'indengakamere²¹.

➤ Ndori ni muntu ki ?

Amakuru mvugo avuga ko Ndori yari mwene Ndahiro Cyamatara. Ndahiro wifuzaga ko hatagira icyahungabanya uwo muhungu we kuko yifuzaga ko azamusimbura ku ngoma, ngo yaba yaramwohereje kwa nyirasenge Nyabunyana, wari wararongowe na Karemera Ndagara, umwami wa Karagwe. Ngo nyuma y'itanga rya Nsibura Nyebunga, intumwa yitwa Kavuna yazengurutse u Rwanda ahamagarira abari bagishyigikiye Ndori kwitegura kuzakira icyo gikomangoma. Ngo yagenda avuga ati : «*Sindushye ndashonje, mumfungurire nge kubandura Ndori ya Ndahiro*». Nuko ajya i Karagwe, avuga amakuba atagira uko angana u Rwanda rwarimo, Ndori agaruka mu Rwanda mu ibanga rikomeye, ariko agomba kuba yari afite abarinzi.

Umwami wa Karagwe, Karemera Ndagara, asaba Ndori umusezero bishingiye ko yari yaramurinze. Izina rya Karemera riza gushyirwa mu mazina y'abami b'Abanyiginya. Ni iryo zina ryitiriwe Rwaka mwene Yuhi Mazimpaka akaba yari yaranamusimbuye. Abami b'u Rwanda kandi bakoze ibyo bashoboye byose ngo hatazagera haba

²¹ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, p. 93.

intambara hagati y'u Rwanda na Karagwe²². Ariko ayo masezerano yaje kutubahirizwa n'u Rwanda. Abanyakaragwe bavuga ko ibyo bihugu byose byarwanye ku ngoma ya Gahindiro²³.

➤ **Ibikorwa bya Ruganzu Ndori**

Bivugwa ko Ruganzu ari we wagaruye ubwami mu Rwanda. Ngo yaba yaraturutse iyo mu majyaruguru y'uburasirazuba bw'u Rwanda, akaba yari amaze igihe i Gatsibo no mu Busigi aho yaba ngo yarimikiye ingoma ngabe Karinga bakunze kwita «*Mukiga*» mu *bisigo* bashaka kuvuga ko yavuye mu Rukiga. Ibikorwa bye ni ikirenga:

- Amaze kwimika ingoma ngabe Karinga, Ruganzu Ndori yatsinze Byinshi bya Bamara ²⁴.
- Yatsinze i Nduga, harimo na Rukoma, Muyaga, Kabagari na Marangara. Ni ho yashinze ibirindiro byo gutera Nyundo ya Bunyogombe, mu nkengero z'umugi wa Ruhango.
- Yatunganije ingabo, ahereye cyanecyane ku *Bisumizi* byayoborwaga na Muvunyi wa Karema.
- Ndori yimitse ingoma ngabe nshya yitwa *Nangamadumbu* yasimbuye Rwoga yari yaratwawe na Nsibura Nyebunga. Ngo ndetse yaramvuye izindi ngoma ebyeri : Karihejuru na Bariba. Zose hamwe ziba enye.

Ibindi ngo Ruganzu Ndori yaba yarakoze :

- Ngo yaba yarateye u Bunyabungo (ni ukuvuga u Bushi) : ahorera u Rwanda kuri Nsibura, afata uburasirazuba bwose bw'i Kivu kugeza kuri Rusizi, ndetse atsinda Ijwi. Bavuga ko ku ngoma ya Ruganzu u Bunyabungo bwatewe bukayogozwa akari kenshi.
- Yateye u Bugara bwa Nzira ya Muramira wari wafashije Nsibura mu iyicwa rya Ndahiro Cyamatatare.
- Yatangije ibitero byo kwigarurira impugu zari zikikije u Rwanda. Atsinda u Bunyambiriri, yica umuhinza waho witwaga Gisurere wari utuye i Suti ya Banega (hafi ya Kaduha). Ngo yaba yarigaruriye u Bwanamukari, yica abahinza bahatwaraga barimo Nyakarashi na

²² Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit*, pp. 94-99.

²³ Katoke J.-K, *The Karagwe Kingdom: A History of Abanyambo of Noryh Western Tanzania C. 1400-1915*, Nairobi, 1975.

²⁴ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit*. p. 67.

- Mpandahande wari utuye i Ruhande (mu Karere ka Huye) na Nyaruzi rwa Haramanga w'umuhinza w'i Burwi. Nyaruzi ni we wabaye umutware wa nyuma w'Abarenge, igihugu ke cyahise cyomekwa ku Rwanda.
- Yatsinze Impugu z'u Bugoyi, Byahi, Bwishya n'u Bufumbira; icyo gice cyose kegereye i Birunga na nyuma yabyo.
 - Ruganzu yari afitanye umubano mwiza na Rwayitare, umwami w'u Bugesera. Bwageraga icyo gihe hafi ya Ngozi. Bavuga ko umupaka wabwo w'amagepfo wakoraga igice kimwe kuri Ruvyironza, icy'amagepfo y'uburasirazuba kigakora kuri Ruvubu. Ariko u Burundi bwari bwarakomeje kubutwara ibice bimwe na bimwe, u Bugesera busigarana igice cy'amajyaruguru. Rimwe Rwayitare atabaza Ruganzu kumufasha mu ntambara yarwanaga na Ntare Kibogora w'i Burundi. Ibisumizi bijya kurwanya Abarundi: ingabo za Ntare II ziratsindwa. Nyuma ni ho hashinzwe *Itozero n'Ubuhake*²⁵ byabaye inkingi y'ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda.

a. U Rwanda ku ngoma ya Mutara I Semugeshi

Hakurikijwe ibivugwa n'ubwiru, ngo Mutara wa I yaba ari umwana w'ikinege wa Ruganzu II Ndori, kandi izina rye akiri umututsi akaba ari Bicuba. Ntawuzi neza uko yimye ingoma, ariko ngo ni we watsinze igihugu cy'Abenengwe acyomeka ku Rwanda. Icyo gihugu cyari kigizwe n'u Bungwe, u Bufundu n'igice cy'u Busanza.

b. U Rwanda ku ngoma ya Kigeri II Nyamuheshera

Kigeri wa II Nyamuheshera azwi kuba yarabaye umurwanyu ukomeye afatanyije n'ingabo ze zitwaga *Inkingi*. Ngo ni we watsinze u Bukunzi n'u Busozo mu Kinyaga abishyira ku Rwanda. Ngo i Ndorwa imaze gutsindwa ikava mu Gisaka, ni bwo u Rwanda rwongeye kugarurirwa u Bwanacyambwe.

c. U Rwanda ku ngoma ya Mibambwe II Sekarongoro Gisanura

Umwami Mibambwe Gisanura nta mpugu yongeye ku Rwanda ariko yibukirwa ku buntu bwinshi yagiriraga abakene ku buryo bari baramuhimbye "*Rugabishabirenge*" no guca imanza neza;

²⁵ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit*, p. 66.

ni we ibivugwa ku rutare rwa Kamegeri bikomokaho no kuvuga ngo “*Rwaciriwe i Mutakara*” (aho yari atuye) bashaka kuvuga ko ari “*urubanza rwaciwe neza cyane*”.

3.2.5. Kwagura u Rwanda: kuva ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira kugeza kuri Kigeri Rwabugiri.

a. Kirima Rujugira

Kirima Rujugira ni we mwami w’ikirangirire wo mu kinyejana cya XVIII, kubera ibintu bishya yinjije mu mihango y’igihugu, mu ngabo, intambara ze, ibihugu yatsinze no kuramba kwe. Ariko “imitegekere ye yo yari ibintu bisanzwe”²⁶. Hakurikijwe amateka y’ibwami, bivugwa ko Rujugira yari mwene Yuhi Mpazimpaka. Ngo akaba yari yarahungiyeye mu Gisaka ahunga se washakaga kumwica iyo yafatwaga n’ibisazi. Ngo yari yarishe abandi bantu b’inkoramutimaze. Rujugira amaze guhunguka, yasimbuye mwene se Karemera Rwaka, sekuruza w’inzu y’Abaka. Mu gihe Rujugira yari agihamya ubutegetsu bwe abifashijwemo n’abavugamateka b’ibwami, Abaka bari batsinzwe bagumye guteshwa agaciro ariko nyuma bagenda bakomera, akenshi bitewe n’ibitero byo kwagura u Rwanda bagiragamo uruhare rukomeye.

Kirima Rujugira yabaye umwami w’akataraboneka mu bijyanye n’intambara. Ingoma ye, kimwe n’iy’umuhungu we Ndabarasa, zaranzwe n’ibitero byinshi. Rujugira akima habaye intambara yatinze cyane hagati y’u Rwanda n’u Burundi. Ni muri icyo ntambara Gihana, mwene Rujugira, yapfuye. Nyuma mu Rwanda baje kumugira umutabazi. Ni mu gitero cya 4 cyo kurwanya u Burundi, umwami wabwo Mutaga yiciye i Nkanda ho mu Buyenzi²⁷.

Mu ngabo za Rujugira zari zarateye muri icyo gitero cya 4 cyo gutera u Burundi, harimo ingabo zari zaravuye mu Gisaka. Izo ngabo zari zaraje gukeza ingoma nyiginya zari zifite imyambi ifite uburozi bukaze bw’ubusherwe. Hatangiye icyo gihe ikintu gishya cyo kurema ingerero zigamije kurinda u Rwanda no gutsinda amahanga: ni kuva icyo gihe Rujugira yaba yaratangiye kurema ingerero z’ingabo ku mupaka wose w’u Rwanda n’u Burundi. Ahacamo ibice abigabira ingabo ze zitandukanye, ziharema ingerero

²⁶ Ibidem, p. 129.

²⁷ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit*, pp. 150-151.

zo kurengera u Rwanda no gutuma rutongera guterwa²⁸. Ingerero zigiye kuvugwa ni izashyizweho ngo u Rwanda rudaterwa n'u Burundi, zose zari zarashyizwe ku nkengero z'Akanyaru kagabanya ibyo bihugu byombi.

1. Mututu (Muyira): yari igizwe n'*Abarima* b'igikomangoma Gihana, mwene Rujugira. Bari bateganye n'umupaka w'u Bugesera bw'ubu²⁹.
2. Gakoma (Muyaga): yari igizwe n'Ababanda bayobowe n'igikomangoma Nyarwaya Karutetwa, mwene Yuhi Mazimpaka (bavugaga kera ngo Gakoma k'Ababanda).
3. Buhanga-Ndara (i Kirarambogo): yari igizwe n'Indara za Rwasamanzi wa Mukungu (wa Yuhi Mazimpaka).
4. Imvejuru (Nyaruhengeri/Save). Imvejuru zari iza Byavu.
5. Nyakare (Kigembe): Inyakare zari iza Nkoko wo mu muryango w'Abashingo.
6. Bashumba (Nyakizu): zari zigizwe n'*Abashumba* b'igikomangoma Kimanuka (sekuru w'Abamanuka), mwene Kigeri Ndabarasa.
7. Nyaruguru:
 - *Inyaruguru* z'igikomangoma Rwamahe i Gako
 - Indirira (abarwanira kujya ku rugamba) zayoborwaga n'igikomangoma Mukwiye wa Yuhi Mazimpaka i Runyinya na Kinyovu.
 - *Abadahemuka* ba Rubona rwa Rusimbi, bari i Giseke, Rubona yaje kugwa mu Buyenzi nk'*Umutabazi*.

Uretse izo ngerero zo guhangana n'u Burundi, hari ibindi byiza Rujugira yakoze bikwiye kuvugwa:

Yashinze urugerero i Munyaga rwo kurwanya i Gisaka.

Amaze kurangiza intambara n'u Burundi, Rujugira asa n'uwashatse gutera i Gisaka. Kugira ngo abigereho, yashatse imitwe y'ingabo nyinshi iyoborwa n'umuhungu we Sharangabo, sekuruza w'Abasharangabo, na Ndabarasa batera i Gisaka n'agace ka Gasura. Mu ntambara yo gutsinda burundu i Gisaka yabereye i Gasabo, ingabo za Sharangabo zagiye zigana i Burasirazuba muni y'ikiyaga cya Muhazi. Sharangabo n'ingabo ze z'*Abakemba* batera i Gisaka cyo muni ya Muhazi berekeza iyo mu Bwanacyambwe. Zirwana n'*Imbogo* zari ziyobowe na

²⁸ Idem

²⁹ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.* pp. 137-139.

Mudirigi, mwene Karemera wagenda akubitwa inshuro kenshi. Nyuma Sharangabo yaje gupfa, ingabo ziyoborwa n'umuhungu we waje gufata u Buganza no gushinga urugerero i Munyaga³⁰. Ni ku ngoma ya Rujugira u Buganza bwose bwongeye gutsindwa burundu no kugeza ku gice cyabwo cy'uburasirazuba kitari cyarigeze gufatwa n'u Rwanda mbere.

Ingerero za Gakuta na Rutare.

Urugerero rwa kabiri rwashinzwe i Gakuta ho mu Buganza bw'amajyaruguru hateganye n'u Mubari. Urwa gatatu rwashyizwe i Rutare. Ariko izo za nyuma zombi zaje kuvaho, Ndabarasa³¹ amaze gutanga.

Muri make ku ngoma ya Rujugira, ingufu z'u Rwanda nyinshi zabaye izo gutera i Gisaka n'i Ndorwa, hagamijwe kwagura u Rwanda. Rujugira yatanze i Ndorwa itakiri igihugu kigenga, naho i Gisaka cyari gisigaranye gusa porovinsi zayo za mbere ari zo Gihunya, Mirenge na Migongo³². Kandi u Buganza bwose bwari bwarigaruriwe n'u Rwanda.

c. Kigeri Ndabarasa: itsindwa ry'i Ndorwa n'u Mubari.

Rujugira yatanze afite nk'imyaka 65, ntihagira impaka nyinshi ziba mu kumusimbura, kandi ubundi atari ibintu bisanzwe, ndetse abana be baje kubwirata biyita *Abatangana* ba Rujugira. Mu by'ukuri icyatumye haba amahoro mu isimburwa rye ni iki:

- Ndabarasa yari yarimitswe afatanije na se ubwami, mbere y'itanga rya Rujugira.
- Yari afite ingabo zikomeye kurusha abandi.
- Abahungu bombi ba Rujugira kandi bakaba bari n'abatware b'ingabo, ari bo Gihana na Sharangabo, bari barapfuye mbere ya Rujugira, bituma ntawuhangana na Ndabarasa.
- Ndabarasa kandi yari yarakoze ibintu bikomeye, se akiriho, mu bintu bijyanye na poritiki n'intambara.

Nyuma y'intambara y'i Gatsibo (irwanya i Gisaka), Ndabarasa afata impinganya Rutare ngo ahaba hari imvya ya Kigeri Mukobanya. Afashijwe n'umutware Kamari, Ndabarasa yica Rubunda wari

³⁰Vansina J., 2001, op.cit, pp. 150-151.

³¹Ibidem, p. 154.

³²Kagame A., *L'histoire du Rwanda en raccourci*, Leverville, 1958, pp. 5-6.

wasimbuye se Gahaya Muhoza, umwami w'i Ndorwa. Ndabarasa yubaka urugo rwe i Ruhinda, kuva ubwo akaba ari ho ava agaba ibitero byo kunyaga muri Ankole. Ndabarasa yimira ingoma mu Ndorwa yari yaratsinzwe se Kirima Rujugira akiriho³³. Ayobora u Rwanda n'i Ndorwa, ariko akaba cyanecyane mu Ndorwa.

Kigeri Ndabarasa atera u Mubari (mu Mazinga), yica umwami waho Biyoro na nyina Nyirabiyoro. Ngo uyu Nyirabiyoro yaba ari we wahanuye kuza kw'abazungu mu Rwanda. Ni ukuva icyo gihe u Rwanda rwagejeje umupaka warwo ku Kagera kagabanya u Rwanda na Karagwe. Nyuma u Mubari waje kuzamo amapfa buhorobuhoro, abaturage bawushiramo, u Rwanda ntirwongera kuwitaho. Byageze mu kinyejana cya XX, u Mubari usa naho wigenga. Ni nyuma y'intambara ya mbere y'isi yose, u Mubari wongeye komekwa ku Rwanda.

d. Mibambwe Sentabyo: ifatwa rw'igice cy'u Bugesera.

Ni ku ngoma ya Mibambwe Sentabyo, waba waratanze muri 1741³⁴, u Rwanda rwigaruriye amajyaruguru y'u Bugesera, igice gisigaye kigafatwa ku buryo butwazwi n'umwami w'u Burundi Ntare Rugamba. Mibambwe Sentabyo yatanze akiri muto ahitanywe n'ubushita. Hari abavuga ko yaroze. Yasize uruhinja ngo yaba yarabyaranye na Nyiratunga, wari umupfakazi w'umutabazi Gihana. Uwo mwana yabayeye umwami yitwa Yuhi. Kwima ingoma kwe byajemo urujijo n'ibibazo bikomeye.

e. Yuhi Gahindiro

Mibambwe Sentabyo amaze gutanga, havutse intambara yo kumusimbura, birangira igice gishyigikiye Yuhi na nyina Nyiratunga ari cyo gitsinze. Ibiranga ingoma ye nuko yabayeye ndende, ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bukavugururwa, hakaremwa *Imitwe mishya* y'ingabo n'umuco nyarwanda ugasagamba. Yarwanije u Burundi ku ngoma ya Ntare Rugamba, atera i Gisaka, u Mubari, u Buhunde, ndetse na Karagwe. Amaze kuba umugabo, Gahindiro yateye Karinda, umuhinza wo mu Buhunde, aratsindwa aranicwa. Nyina Nyirakarinda, arafatwa, aza kwicirwa mu Rwanda³⁵. Ni ku ngoma ya Gahindiro umuco nyarwanda wateye imbere ndetse wiyungura by'umwihariko kuvuga Amazina y'inka.

³³Reba igisigo "Batewe n'iki uburake?" (Ni iki cyabarakaje?)

³⁴Kagame A., *L'histoire du Rwanda en raccourci*, Leverville, 1958, p.6.

³⁵ Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., p. 89.

f. Mutara Rwogera: itsindwa ry'i Gisaka.

Ni mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya XIX, umwami Mutara Rwogera yashoboye gutsinda i Gisaka, cyarimo umwiryane icyo gihe. Mbere gato y'uko Rwogera atanga, ingabo z'i Gisaka zashyizwe ku z'u Rwanda. Yari imitwe itatu mishya. Umwe muri yo uza kuyoborwa by'umwihariko na Nkoronko ku giti ke. Isigaye ibiri igabanywa bene Gahindiro, Nyamwasa na Rwabika, ariko abatware bayo bayiyoboraga mu Gisaka, bagumishwaho bayoborera abari bamaze kugabana iyo mitwe yombi, ndetse iza ngabo zikomeza kuyoboka cyane abayobozi bayo ba mbere aho kuyoboka abo bashya³⁶. Rwogera yaje kuzira igituntu nk'ahagana mu wa 1867. Umugabekazi Nyiramavugo Nyiramongi, yanga kwiyahura nk'uko umuco wabiteganyaga, yicwa na musaza we Rwakagara³⁷.

g. U Rwanda ku ngoma ya Kigeri Rwabugiri.

Kigeri Rwabugiri ni umwami uzwi mu mateka y'u Rwanda kubera ibitero byinshi by'intambara yakoze byo kwagura u Rwanda. Yabihereye *ibisingizo* byinshi: *Inkotanyi*, *Rwangakugwabira*, *Rukayababisha* n'ibindi. Ibikorwa bye by'urugamba na poritiki byari byinshi ku buryo byatangaje abakoroni b'Ababirigi ubwabo. Ubutwari bwa Rwabugiri bujya kungana n'ubw'igihangange Ruganzu Ndori. Yatsinze Abanyabungo n'Abahima, yigarurira Ijwi amaze kwica umuhinza waryo Kabego, arwanya Nsoro, atera u Bushi na Rutebuka umuhinza wo ku Ishunga, bombi baratsindwa, baricwa. Rwabugiri ntiyarwanije amahanga gusa, yanazengurukaga mu Rwanda hose, nta karere atagezemo ngo agaturemo kandi yagendaga agaba inka yanyaze abanzi yatsinze, ibyo byose bigatuma akundwa n'ingabo ze. Mbere yuko atanga yasize araze ingoma Mibambwe Rutarindwa³⁸.

Nubwo nta gihugu nyirizina yometse ku Rwanda, bitewe cyanecyane n'uko abakoroni bari bamaze kugera mu bihugu bidukikije, u Rwanda ku ngoma ye rwarutaga uko rungana ubu. Ndetse yari yarateye mu Bufumbira (mu majyaruguru y'ibirunga) kandi yari yarateye na Ankore. Ni ku ngoma ye u Rwanda rwigaruriye burundu igice cy'uburengerazuba cyo ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Kivu na Rusizi (kuva mu Bugoyi h'Amajyaruguru,

³⁶ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit.* 192.

³⁷ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, pp. 208-210.

³⁸ *Rapport du Gouvernement Belge*, 1926, p. 57.

kugeza mu Kinyaga h'Amagepfo). Yari amaze kwigarurira gato Abahavu bo ku Ijwi n'Abashi. Mu burasirazuba, Rwabugiri yari yaratabaye mu Bushubi. Ni cyo gihe u Rwanda rwabaye rugari cyane kandi rugatinywa muri ako karere³⁹.

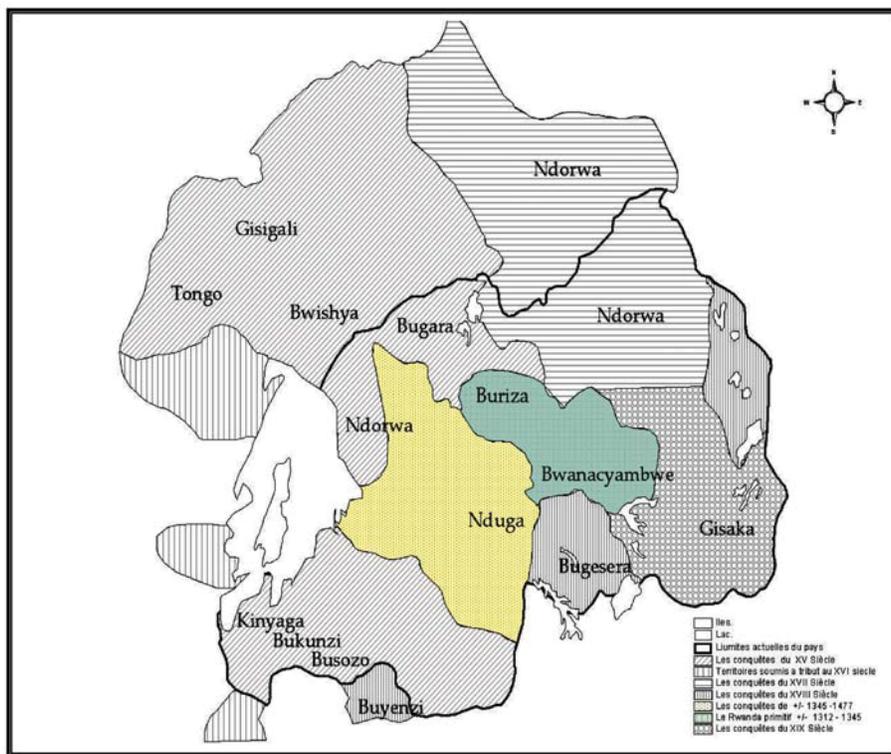
Akimara gutanga, abaturage bo ku Ijwi bahise batangira kwigenga, ntibongera kuyoboka u Rwanda. Ariko yatanze mu 1895, igice yashakaga kwigarurira (Ijwi no hirya yaryo) byaramaze kuba ibya Reta yigenga ya Kongo, yari umwihariko bwite wa Léopard II, umwami w'Ababirigi.

Mu gusoza havugwa ko ingoma ya Rwabugiri yaranzwe by'umwihariko n'ibi bikurikira:

- Imitunganyirize n'imiyoborere inyuranye;
- Ibihano bikomeye ku bantu bamurwanya: nka Nyamwasa wari imfura ya Rwogera kandi washakaga kumusimbura, Rugereka n'Abagereka;
- Gukomeza komeka ku Rwanda ibihugu byose byari bimaze gutsindwa vuba no kubituramo (i Rugenge mu Bugesera n'i Sakara mu Gisaka);
- Ibitero byinshi bigamije ibintu bitandukanye: gutsinda ibihugu cyangwa kunyaga inka;
- Imibano n'abanyamahanga: umubonano Rwabugiri Rumaliza mu Bugarama.

³⁹ Chrétien J.-P., *L'Afrique des Grands Lacs. Deux mille ans d'histoire*, Paris, Aubier, p. 136.

Ikarita ya 7: Uko u Rwanda rwagiye rwaguka.



Aho byavuye: LUGAN B., 1997, op. cit., P. 108.

3.3. Uko ingoma y'u Rwanda yayoborwaga

Imiterere ya poritiki y'u Rwanda mbere y'ubukoroni, cyanecyane mu kinyejana cya XIX, ku ngoma ya Kigeri Rwabugiri, yari ishingiyeye mbere na mbere ku ndangabitekerezo y'imyunvire n'imitekerereze y'icyo gihe, ku ngabo, ku buyobozi n'imitwe y'ingabo abantu bahuriramo. Imyumvire n'imitekereze ya poritiki y'icyo gihe yari ishingiyeye ku bintu bine: ubwami bushingiyeye ku mana, ubuyobozi bukuru bugizwe n'umwami n'umwamikazi, ibitero bigamije kwagura u Rwanda n'ishyamba ryo gukunda igihugu: byigishwaga buri gihe abaturage binyuze mu nzego nyinshi zinyuranye.

Inzego zose zarahuraga, zikuzuzanya kandi zikaba zigamije gushyigikira ubutegetsi, umwami n'abamuhagarariye. Muri izo nzego twavugaga ubwiru, ubuhake, ubusizi, ubucurabwenge,

ibitekerezo by'abami, ibitekerezo by'imiryango n'izindi. Imiterere ya poritiki yanyuranagamo kandi ubuyobozi bwose bwari bushingiye ku mwami n'ibwami.

3.3.1. Imiyoborere ya poritiki

a. Umwami, Umugabekazi n'ibwami

Umwami, umugabekazi n'ibwami ni byo byari umutima w'imiyoborere y'igihugu mu nzego zose zinyuranye n'uko zirutana n'uko zihuriza hamwe kandi zikuzuzanya. Nubwo ubuhake n'ingabo ari byo byagize uruhare ngo bigerweho, ariko ibwami ni ho hari umutima w'ubutegetsu kandi ni ho ingoma nyiginya yubakiwe. Tugiye kuvuga ko aho ibwami hagiye hakomera, ndetse n'ubwami ubwabwo ndetse n'abagize uruhare rukomeye.

Umwami n'ingoma ngabe byari biganje mu murwa mukuru w'igihugu. Hamwe, byose byerekanaga kandi bikaranga ubuzima n'ubumwe bw'igihugu. Umwami ni we wabaga ari umukuru muri byose. Yamaraga kwima akitandukanya n'imfura zindi zisanzwe, ntazibemo ahubwo akagira umwanya we wihariye. Icyamurangaga gikuru nuko *“Umwami yari we Mana”*⁴⁰. Ijambo *Imana* ryerekana umuremyi, ariko rikanerekana umuzi w'ubuzima, kubyara no kurumbuka. Iyo miterere y'ubuzima yayerekanaga mu bintu byinshi byabaga byarakoreshejwe mu guterekera. Ibyo bintu kandi byarabikwaga bikaba ikimenyetso gifatika k'*Imana nziza*’ (imana zeze).

Mu myumvire y'Abanyarwanda ba kera, bumvaga *Imana* ari nk'ikintu kibaho: nk'umuremyi cyangwa *Imana* cyangwa ikintu cyose kiza kandi gishakira abantu ineza. Ni muri ubwo buryo umwami na we yagereranywaga n'*Imana* nubwo yakomezaga kuba n'umuntu nk'abandi: ku bw'umuburi ntiyitandukanyaga n'ibiremhamuntu. Urwo *“rwego rwihariye”* umwami yabagamo rwagiye rukura buhorobuhoro cyanecyane ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira. Kandi twibuke ko ubwami bwabaga busangiwe n'imitwe ibiri: nta mwami wabagaho hatari n'umugabekazi⁴¹.

⁴⁰ Kagame A., *Poésie dynastique du Rwanda* (Igisigo no 17: Umwami si umuntu)

⁴¹ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit*, pp .110-111.

Kuva mu ntangiriro ibwami⁴² ntihari gusa inzu y'umwami n'umugabekazi n'abagaragu babo, hari n'intore zibarinda, abanyamirimo inyuranye n'abanyamihango ndetse n'abapfumu, ni na ho abatware bakuru babaga. Bazaga kuhaba, bazanye n'inka zabo, bigatuma haza n'abasabirizi baje gushaka icyabatunga.

Uko buhorobuhoro ibwami bagiye bagira ubukungu bushingiye cyanecyane ku nka n'ibindi bintu by'icyo gihe, hakomeje kujya haza abagaragu benshi, hagakenerwa n'abantu benshi harimo abakora imirimo yo mu rugo n'abayobozi ba poritiki. Mu ntangiriro y'ingoma ya Gisanura, abatware babaga bayobora buri wese akarere ke kandi bakahatura. Ni Yuhi Mazimpaka wategetse ko abatware bajya bamara igihe kinini ibwami. Ni muri icyo gihe abami batangiye kugira abahungu benshi barimo abo batoneshaga, bakaba na bo ibwami bakanahororokera.

Aho ibwami kandi mu mutima w'ingoma, habaga abiru n'abatekereza b'amateka n'abaririmbyi b'insengo, abavuzi b'ingoma, abanyamihango b'ingoma n'abanyamihango ya Ryangombe⁴³ n'abandi. Ibwami kandi ni ho hahuriraga ibijyanye n'ubukungu byose cyanecyane ibirebana n'amakoro yazaga ibwami arimo inka n'umusaruro w'imyaka n'ibindi. Ibyo bintu bimwe byafashaga abakene mu izina ry'umwami.

b. Ubwiru (Amabanga y'ingoma)

Ubwiru bwari bufatanije ibintu bya poritiki n'iyobokamana kandi bwagize uruhare rukomeye mu buzima bwa poritiki y'u Rwanda. Bagamije ibyazanira igihugu umugisha, bikanakirinda amakuba, abiru ni bo bagiraga uruhare mu kuvuga uzaba umwami n'umugabekazi kandi bagahererekanya ibirebana n'amateka y'ingoma yose.

Abiru bashyirwagaho hakurikijwe amategeko abigenga kandi urwego rw'ubwiru rwagize akamaro kanini mu miyoborere y'igihugu. Abiru bagize uruhare runini mu gushyigikira no guha ingufu urwego rw'ubwami".

⁴² Lugan B., "Nyanza, une capitale royale du Rwanda ancien", in *Africa-Tervuren*, XXVI, 1980, 4, p. 101.

⁴³ Schumacher P. cité par Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit*, p. 107.

➤ **Icyo ubwiru bivuga**

Ubwiru ni rwo rwego rukuru mu nzego zose zishamikiye ku bwami: ni urwego rw'amabanga ya poritiki rwari rufite inshingano zo kurinda no gukomeza ndetse no guhesha ikuzo ubwami bushingiye ku mana no ku ngoma. Ingoma yagombaga kuba iy'ubwoko bw'Abanyiginya. Iryo hame ryavugwaga mu bisekuru by'abami byitwa *Ubucurabwenge*.

Naho ijambo *umwiru (abiru mu bwinshi)* ubwaryo rivuga abashinzwe imihango y'ubwiru bw'ingoma nyiginya cyangwa rigashobora kuvuga abaramvura ingoma cyangwa abazivuzwa.

➤ **Ibikubiye mu bwiru**

Ibikubiye mu bwiru biteye ku buryo bukurikira:

- *Irage ry'abami* (Ibyifuzo bya nyuma by'abami)
- *Umurage w'ingoma* (irage ryo kwima ingoma)
- *Inzira z'ubwiru* (uburyo cyangwa inzira y'ubwiru)
- *Intekerezo z'ubwiru* (amateka n'ibisobanuro by'ibyo bice bitatu bibanza)⁴⁴

Ibyari mu bwiru bw'ibikubiye muri ibyo bitatu bibanza ntibizwi magingo aya. Ibizwi ni inzira z'ubwiru 17 byatangajwe na Marcel D'Hertefelt na André Coupez⁴⁵, nubwo Kagame we yari yaravuze ko izo nzira ari 18. Izo nzira zerekana imihango ikorwa n'uko ikurikirana mu birebana n'ibi bukurikira:

- Ibirebana n'ingoma (kwimika umwami, kurwanira ubwami, umuriro);
- Ibirebana n'inka (imfizi y'ibwami, muryamo, amariba);
- Ibirebana n'ubuhinzi (amapfa, imyuzure, imiganura);

⁴⁴ Kagame A., "Le code ésotérique de la dynastie du Rwanda", in *Zaire*, 4, I, 1947, p. 363.

⁴⁵ D'Hertefelt M. et Coupez A., *La royauté sacrée de l'ancien Rwanda. Texte, traduction et commentaire de son rituel*, Tervuren, 1964. Muri 1968, A. Kagame yemeye gushyira umukono hamwe na M. d'Hertefelt na A. Kamanzi ku rupapuro rwemeza ko iyo nyandiko ari ukuri. Nk'uko byavuzwe, ngo byaba ari kopi yakuwe mu mpapuro z'ububiko z'umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa igihe kitazwi ariko hagomba kuba ari hagati ya 1959 na 1962. A. Kagame, ndetse nta gushidikanya ko n'abiru bake bari bakiraho icyo gihe, bafashije gufundura iyo nyandiko y'ubwiru yari kuzaguma kuba ihurizo byibura mu gice cyayo kinini. Birashoboka ko Alexis Kagame wapfuye amarabira mu mahanga (Nairobi) atashoboye kwerekana aho yaba yarahishe inyandiko zimwe zirebana n'*Ubwiru*.

- Ibireba amahanga (ibitero, insinzi, gutaka ingoma, kubunda k'umwami no guterwa);
- Ibirebana n'ibindi (inzuki, iminyago, urupfu no gushyingura).

Biraboneka ko ibyitabwagaho ari ibifite akamaro gakomeye mu bya poritiki n'ubukungu. Ariko n'ibirebana n'imibanire, umuco n'iyobokamana byabaga iteka mu mihango y'ubwami. Biragaragara kandi ko bahaga agaciro kanini ibijyanye n'ubukungu bw'icyo gihe : ubworozi, ubuhinzi, umuhigo no guhakura. Umuntu agenekereje n'iby'ubu yavuga ko ubwiru bwarimo ibisa n'Itegeko nshinga ry'ubwami, amategeko n'amabwiriza ndetse n'ibijyanye n'imihango yo guhosha amakuba no kongera uburumbuke bw'imirima no kwiyongera kw'abantu n'amatungo no gutsinda amahanga no gutegeka ibihugu byatsinzwe n'u Rwanda.

➤ **Abari bafite uruhare mu bwiru.**

Abari bafite uruhare mu bwiru ni aba bakurikira : ni mbere na mbere umwami, hagakurikiraho abiru bari bashinzwe imihango inyuranye kandi irutana bishingiye ku moko, imiryango n'amazu bavukamo. Abandi bagiraga uruhare rugaragara ni abaturage bitabiraga ibijyanye n'imihango irebana cyane cyane n'ibi:

- *Inzira ya Gicurasi* (inzira yo kwiraburira umwami no gusoza inzira ya Gicurasi) ;
- *Inzira y'Umuriro* ;
- *Inzira y'Umuganura* (w'uburo n'amasaka).

Ubusanzwe imirimo y'ubwiru, ababyeyi bayisimburanwagaho n'abana babo, ariko abana bayikoraga ni abo ba se babaga baragejeje ibwami, bakemezwa n'umwami. Ntabwo rero umuhungu w'umwiru yasimburaga se uko yishakiye. Ntabwo kandi abagore bakoraga uwo murimo. Ariko amateka avuga ko umugore umwe witwa Nyiramuhanda, yakoze uwo murimo. Ngo yari umunyagano, hanyuma aza kugira uruhare rukomeye mu iyimika rya Yuhi Gahindiro, ahita ashirwa mu mubare w'abiru, byari icyubahiro kidasanzwe. Uwo murimo yaje kuwuraga abamukomokaho, barimo uzwi cyane witwa Kayijuka wo mu nzu y'Abanyiginya b'Abasigaye.

➤ **Uko ubwiru bwagiye bukura**

Ubwiru bwagiye bukura, kuva bukibaho kugeza mu kinyejana cya XX. Ibibukubiyemo byagiye bihindagurwa, hakurikijwe uko poritiki yabaga imeze buri gihe. Bwahinduwe kuva ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Bwimba, kugera ku ngoma ya Yuhi Musinga. Mbere yo kuvuga uko ubwiru bwagiye buhindagurika, twibutse ko bushingiye kuri Gihanga, umwe mu bihangange bivugwa n'ibisa n'imigani mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Kandi n'imiryango ikomeye cyane mu by'ubwiru (Abatsobe, Abatege bamwe bemeza ko bari mu bwoko bw'Abasindi ndetse n'Abaheka bo mu bwoko bw'Abazigaba); yose ishingiyeye kuri Gihanga. Bivugwa ko Gihanga yimitse ingoma Rwoga, ikaba ari yo ngoma ngabe ya mbere mu Rwanda. Bavuga ko kandi Gihanga ari we wahimbye umuriro bita «*umuriro wa Gihanga*» akaba yararemye inka n'ingoma (*Gihanga cyahanze inka n'ingoma*).

Ibya Robwa na Kimenyi Musaya, umwami w'i Gisaka bimaze kuba, Ruganzu Bwimba yaciye iteka ko ubwoko bw'Abasinga butazongera gutangwaho umugabekazi mu ngoma nyiginya. Iryo teka rya poritiki rya Ruganzu Bwimba ryo kubuza burundu ko abakobwa b'Abasinga bajya bavamo abagabekazi ryaturutse ku kuba nyina Nyakiyaga, wari warabaye umugabekazi akitwa Nyiraruganzu (Nyakanga) wavaga muri ubwo bwoko, yari amaze guteza ibyago bikomeye u Rwanda ashyingira umukobwa we Robwa umwami w'i Gisaka⁴⁶.

Kirima Rugwe we yaciye iteka ko abagabekazi badashobora kongera gushaka abagabo. Byaturutse ku kuba nyina Nyakiyaga amaze guhungurwa na muramu we Mwendu, uyu yashatse kwigarurira ingoma ndetse bivugwa ko yashatse kuroga Rugwe wari ukiri muto. Rugwe kandi yari yaragize Kenge⁴⁷ umukuru w'abiru bose n'umurinzi wa *Rwoga*, yari ingoma ngabe, amushimira kuba yarayoboye igihugu mu buto bwe. Nyuma Rwoga yaje gusimburwa na Karinga ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori. Abakomoka kuri Kenge bagumanye icyo cyubahiro, ibwami bakomeje kubahiriza ibyari byaremejwe na Kirima Rugwe.

⁴⁶ Kagame A, 1972, *op.cit*, p. 59.

⁴⁷ Kenge yari uwo mu bwoko bw'Abanyiginya, bo mu muryango w'Abakobwa, yakomokaga kuri Mukobwa wa Ndoba (uwa 9 mu bisekuru by'ingoma nk'uko byavugwaga ibwami).

Ikindi nuko amateka mvugo ahamya ko Kirima Rugwe yahaye *Abakono* kuvamo umwiru witwa umwami w'i Nyamweru. Uwo mwiruwami yari ashinzwe kurinda irage ryo kumenya uko imiryango *y'Ibibanda*, izajya isimburana mu gutanga abagabekazi. Ubwo bwoko bw'ibibanda ni: Abaha, Abakono, Abega n'Abagesera baje kongerwamo nyuma ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira.

Ngo ni ku ngoma ya Kigeri Mukobanya, Abatsobe baba barongewe mu *bwiru* bw'ingoma nyiginya. Ntacyahindutse haba ku ngoma ya Ndahiro Cyamatatare, iya Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi n'iya Yuhi Gahima. Ahubwo Ruganzu Ndori yimitse ingoma ngabe nshya ari yo Karinga isimbura *Rwoga* yari yaratwawe na Nsibura, umwami w'u Bushi, igihe k'itsindwa n'iyicwa rya Ndahiro Cyamatatare i *Rubi rw'i Nyundo*. Bivugwa ko igiti cyaramvuwemo *Karinga* cyavuyemo n'izindi ngoma ngabe enye zifatwa nk'iziva inda imwe na yo zari zigenewe kuba zayisimbura iramutse igize icyo iba⁴⁸.

Mutara Semugeshe yabanje kwimikwa ku izina ry'ubwami rya Bicuba. Nyuma ahabwa irya Mutara. Bivugwa ko ari we wafashe ibyemezo bikomeye birebana n'*ubwiru* bikurikira:

- Buri mwami azajya abwira abantu batatu barimo *Umutso*, *Umutege* n'umukuru w'ingabo, izina ry'uzajya umusimbura ku ngoma n'irage rye rya nyuma⁴⁹.
- Amazina y'ubwami agomba gukurikirana ku buryo bukurikira: Ikiciro cya mbere: Mutara, Kigeri, Mibambwe, Yuhi.
Ikiciro cya Kabiri: Kirima, Kigeri, Mibambwe, Yuhi.
- *Abiru* ba Mutara ni bo bashinzwe kuzajya batanga amoko azatanga abagabekazi uko bazakurikirana muri buri kiciro.
- Akuraho amazina y'ubwami ya Nsoro, Ndahiro na Ruganzu kubera impamvu zikurikira: Izina rya Nsoro ryari rifitwe n'abami b'u Bugesera, bwari igihugu gikomeye kiyobowe n'Abahondogo. Izina Ndahiro yarikuyeho kuko Umwami wa nyuma wari wararyiswe ari we Cyamatatare yari yarishwe nabi, *Rwoga* ikanyagwa, ari yo ngoma ngabe ya mbere. Izina rya Ruganzu ryavuyeho kuko abami ba nyuma baryiswe, ari bo Bwimba na Ndori, bari barishwe n'umwanzi. Iryo zina ryafatwaga nk'iritera ibyago.

⁴⁸ Kagame A., *Histoire du Rwanda*, Leverville, 1958, pp. 29-30.

⁴⁹ Vansina J., 1962, *op.cit.*, p. 68.

Ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro, umurimo w'ubwiru wasimburanwagaho mu miryango imwe n'imwe, kandi umubare w'abiru ukaba muto. Kuva icyo gihe hatangira umuco wo kongera umubare w'abiru. Byatewe ahanini nuko hari icyorezo k'indwara yari igiye gutuma abazi ubwiru bujyanye n'izina Yuhi bose bashira. Gahindiro ahita afata ikemezo cyo gukuba inshuro cumi umubare w'abiru «kugira ngo abambire icyago nk'icyo gishobora guteza amakuba akomereye igihugu»⁵⁰.

Yuhi Gahindiro akiri muto, igihugu cyayoborwaga n'umugabekazi Nyirayuhi Nyiratunga. Habayeho amapfa yateye inzara yitwa Rukungu. Ibwami bongera mu bwiru *inzira ya Rukungu* igamije guhosha icyo kiza⁵¹.

Kigeri Rwabugiri yambuye umwiru wa Karinga wo mu nzu y'Abakobwa kuba umukuru mu bandi biru, icyo cyubahiro bakaba bari bagifite kuva ku ngoma ya Kirima Rugwe. Ubwo butware abuha Abatege, babyemerera umuhango gusa, ubundi barekera icyo cyubahiro Abakobwa byo kubahiriza iteka ryari ryaraciwe na Kirima Rugwe.

Ni na ko byagenze nyuma y'iyimikwa rya Rutarindwa wari mwishywa wa Rwabugiri ariko yari yaragize umwana we, amaze kumwimika ngo bafatanye kwima igihugu, amaze no gushyiraho Kanjongera w'Umwegakazi ngo amubere umugabekazi (nyina wa Rutarindwa Nyiraburunga yari yarapfuye), abiru bamwe beretse Rwabugiri ibizazane bishobora kuvuka kubera ko Kanjogera ubwe yari afite umuhungu Musinga washoboraga kuba umwami. Rwabugiri ntiyita kuri iyo nama bamugira. Kuva ubwo aba acanye inkongi y'umuriro yagurumanye ku Rucunshu mu wa 1896.

Nta gushidikanya kandi ko ari ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri abiru bemeje ko izina ry'umwami uzajya usimbura Yuhi rizaba irya Mutara aho kuba irya Kirima nk'uko byari biteganijwe mu isimburana ry'ayo mazina, kubera impamvu zikomeye zatumye Mutara Rwogera adashobora gukora umuhango wo gushyingura Kirima Rujugira. Mu by'ukuri, hari itegeko mu bwiru ryabuzaga ko «Abami babiri b'amazina ya Kirima bakora umuhango w'inzira y'ishora bikurikiranyije»⁵². Ni yo mpamvu Rudahigwa amaze

⁵⁰Kagame A., 1947, *op.cit.* p. 366.

⁵¹Kagame A., 1959, *Inganji Karinga*, Kabgayi, p. 29.

⁵²Kagame A., 1947, *op.cit.*, p. 378.

kwima ku bw'Ababirigi mu wa 1931, yiswe izina ry'umwami rya Mutara, rivuzwe na Myr Classe, ngo yaba yararibwiwe n'umwiru yari yizeye⁵³, wamumeneye iryo banga.

➤ **Mibambwe Rutarindwa na Yuhi Musinga (1896)**

Bavuga ko ku Rucunshu, mu ntambara yaguyemo Rutarindwa, umugore we n'abana be (Nyamuhesha, Rangira na Sekarongoro) indimi z'umuriro zitangiye gusatira ingoma ngabe zirimo Karinga, ngo Kabare yaba yaravuze ati: “*Haguma umwami, ingoma irabazwa*”, ashaka kuvuga ko igikuru ari umwami, ingoma yo ishakwa. Kuva ubwo igitinyiro cya Karinga cyari kivuyeho, isigara ari ingoma⁵⁴ nk'izindi.

Mu wa 1925, igihe cy'ubukoroni, umutwe w'abiru warasheshwe, ushenywe n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bubifashijwemo na Mgr Classe. Gashamura ka Rukangirashyamba akaba n'umukuru w'abiru yaciriwe i Gitega mu Burundi nyuma y'iminsi mike, naho umuhungu we Rwampungu arakomorerwa, ajyanwa kwiga mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza. Abatizwa muri Gatorika mu wa 1928. Ariko abiru ntibahise bazima icyo gihe, bagumyeho barataye icyubahiro cyabo n'ikuzo ryabo. Ndetse nta ruhare bagize mu inyagwa rya Musinga n'iyimikwa rya Rudahigwa mu wa 1931.

Muri za 1940, Alexis Kagame yinjijwe mu rwego rw'ubwiru, bimufasha gucengera no kumenya inzego z'ubuyobozi zose z'icyo gihe.

c. Amasekuruza y'Abami

Ubucurabwenge, umuntu yakwita ko ari icuriro ry'ubuhanga, ricurirwamo inzego z'imitegekere na poritiki rikavuga urutonde rw'amasekuru yo mu nzu y'ubwami ubwayo, imitere yabwo n'ubumenyi bwihariye bujyanye n'ayo masekuru. Abashinzwe by'umwihariko ubwo bumenyi bitwa abacurabwenge.

Ubucurabwenge ni ibitero by'amagambo akurikiranya amazina y'abamin'abagabekazin'amasekuruyabo. Niamazina akurikirana ku buryo arangizwa iteka n'interuro imwe. Akamaro kabyo nuko byafashije kumenya ayo mazina y'abami b'ingoma nyiginya uko yagiye akurikirana mu bihe byashize. Bikaba bifasha umuntu

⁵³Ibidem, p. 378, note 26.

⁵⁴ Smith P., *Le récit populaire au Rwanda*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1975.

ushaka kwandika amateka y'u Rwanda. Birumvikana ko mu bihugu bidakoresha inyandiko, amazina y'ibisekuru aba inkingi y'amateka kuko afasha gutondekanya no gushyira mu bihe bitandukanye ibintu byabaye mu bihe byashize nk'uko amateka mvugo abivuga.

Kugeza ubu, ntawuramenya igihe urwego rw'*ubucurabwenge* rwatangiriye⁵⁵. Imiterere yabwo yo igenda ihererekanywa mu magambo, ku buryo budahinduka. Igitekerezo cy'*ubucurabwenge*, cyatangajwe mu nyandiko irambuye na Padiri A. Kagame⁵⁶. Ikubiye mu bice bigenda bivuga buri mwami, bahereye ku wuri ku ngoma, kugeza ku wa mbere w'inkomoko⁵⁷.

Buri gice k'ingingo kirimo ibi bikurikira:

- Izina ry'umwami n'umugabekazi;
- Amazina bwite buri mwami n'umugabekazi bitwaga mbere yo kwima ingoma;
- Ibisekura byo mu bwoko bwa nyina, bifasha kumenya ubwoko bwe;
- Ibisekuru n'izina ry'ubwoko bw'umugabekazi; buri gika gisherwa n'interuro imwe.

Buri gice gisherwa kandi n'amagambo amwe "Aho ga nyine (bakavuga ubwoko bw'umugabekazi) bakabyarana abami n'Abanyiginya". Aba banyuma kandi ni bwo bwoko buvamo abami.

Dore urugero rw'interuro zivugwa n'ubucurabwenge.

1. "Uyu mwami twimitse ni Mutara, izina rye ari umututsi ni Rudahigwa. Nyina ni Nyiramavugo, izina rye ari umututsi ni Kankazi ka Mbazabigwi, ya Rwakagara rwa Gaga, rya Mutezintare, wa Sesonga, ya Makara, ya Kiramira, cya Mucuzi, wa Nyantabana, ya Bugirande, bwa Ngoga, ya Gihinira, cya Ndiga, ya Gahutu, ka Serwega, rwa Mututsi: akaba umukobwa w'Abega. Nyina ni Nyiranteko ya Nzagura ya Mbonyingabo akaba umukobwa w'Abashambo. Aho ga nyine Abega bakabyarana abami n'Abanyiginya".

⁵⁵ Vansina J., *L'évolution du royaume rwanda*, p. 25; Kagame A., *La notion de génération*, pp. 24, 26-27.

⁵⁶ Kagame A., *Inganji Karinga*, Kabgayi, 1943, pp. 92-108. icyo gitabo cyongeye kwandikwa i Kabgayi mu 1959. Igice cy'ubucurabwenge cyashyizwe mu gifansa na nyirubwite, cyatangajwe mu 1959 muri "*La notion de génération*", pp. 15-17.

⁵⁷ Smith P., "La forge de l'intelligence", in *L'homme* (Paris), 1971.

2. "Mutara ni uwa Yuhi; izina rye ari umututsi ni Musinga. Nyina ni Nyirayuhi; izina rye ari umututsi ni Kanjogera, ka Rwakagara, rwa Gaga, rya Mutezintare, wa Sesonga, ya Makara (...) akaba umukobwa w'Abega. Nyina ni Nyiramashyongoshyongo, ya Mukotanyi, wa Kimana, cya Kabajyonjya, ka Rwaka rwa Yuhi Mazipmaka, Umwami wa Rubanda; akaba umukobwa w'Abanyiginya. Aho ga nyine Abega bakabyarana Abami n'Abanyiginya".

d. Ibitekerezo

Ibitekerezo (mu buke igitekerezo) biva ku nshinga "gutekereza" ivuga kuvuga amateka. Habaho amoko abiri y'ibitekerezo, ari yo: ibitekerezo by'abami (amateka y'abami) n'ibitekerezo by'imiryango (bivuga amateka y'imiryango).

➤ Ibitekerezo by'abami

Ni imvugo yihariye igizwe n'ibitekerezo bivuga Gihanga, wahanze ingoma ndetse n'ubwami bw'Abanyiginya. Ariko abasimbuye uko ari icumi ba mbere bitwa abami b'imishumi (kuko ngo bavunitse bahanga u Rwanda) nta bitekerezo by'amateka yabo biriho. Ibitekerezo by'amateka bihera kuri Ruganzu Bwimba wa 11 uvuye kuri Gihanga, ni ukuvuga nko mu bisekuruza bigeze kuri 18. Ibyo bitekerezo byakozwe n'abibukamateka b'ibwami⁵⁸. Mu by'ukuri ni imvugo yihariye nk'izindi. Igomba gukurikiza amategeko agenga ibisobanuro byayo. Abibukamateka bayiherekanije bavuga gusa ibitekerezo bikuru bikubiye muri izo mvugo.

➤ Ibitekerezo by'imiryango

Mu bushakashatsi bwe, A. Kagame yavumbuye indi soko y'amateka y'u Rwanda, ari yo "*mateka y'imiryango*"⁵⁹, nubwo kugeza icyo gihe yari atarafatwa nk'isoko y'amateka. Ahereye ku mazina agenda avugwa mu mvugo mateka zinyuranye, cyanecyane mu *byivugo*, gukora urutonde rw'ibisekuru by'imiryango byarashobotse uhereye ku bamukomokaho cyangwa abo na we akomokaho. Hari inyandiko zinyuranye kandi zitashyizwe ahagaragara na A. Kagame zifite inyito ngo

⁵⁸ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.* p. 15.

⁵⁹ Inyandiko zitanywe ku mateka y'imiryango mu Rwanda zari zikiboneka mu isomero rya Kagame mu 1995 mu nzu ya Procure y'i Butare. Bizaba ngombwa kongera kuzishaka.

“*Amateka y’imiryango mikuru mu Rwanda*”, bamwe mu bagize iyo miryango bagiye bamenyekana ndetse n’amateka abareba aramenyekana: urugero, biba bizwi ko Kanaka yabayeho ku ngoma y’umwami Runaka, ko yari mu itorero iri n’iri cyangwa umutwe w’ingabo uyu n’uyu, ko yaguye mu gitero iki n’iki cyari kiyobowe n’uyu n’uyu n’ibindi.

Igitekerezo cy’umuryango kivuga niba umukurambere yarageze mu Rwanda ku ngoma y’umwami uyu n’uyu, ko abo akomokaho atari Abanyarwanda; ahubwo ko babaga i Burundi cyangwa mu Ndorwa n’ahandi. Bigitangira, bene ibyo bitekerezo by’imiryango byavugaga gusa abantu bavugwaga n’abibukamateka, hanyuma biraguka, hongerwamo umuntu wese waba waragize icyo amenyekanaho mu mateka naho yaba ay’iwabo gusa. Ubihuje bivamo amateka atangaje kandi afite akamaro gakomeye.

➤ **Ibisigo**

Ibisigo ni imvugo yihariye y’amateka y’u Rwanda rwa kera ivuga amateka yarwo y’icyo gihe⁶⁰. Akamaro kabyo gashingiye cyanecyane ku kuba ari amakuru yihariye, kuko ibice bimwe byayo ari ibyo ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori nko mu wa 1510-1544. Ahandi akamaro kayo gashingira ni mu kudahindagurika kw’ibisigo byagiye bihererekanywa uko byakabaye. Ibisigo rero ni ngombwa mu myandikire y’amateka y’u Rwanda.

3.3.2 Imiterere y’Ingabo

Imiterere y’ingabo yarimo kurema imitwe yazo, gukoresha imyitozo, gutanga uburere ku bashya, kujya mu bitero, kugabana iminyago no gutabarana hagati y’abari mu mutwe umwe.

Hakurikijwe uko bivugwa, mu Rwanda habayeho ibihe bibiri by’ingenzi byo kurema ingabo z’u Rwanda. Igihe cya mbere kiva kuri Ruganzu Bwimba kikagera ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira (mu mpera z’ikinyejana cya XVI). Igihe cya kabiri kiva kuri Rujugira kikageza mu wa 1900. Ingoma ya Rujugira rero ni ingenzi mu mateka y’imitwe y’inka n’ingabo⁶¹.

⁶⁰Kagame A., *La poésie dynastique au Rwanda*, Bruxelles, ARSOM, 1951. Harimo ibisigo 176 n’imikarago 22.025 ; Kagame A., *Introduction aux grands genres lyriques*, 1969, pp. 151-244. Arabitangaza, akanagira bimwe ashya mu rurimi rw’igifaransa n’ikinyarwanda by’intangarugero.

⁶¹Nkurikiyimfura J-N., *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise, évolution historique des XIIIe-XIVe siècles à 1958*, Paris, L’Harmattan, 1994, 49.

Imitwe y'ingabo yose yari iy'umwami. Umuntu wese kandi yari afite umutwe w'ingabo abarizwamo kuva kuri se na sekuru kandi buri mutwe warimo abantu bava mu ntara zose z'igihugu. Gutorwa mu mutwe byakorwaga mu muryango. Ubusanzwe umugabo wese yabaga ashinzwe kurengera igihugu ke, ariko guhitamo ingabo z'umwuga, byakorwaga *n'umukuru w'umuryango*⁶² wahitagamo abazabijyamo⁶³. Akenshi amazina yagiye amenyekana ni ay'abatware b'imitwe cyangwa ay'abari barabaye intwari ku rugamba cyangwa abandi bari barakoze ibintu bikomeye bibukirwaho. Kandi kuri buri mutwe w'ingabo habaga hari n'umutwe w'inka umwe cyangwa myinshi ziwushamikiyeho: urugero, umutwe w'inka *Umuhozi* wari ushingiyeye ku mutwe w'ingabo zitwa *Abashakamba*, *Ingeyo* ari iz'umutwe w'ingabo zitwa *Uruyange*.

Imiterere y'ingabo yagiye itandukana bikurikije igihe cyazo⁶⁴. Uretse abarwanaga, hari n'ibitsimbanyi bishinzwe kunyaga inka z'umwanzi igihe k'imirwano, hari n'abashumba n'abagaragu batwaraga amacumu n'imiheto ya ba shebuja, bashinzwe no gushaka ibibatunga, aho barara, kwikorera, mu magambo make bagomba kubonera ingabo ibyo zikeneye byose ku rugamba. Nubwo inshingano nkuru y'ingabo yari iyo kurwana intambara, ariko ntibibujije ko mu gihe cy'amahoro zari zishinzwe no kureba ibigendanye na poritiki n'imibereho y'abaturage muri rusange. Abatozwaga kwinjira mu mitwe y'ingabo bitwaga *Intore*, bivuga abatoranyijwe. Bagombaga kumara igihe kinini mu myitozo y'ubugororangingo n'yo kurwana harimo kwiga kurwanisha intwari za gakondo (amacumu, imiheto, imyambi, ingabo n'inkota). Ahagana mu kinyejana cya XIX, bakoraga imyitozo

⁶² Ahereye ku bashefu 50 n'abasushefu 630 batwaraga mu wa 1947-1948, padiri Delmas yatangaje igitabo kitwa «*Généalogie de la noblesse (les Batutsi) du Ruanda*». Mu wa 1954, Kagame A. yatangaje igitabo kitwa «*Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*».

⁶³ Ubusanzwe, buri mutwe w'ingabo wabaga ugizwe n'Abatutsi, Abahutu n'Abatwa. A. Kagame yabaruye imitwe y'inka 126 n'amatorero 88. Yagiye atanga amateka y'uko buri mutwe w'inka waremwe, abatware basimburanye kuwuyobora n'amateka yabo bwite (aho baturukaga, uko bagiyeho cyangwa uko bavuyeho), umutwe w'ingabo bayoboraga, inzuri za buri mutwe, n'imirimo bagombaga gukora ibwami. Mu gitabo ke kitwa *Histoire des armées bovines dans l'ancien Ruanda*, A. Kagame avuga uko buri mutwe waremwe, abatware bawuyoboye n'uko basimburanye n'amateka yabo bwite (inzu yabo, uko bagabiwe, uko banyazwe, ibikorwa by'agahebuzo...), ibintu bikomeye byabaye igihe cyabo, ibitero, kunyagwa, amatiriganya ya poritiki, n'imirimo batangaga ibwami.

⁶⁴ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit.* p. 100.

yo guhamiriza, kuvuga neza, kujya impaka, gufata no kuvuga ibyivugo. Batozwaga umuco mwiza w'ingengagaciro nk'ubutwari, kwihangana, kugira ubuntu, kwemera inshingano zabo, kumenya kwihangana no guhisha amarangamutima⁶⁵.

Indi shingano yiyongeraga kuri izo nkuru ni iyo kurwanira igihugu kiramutse gitewe n'abanzi. Urugero ni igitero kiswe "igitero cya *Rwagetana*" mu ntangiriro y'ingoma ya Mutara Rwogera: ingabo z'u Rwanda zanesheje iz'Abarundi bari bateye u Rwanda bagera muri Mvejuru bagamije gutwika urugo rw'umwami byo gushaka gusuzugura Abanyarwanda⁶⁶. Ariko akenshi ibitero by'Abanyarwanda byabaga ari bo babishoje ubwabo mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda. icyo ibyo bitero byabaga bigamije cyaterwaga n'impamvu zinyuranye ariko iz'ingenzi zari izi:

- Gutsinda amahanga, maze u Rwanda rukaguka, rufashe ibihugu rubikikije (Igitero cya mbere cya Rwabugiri mu Bunyabungo);
- Gushaka ko ibihugu by'amahanga yatsinzwe biyoboka ubutegetsi bw'u Rwanda (Igitero cya mbere cya Rwabugiri mu Bunyabungo);
- Intambara zo guhora cyangwa guhana abihaye gusuzugura ubutegetsi bw'umwami w'u Rwanda (Igitero cya kabiri cyo mu Bunyabungo);
- Kwerekana ingufu cyangwa umuhigo (Igitero kiswe *Igitero k'imigogo* mu Ndorwa);
- Ibitero bigamije kunyaga inka (igitero kiswe *Igitero cyo mu Lito*, mu Burundi).

Hari ibitero bimwe impamvu zitavugwaga ariko bikaba byarabaga bigamije kwikiza abantu babaga batifuzwa kandi batagomba kumena amaraso yabo ku butaka bw'u Rwanda. Ni byo byabaye mu *Gitero cyo mu Lito*, ibwami bashakaga kwikiza igikomangoma Nkoronko, ariko yarabimenye ntiyajya ku itabaro. Habaga ibitero byo kunyaga abakobwa n'abagore, ariko ntibivugwe ko ari yo mpamvu nkuru bigamije (Igitero kiswe icyo mu *Karaminwe* cyo ku ngoma ya Rwogera mu Gisaka).

Imyiteguro y'ibitero yagendanaga n'imihango yo kubitegura. Mbere yo gushoza igitero, babanzanga imihango yo kukiraguriza, ngo barebe ko kizatahukana insinzi. Iyo indagu zabaga zeze, hatorwaga *Umutabazi w'umucengeri*, ariko si iteka, akajya kumena amaraso ye ku butaka bw'igihugu kizaterwa. Mu

⁶⁵Ibidem, p. 101.

⁶⁶Kagame A., 1972, *op. cit.* p. 192.

myumvire y'Abanyarwanda b'icyo gihe, ayo maraso yagombaga gusama abanzi no gutuma ingabo z'Abanyarwanda zitsinda. Hanyuma bagashyiraho *umugaba w'igitero*.

Ntabwo byari ngombwa ko umugaba w'igitero aba ari ingabo irwana, uruhare rwe mu bitero rwari umuhango. Imyitwarire ye ku rugamba, imyambaro ye n'ibindi bintu yabaga afite byateraga ubutwari ingabo z'u Rwanda, bigatuma zitsinda. Ni ko zabyumvaga icyo gihe. Ibitero kandi byakorwaga mu izina ry'Ingoma *Karinga*. Byitwaga "*kuyirwanira*" (kurwanira Karinga), "*kuyivira*" (kumenera amaraso Karinga). Mbere yuko bajya ku rugamba, habaga *inkera y'imihigo*, buri murwanyu akavuga ibigwi azesa ku rugamba. Ibyo bigatera ubutwari ingabo.

Muri rusange imirwano yabaga ku manywa, kandi barwanaga bari ku ruhembe. Imitwe myinshi y'ingabo yashoboraga kujya mu gitero kimwe, ariko buri mutwe ufite umutware wawo. Igihe cyo ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, intwari kenshi zakoreshwaga zari amacumu, imyambi, imiheto, inkota n'ingabo; izo ntware za mbere uko ari enye zari izo gutera umwanzi, naho ingabo ikaba iyo kwirinda. Umwihariko wabo mu karere kwari ukugira ingabo zihoraho, kandi guhera ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira, baremye ingerero ku mipaka y'u Rwanda.

3.3.3. Imiyoborere n'imategekere itandukanye y'igihugu.

a. Inzego eshatu z'abatware: Umunyabutaka, Umunyamukenyu n'Umutware w'ingabo.

Mu bantu bari bahagarariye umwami mu baturage, harimo abatware bakaga ikoro⁶⁷. Abatware b'intara bari bashinzwe mbere na mbere kuyobora ibikingi by'umwami (umwami n'abamuyoborera ibintu bye) ku buryo aho bari bashinzwe hakwitwa ihuriro ry'ikoro ry'umwami. Ingo z'umwami zari zinyanyagiye hirya no hino ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri zari iza poritiki n'amakoro; ikoro ry'ibwami ni ho ryoherezwaga rikagezwa ku mugore w'umwami wari ushinzwe buri rugo.

Mu karere kabagamo ubuhake, ubuyobozi bwa za porovensi bwakorwaga n'abatware bakuru cyangwa rimwe na rimwe bugakorwa n'abatware b'ingabo. Ahatari za porovensi cyangwa ku ngerero, ubutegetsi bwari bugizwe n'abatware batatu,

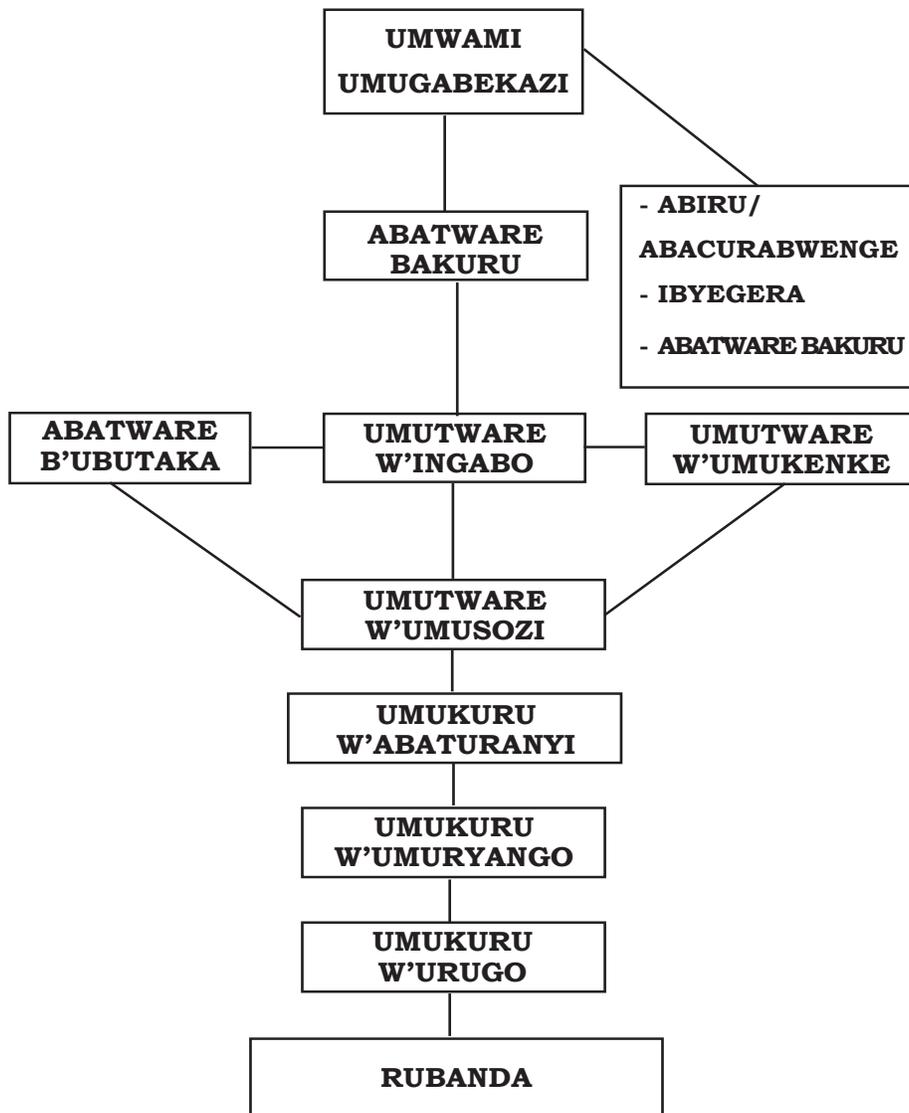
⁶⁷ Classe L., «L'organisation politique du Ruanda», in *Congo*, 1922, p. 685.

bigaragara ko bariho ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro. Abo ni aba:

- ✓ Umutware w'ubutaka, Umunyabutaka
- ✓ Umutware w'umukenke, Umunyamukenke
- ✓ Umutware w'ingabo.

Abo batware uko ari batatu, bakuriwe n'abatware bakuru, umwami n'umugabekazi, babaga bakuriye inzego enye nk'uko bigaragara ku gishushanyo gikurikira kerekana ibice bitatu by'ubuyobozi kuva kuri Kirima Rujugira.

Igishushanyo cya 9: Imiyoborere mu Rwanda rwo hambere



Hari ahagiye haboneka ko umuntu umwe yafatanyaga ubwo buyobozi. Mu Buhanga-Ndara, Mbanzabugabo Bikotwa yari umutware w'ubutaka akaba n'umutware w'ingabo. Muri porovensi y'Impara (Kinyaga-Cyangugu), Rwabirinda rwa Mutara Rwogera yari umutware w'ubutaka akaba n'umutware w'umukenke mu wa 1900.

Mu turere twabaga twarometswe ku Rwanda vuba, ingabo zarahibandaga. Mu Gisaka hari urugo rw'umwami i Sakara, mu Bugesera ni uko, mu Ndorwa na ho hari urugo rw'umwami i Gatsibo. Mu gice cy'amajyaruguru y'u Rwanda ubuyobozi akenshi bwari bufitwe n'abakuru b'imiryango cyangwa ab'amoko, abahagabanye bakagira ababahagararira (urugero ni Ruhanga wari uhagarariye Nshozamihango mu Murera ahagana mu wa 1900). Ku birebana n'uduce twayoborwaga n'amoko mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda abakuru b'amoko akomeye, bitwaga abatware b'umwami, bakagera ibwami nta we babanje kunyuraho. Abenshi bari abatware b'Abahutu, bagaha ikoro umwami w'u Rwanda, byerekana ko bamuyobotse⁶⁸.

b. Ubuyobozi mu duce twihariye

Uretse mu turere two hagati mu gihugu, mu magepfo, mu burasirazuba n'uburengerazuba yayoborwaga akenshi n'abatware bashyizweho n'umwami, hari ibice cyangwa ahantu hanyuranye hayoborwaga ku buryo bwihariye.

- *Ubutegetsu bwihariye bw'ibwami* mu turere two hagati, amagepfo, iburasirazuba n'uburengerazuba:Umwami n'umugabekazi bagiraga imisozi yihariye iyoborwa n'ibwami. Bashyiragaho abatware bayoborera umwami n'umugabekazi iyo misozi.
- *Imisozi yihariye y'Abiru.*
- *Akarere ka Bumbogo* kari gafite umwihariko uva ku muco wa kera w'uko ako karere, gafatanije n'abiru b'Abatsobe, kahingaga kandi kagatanga imbuto (uburo n'amasaka) byakoreshwaga mu muhango mukuru w'*Umuganura*".
- *U Bukunzi n'u Busozo* mu Kinyaga byari bifite ubutegetsu bwaho bwihariye bitewe n'uko hayoborwaga n'abami baho b'Abavubiyi. Abami b'ibyo bihugu bahanaga amaturo n'ubwami bw'u Rwanda.

⁶⁸ Anonyme (Résidence du Rwanda), *Histoire et chronologie du Rwanda*, p. 124.

Muri make, u Rwanda rwari igihugu kimwe mu rwego rwa poritiki, ariko rudafite ubuyobozi bumeze kimwe hose, ahubwo bugiye butandukanye, bitabujije ko bose babaga bayoboka ibwami by'umwihariko ku ngoma ya Kigeri Rwabugiri. Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19, inzego za poritiki n'ubuyobozi zari zivangavanze kandi zikishakisha. Ibyo ari byo byose, uretse gupfa ubutegetsu no kurushanwa ingufu, haboneka ubutegetsu bwagendaga butandukanye ndetse hari n'ubuyobozi bwihariye.

Kandi, uretse abatware b'intebe, abatware b'umwami, abatware b'amacibiri (uruhare rwabo rukaba rudasobanutse kugeza ubu) n'abiru, hari abanyamyuga bashoboraga gutegekwa by'umwihariko n'ibwami. Ibyo abaturage bari bategetswe gutanga ibwami, akenshi ntibyatangwaga n'abantu ku giti cyabo, ahubwo byatangwaga n'umuryango.

3.3.4 Imibanire n'ubukungu

Bigaragara ko guhera mu kinyejana cya 19 hari imibanire n'imihahiranire mu Rwanda ifite ibintu by'umwihariko, hariho n'inzego n'imibanire n'ubukungu. Ni muri urwo rwego, hagiye kuvugwa ibirebana n'ubuhake n'uruhare runini bwagize mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda, uburetwa ndetse n'ibikingi mbere yo kuvuga ibirebana n'imihahiranire.

a. Imiterere y'ubuhake

Hari uburyo bwinshi Abanyarwanda ba kera barutanaga ariko bafite uko babana muri ubwo busumbane. Akenshi ubwo buryo bwagiye buhinduka. Tugiye kuvuga imibanire mu busumbane burebana *n'ubuhake n'ubukonde*.

➤ Ubuhake

Ubuhanke ni urwego rw'amasezerano yashingirwagaho mu mibanire y'Abanyarwanda banyuranye, bafite uko basumbana mu bintu bahuriyeho. Ubuhake bwahawe inyito nyinshi. Bwagaragaye ko ari:

- Amasezerano y'ubuhake bw'inka, akozwe hatarimo agahato, kagenga uwitwa umugaragu wabaga yaragiye guhakirwa inka ku muntu umusumbye mu mibereho witwa shebuja uzamugabira inka⁶⁹.

⁶⁹ Kagame A., *Le Code des institutions politiques du Rwanda précolonial*, Bruxelles, ARSOM, 1959, p. 18

- Ni ubwitange bw'umuntu uri mu rwego rwo hasi wajyaga gutanga imirimo ye asaba kujya arengerwa n'umusumbye wamugabiraga inka imwe cyangwa nyinshi⁷⁰.
- Ni amasezerano yakozwe ku bushake hagati y'abantu babiri, shebuja n'umugaragu, ngo uwo shebuja ahe umugaragu inka imwe cyangwa nyinshi⁷¹.

Tutagombye kurondora inyandiko zose zabyanditsweho⁷², bigaragara ko ubuhake ari amasezerano y'ubushake hagati y'utunze inka n'ushaka kugabana inka. Umugaragu kandi yabaga ashaka amaboko kuri shebuja. Iyo umuntu agereranyije umuco bita uw'ubuhake, wahoze i Burayi mbere ya revolisiyo y'inganda, hari bike bijya guhura, ariko iyo umuntu ashishoje asanga bitandukanye rwose: inka si isambu, kandi amategeko y'ubutaka mu Rwanda atandukanye n'ayagengaga ubutaka muri icyo gihe i Burayi⁷³. Umuco w'ubuhake mu Rwanda watumaga haba imibanire n'ubucuti bwihariye hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja, byagaragariraga mu mibanire no mu gufatanya mu byiza no mu byago.

• Inzego n'inshingano z'abagaragu

Abagaragu barimo ibice bitatu: abakora imirimo yo mu rugo (kwa shebuja), abakuru b'imirimo, n'abagaragu badashinzwe imirimo. Hari imirimo inyuranye bakoraga, ariko nko mu Buganza, ni ahagana mu wa 1930, abagaragu batangiye gutanga imibiyizi kwa ba shebuja.

Ubuhanze bwatangizwaga no gusohozwa ushaka ubuhake ku wo ashaka ko azamubera shebuja. Hari abantu bamwe bijyanagayo ubwabo. Abana basohozwaga n'ababyeyi babo babaga bashaka ko abana babafasha imirimo imwe n'imwe yo kwa shebuja. Bajyagayo bamaze kuba ingimbi; bakazavayo bagiye kurongora. Icyo gihe bagabanaga inka y'ubuhake yiyongeraga ku yo ba

⁷⁰ Maquet J.-J., *Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1954, p. 151

⁷¹ Bourgeois R., *L'évolution du contrat de bail à cheptel*, Bruxelles, 1958, pp. 1-2.

⁷² Nzeyimana A., 1990, op.cit. pp. 8-17 et Kayumba Ch., «Le système de clientélisme pastoral», in Byanafashe D. (dir), *Les défis de l'historiographie rwandaise. Les faits controversés*, Butare, EUNR, 2004, p. 2006.

⁷³ Chrétien J.-P., "Echanges et hiérarchies", pp. 1328-1332 et dans "Vocabulaire et Concepts tirés de la féodalité occidentale et administration indirecte en Afrique orientale", in Nordaman D. et Raison J.-P. (éd), *Sciences de l'homme et conquête coloniale. Constitution et usage des sciences humaines en Afrique (XIXe-XXe siècles)*, Paris, 190, pp. 47-63.

se bagabanye. Igihe cyo gusohoza umuntu, baturaga shebuja inzoga cyangwa ibindi bikoresho nk'ibibindi cyangwa inkono z'itabi⁷⁴. Ariko ntibyakorwaga kimwe hose.

– Abagaragu bo mu rugo

Babaga ari abagaragu bo mu rwego rwo hasi, bashinzwe cyanecyane imirimo yo mu rugo kwa shebuja. Muri bo habaga harimo abitwa *abahange* babaga bategereje ko shebuja abagabira inka ya mbere yitwa *umunyafu* kugira ngo bakunde babe *abagaragu* nyabo. Babaga bari mu igeragezwa, bigatuma bakorana umwete imirimo bashinzwe kandi bakerekana ko bitaye cyane kuri ba shebuja. Nta gihe runaka cyabaga giteganijwe bazamara⁷⁵. Muri rusange imirimo y'abahange yari iyi ikurikira:

- ❖ Guherekeza *shebuja* mu ngendo ze. Ni umuhange wabaga umaze kwizerwa na shebuja washoboraga kumutwaza inkono y'itabi n'ibibabi by'itabi mu *ruhago* rwabigenewe. Uwatwaraga bene urwo ruhago yitwaga *umunyaruhago*.
- ❖ Gukora imirimo imwe n'imwe yo mu rugo: kuvoma amazi no gutora inkwi.

Muri icyo gihe, abahange babaga bakurikiranwa mu mirimo yabo na nyirabuja (umugore wa shebuja), yagiraga uruhare runini mu gutuma umugabo agabanya igihe cy'ubuhange cyangwa agabira umuhange adatinze. Ni yo mpamvu abahange bihutiraga guha amaturo ba nyirabuja. Abahange bashobora guhura n'abagaragu bitwa *Abanyanzu* ni ukuvuga abashinzwe imirimo mu rugo rwa shebuja: kumenya imirimo y'amata n'inzoga, kwenga inzoga, guteka, kugabura, bene iyo mirimo kenshi yagenerwaga abakobwa n'abagore.

– Abashinzwe kuyobora imirimo

Babaga ari abagaragu bamaze igihe kwa ba shebuja, bakamenya kuyobora imirimo neza kandi n'umwete. Akenshi baturaga hafi yo kwa shebuja bigatuma batabura igihe bakenewe. Imirimo y'ingenzi ya bene abo bagaragu ni iyi:

- Kubaka inkike bivuga kubaka no gufata neza urugo rwa shebuja, basana ahangiritse.
- Kuragira inka no gukora imirimo bijyanye⁷⁶.

⁷⁴ Nzeyimana A., 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 107.

⁷⁵ Mu Rwanda rwo hagati no mu Buganza, igihe cy'ubuhange cyashoboraga kuva ku mezi kugeza ku myaka itanu

⁷⁶Mbere y'ubukoronu mu Rwanda, ntabwo umugaragu yari ashinzwe guhingira shebuja.

- Abagaragu basonerwa imirimo

Akenshi babaga ari abagaragu bafite na bo abagaragu bahatse. Bashoboraga kugira inama shebuja no kumuherekeza mu ngendo ze.

- Ishingano za shebuja ku mugaragu

Shebuja yabaga afite inshingano zo kurinda umugaragu we buri gihe: kumuguza, kumuha ibimasa n'amata, kumufasha mu manza, kumufasha kongera korora inka iyo ize zazize muryamo, kumuhorera no kumuha isuka iyo atashoboraga kuyibonera⁷⁷.

• Uko ubuhake bwagiye bukura

Igihe ubuhake bwatangiriye ntikizwi. Bishoboka ko ubuhake bugitangira, bwari uburyo buhuza abantu gusa mu rwego rw'ubukungu bushingiye ku nka, ihene, intama n'isuka⁷⁸. Ibyo ari byo byose, abagaragu baravugwa mu bintu byabaye ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Bwimba. Ni muri ubwo buryo bavuga abagaragu ba Nkurukumbi.

Kuva mu ntangiriro zitazwi neza kugeza ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori, ubuhake bwaba bwaragiye buhinduka buhorobuhoro igikoresho mu mibanire ya poritiki n'ubuyobozi mu Rwanda, bikaza kurushaho gukomera ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira amaze kurema urwego rw'inka z'ingabo. Ndori yakoresheje ubuhake nk'inkingi ya mbere y'ubutegetsi bwe⁷⁹.

Ni ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro mu binyejana bya XVIII na XIX, havutse ubundi bwoko bw'ubuhake hamaze kujyaho ibikingi n'abatware b'inka. Muri ubwo buhake bwa poritiki n'ubuyobozi, umugaragu yahabwaga na shebuja inka cyangwa imisozi yo gutwara, akagira ingufu mu rwego rwa poritiki. Bwari ubuhake bushingiye gusa ku nka n'imirima, byo soko y'ubukungu. Ni bene ubwo buhake bwarebaga cyanecyane abaturage benshi. Igihe cy'ubukoroni, bwagiye buhinduka bishingiye ku byemezo byafatwaga n'ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni bw'Ababirigi.

⁷⁷Hari igikwiye kuvugwa ku kibazo cy'ubuhake n'abari mu nzego z'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Mu gihe cya mbere ya 1900, ibisobanuro bitangwa ntibihagije, impamvu nkuru ikaba ari uko nta bimenyetso bihagije bihari.

⁷⁸Nkurikiyimfura J.-N., *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise: évolution historique des XIIIe-XIVe siècles à 1958*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1994, p. 120.

⁷⁹ Vansina J., 2001, *op.cit.* p. 66.

➤ **Akazi k'uburetwa**

Uburetwa yari imirimo rusange abaturage bakoreraga abayobozi babo. Bugitangira, bwari uburyo bwo kwicungura bishingiye ku butaka. Uburetwa bwarebaga gusa abantu b'abakene (badafite inka) bagombaga gutanga imibyizi ibiri mu cyumweru ngo bacungure aho bahawe guhinga n'umutware w'umusozo cyangwa undi muntu w'umukungu ku butaka wabatuje mu kwe.

• **Inkomoko n'imikurire y'uburetwa**

Igihe uburetwa bwatangiriye ntikizwi neza. Bivugwa ko Rwabugiri yaba yarashyizeho uburetwa ashaka guhana Abahutu bari bagize uruhare mu itsindwa rye mu gitero cyo mu Nkole⁸⁰. Hari abandi bavuga ko uburetwa bwaba bukomoka kuri Seruteganya, umutware w'i Bigogwe, watse abaturage ayobora imyaka y'ibihingwa ngo nyuma urwo rugero rukwira igihugu cyose.

Hari abahera ku ijamba uburetwa maze bakavuga, bibeshya, ko bwazanywe n'abakoroni, ariko ijamba uburetwa ryabayeho mbere y'ubukoroni⁸¹. Ibyo ari byo byose ni ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, ibwami bakwije ababahagarariye mu gihugu cyose ndetse no mu turere twari dufite ubwigenge bucagase. Ishyirwaho ry'abo bayobozi ryatumye imirimo ibakorerwa yiyongera cyane maze uburetwa bugera no mu turere butabagamo. Ibi ntibivuze ko uburetwa bwavutse icyo gihe⁸², ibyo ari byo byose ntibwari bufite isura imwe mu gihugu hose.

Abantu batagira kivurira, cyanecyane abakene rwimbi batagira ubutaka, bakoraga *uburetwa* naho ubuhake bwarebaga abashaka gusa inka no kurengerwa uretse umwami. Ibi bishatse kuvuga ko umuntu w'umutware yashoboraga kuba umugaragu w'undi mutware umurusha amaboko. *Uburetwa* bwahindutse agahato kabi igihe cy'ubukoroni. Umutware w'ubutaka yasabaga igice kinini cy'umusaruro w'imyaka n'imirimo imiryango y'abahinzi bari mu bwatsi ayobora. Ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bwatinze gukuraho *uburetwa* kuko bwabubonaga nk'umuco w'igihugu.

⁸⁰Rwabukamba J. et Mudandagizi V., cités par IRDP, 2005, pp. 53-54.

⁸¹ Muzungu B., «Poètes du clan Abanyiginya », in Cahiers *Lumière et Société*, n° 27, Septembre 2004, p. 23

⁸²Vansina J., 2001, op.cit. pp. 171-172.

b. Ubukonde⁸³

Mbere yuko u Rwanda rugendera ku mategeko y'abazungu, imiyoborere y'ubutaka yarimo ibice bibiri: Ubukonde mu bice byegereye amashyamba n'Isamba mu turere tutegereye amashamba. Hari abashakashatsi b'Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga basuzumye ikibazo cy'ubukonde⁸⁴.

Hose abakondaga ishyamba bashyiragaho imbibi z'ahabo n'iz'abazabakomokaho. Ndetse n'abatari abahinzi, nk'abahigi bari barigabanyije ishyamba ritarahingwa. Bwabaga ari ubutaka buhuriweho n'umuryango wose ukomoka ku mukonde w'ishyamba. Ubwo buryo bwo gufata ubutaka bwabonekaga mu turere tw'amajyaruguru n'uburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda, ku isunzu rya Kongo-Nile no muri perefegitura ya kera ya Byumba. Uwakonze ishyamba yishyuraga ikoro ryitwa urwugururo, akariha umutwa utegeka iryo ishyamba, akaba abaye umukonde bivuga ufite ubukonde.

➤ Umugererwa yari muntu ki?

Abagize umuryango umwe ntibagabanaga ubukonde bahuriyeho, buri wese yabaga afite uburenganzira bwo guhinga aho ashatse. Ariko iyo hazaga umuntu utari uwo muri uwo muryango, igisate cy'ubukonde yahabwaga kuri ubwo bukonde kitwaga *ubugererwa*, biva ku nshinga *kugera*. Umuryango w'umugererwa wagiraga uburenganzira busesuye ku gice cy'ubukonde yahawe, ariko cyakomezaga kuba icy'umuryango w'abakonde.

Nta myaka cyangwa imirimo umugererwa yahaga umukuru w'umuryango w'abakonde. Ariko yagombaga kumuha ku muganura w'umusaruro w'amasaka, ibishyimbo, uburo n'ubushaza ndetse akongeraho n'ibibindi by'inzoga. Iryo turo ry'inzoga ryitwaga *ifuro*⁸⁵. Ariko abakonde babaga bafite igihango n'ubufatanye muri byose n'abagererwa babo. Abakonde

⁸³Ubukonde ni uburyo bw'imicungire y'ubutaka yabonekaga mu ntara z'Uburengerazuba na cyanecyane mu y'Amajyaruguru.

⁸⁴Kagame A., *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, IRCB, Bruxelles, 1954; Murego D., *La Révolution rwandaise, 1959-1962. Essai d'interprétation*, Louvain, 1975 ; Ruyashyankiko N., *Le Droit foncier du Rwanda*, Butare, UNR, 1977; Reisdorf I., *Enquêtes foncières au Rwanda*, s.l., 1952 ; Pages A., «Notes sur le régime des biens dans la province du Bugoyi», in *Congo (Revue Générale de la colonie belge)*, 1931.; Adriaenssens J., *Le droit foncier au Ruanda*, Butare, 1962 (inédit).

⁸⁵Pauwels M., *Le Bushiru et son Muhinza ou roitelet hutu*, p. 311.

bongeraga umubare w'abanywanyi babo kugira ngo barusheho gutsinda bitabagoye abaturanyi babo. Igihango cyashimangiraga ubwo bufatanye. Ariko hari abagererwa biberaga aho, ntibite kuri ibyo bihango, ahubwo bagashaka amaboko ahandi. Ni ko byagendekeye *Ababanda* bo mu Bukonya, batatiye *Abasindi*⁸⁶ bari abakonde babo.

➤ **Amoko atandukanye y'ubukonde**

Umuco w'ubukonde wagiye uhindagurika cyane biwuturutseho ubwawo cyangwa bivuye ahandi. Mbere y'umwaduko w'ingoma nyiginya, ubukonde bwari ubwoko bubiri bitewe n'icyo bwakoreshwaga: hari *ubukonde bw'inzogera* bwari igice k'ishyamba kigenewe guhigwamo no gutoraguramo utundi turibwa *n'ubukonde bw'isuka* bugenewe abahinzi. Ingoma nyiginya yongeyemo ubwoko bwa gatatu *bw'ubukonde bw'inka* bw'inzuri z'inka.

- *Ubukonde bw'inka* bwari ubwoko bw'ubukonde bwihariye bwabonekaga mu turere tumwe nka Bigogwe na Rwankeri. Ahandi bene ubwo bwoko bw'ubukonde bwitiranyijwe n'ibikingi kandi atari ukuri. *Ubukonde bw'aborozi* bo mu Rwankeri bwari ubw'ubworozi koko, ariko bwanahingwagamo kuko aborozi bari bafite abagererwa bahatuje bari bashinzwe kubahingira imyaka. Ubwo bwoko bw'ubukonde bwabonekaga gusa mu turere dutuwe buke kandi umuco w'ingoma *nyiginya* utahasakaye cyane. Abo borozi bari kuri ubwo butaka kuva mu kinyejana cya XVI⁸⁷.
- *Ubukonde bw'isuka*, bwanitwaga *ubukonde bw'abahinzi*, ni bwo bwoko bw'ubukonde bwari bwarasakaye cyane. Bwarangwaga n'uko abahinzi bahinze koko igice k'ishyamba bakibyaza umusaruro. Ariko nk'uko ubukonde bw'inka bwashoboraga guhingwamo, ubukonde bw'isuka na bwo bwashoboraga kuragirwamo inka.
- *Ubukonde bw'inzogera*, babwitaga batyo kuko imbwa z'Abatwa zahigaga zabaga zambaye inzogera. Abatwa bakaga amaturo abahinzi n'abagenzi bacaga aho mu ishyamba. *Ubukonde bw'inzogera* bwahingwagamo bukanatoratorwamo ibintu biribwa. Bene ubwo bwoko bw'ubukonde bwaje gucika bivuye ku bwiyoungere

⁸⁶Nahimana F., *Rwanda, Emergence d'un Etat*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1993, pp. 122-123.

⁸⁷Adriaenssens J., 1962, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

bw'abahinzi-borozi. Abatwa batari bafite kirengera, bagiye mu myuga y'ubukorikori nko kubumba, uretse bake basigaye muri Gishwati no mu ishyamba kimeza rya Nyungwe. Nyuma imicungire y'ubutaka yagiye ihinduka buhoro buhoro, hagenda haboneka ubundi buryo bwo kubona *ubukonde*, na bwo bwinjira mu muco w'igihugu.

- *Ubukonde bw'umuheto* ni ubwoko bw'ubukonde bwaturutse ku nsinzi y'*Ababanda*. Ruganzu Ndori amaze gutsinda uduhugu twari twunze ubumwe tw'u Bugarura, yashyize mu bukonde bwe bw'umuheto indi miryango myinshi itari ihasanzwe⁸⁸.
- *Ubukonde bw'inzigo* ni ubwoko bw'ubukonde budakunze kubaho, bwabonekaga iyo hari umuntu wicaga uwo mu muryango utari uwe. Mu muco nyarwanda, umuryango wiciwe wicaga na wo umuntu ubonetse wese wo mu muryango w'uwishe; byitwa uburenganzira bwo guhora. Iyo byashobokaga ko imiryango yombi yumvikana, umuryango wishe wahaga igice cy'ubutaka icy'umuryango wiciwe ngo uwugushe neza. Byarabaye ku *Bagwabiro* bo mu Bugoyi, bahaye *Abungura* igice cy'umusuzi wa Rugerero kuko bari babiciye umuntu⁸⁹.
- *Ubukonde bw'ubuntu*. *Abagererwa b'Abakonde* bizewe cyane kubera kumenya kubana no gushyingirana na bo, bashoboraga guhabwa *ubukonde* bw'ubuntu n'umukuru w'umuryango w'abakonde amaze kubyumvikanaho n'uwo mu muryango we. Uwo mugererwa yahingaga uwo murima mu burenganzira bwose. Rimwe na rimwe ubwo bwoko bw'ubukonde bwavagamo amakimbirane mu miryango yombi bigatuma umugererwa yimuka aho yari yaragabanye.
- *Ubukonde bw'uwaguze*: ubutaka bw'ubukonde bwashoboraga gukodeshwa no kugurishwa igiciro kigaterwa n'ubwiza bw'ubwo butaka. Ubutaka buto bwagurwaga amatungo mato, ubunini bukagurwa inka. icyo gihe umukuru w'umuryango yabanzaga na bwo kugisha inama abo mu muryango we. I Gisebeya, ubutaka bw'umukonde witwaga Bandari, bwagurishwaga amasuka atatu cyangwa ihene kuri hegitari imwe, ubungana na hegitari esheshatu bukagurishwa ikimasa cyangwa inyana⁹⁰.

⁸⁸Nahimana F., 1993, *op.cit.*, pp. 124-125.

⁸⁹Reisdorff, 1952, *op.cit.*, p. 85.

⁹⁰Bourgeois R., 1958, *op.cit.*, p. 194.

➤ Imihindagurikire y'amateka y'ubukonde

Ubu bwoko bw'ubukonde tumaze kuvuga bwagiye buhinduka. Mbere na mbere gukonda ishyamba no kurihinga byabaga bihagije. Nyuma umuco wagiye uhinduka bitewe n'impamvu nyinshi, haza kuboneka ubundi bwoko bw'ubukonde.

Ari ubukoroni bw'Abadage ari ubw'Ababirigi nyuma yabwo nta bwahinduye cyane imiterere y'ubukonde gakondo. Poritiki y'Abadage yahinduye gato cyane ibijyanye n'ubutaka. Amategeko y'Abadage yarebaga gusa ubutaka budatuwe. Bene ayo mategeko yarebaga cyanecyane ubutaka bwagurishijwe cyangwa bwakodeshejwe na za misiyoni z'abihayimana, cyangwa sosiyeti z'ubucuruzi n'imigi. Ni yo mpamvu bwa bwoko butatu bw'ubukonde ni ukuvuga ubukonde bwo mu majyaruguru no mu burengerazuba by'u Rwanda hatagengwaga neza n'ingoma nyiginya, isambu n'ibikingi byagengwaga n'amategeko y'abakoroni; byaragumye kubangikana nta gishobora kvanaho ikindi cyangwa ngo kikirushe ingufu⁹¹. Ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi bwaretse imicungire y'ubutaka irakomeza irakura, ntibwagira icyo buhinduraho k'ireme.

c. Igikingi

Ahagana mu kinyejana cya XVIII, *ubuhake* bwagendanaga cyane n'igikingi. Imiyoborere y'igihugu yari ifatanye n'imicungire y'ubutaka. Vansina avuga ko igikingi cyari agasozi kamwe cyangwa agace kako kariho ubwatsi bw'urwuri rwinshi, kabaga kavanywe mu mitegekere yako ku ntara nini gasanzweho⁹². Umwami yahaga ako gasozi umworozi wahindukaga umugaragu we kandi akaba ari we abarizwaho byose. A. Kagame we avuga ko igikingi cyari urwego rw'ubuyobozi bw'ibanze bw'umusozi umwe cyangwa myinshi. Ibikingi byari bimeze nka susheferi z'igihe cy'ubukoroni⁹³. Turatandukanya ibikingi by'ubutegetsu n'ibikingi by'inzuri. Ariko ibikingi bimwe by'ubutegetsu byashoboraga kuba ari na byo bikingi by'inka⁹⁴.

⁹¹Hitabatuma I., *Evolution historique de l'«Ubukonde» au Rwanda. Exemple du Nyan-tango*, U.N.R., Ruhengeri, 1982, pp.73-74.

⁹²Vansina J., *Le Rwanda ancien. Le royaume nyiginya*, Paris, Karthala, 2001, p. 168.

⁹³Kagame A., 1975, *op.cit.* p. 185.

⁹⁴Mbonimana G., «L'intégration politique face aux institutions "igikingi" et "uburetwa" sous le règne de Rwabugiri (1867-1895)», in Rutembesa F., Shyaka A., Semujanga S. (dir.), *Rwanda. Identité et citoyenneté*, EUNR, 2003, p. 36.

Ntabwo umuco w'ibikingi wakwiriye mu Rwanda rwose. Wabonekaga cyanecyane mu turere nk'u Buganza, u Buriza, u Bwanacyambwe, Rukoma, Nduga, Muyaga, Busanza, Buhanga-Ndara, Mvejuru, Bashumba-Nyakare, Buyenzi n'u Bufundu. Ibikingi ntibyabaga mu turere twari twiganjemo ubworozi nko mu Ndorwa-Mutara, u Bugesera, i Gisaka n'u Mubari.

Mu birebana na poritiki, uwo mucu wo gutanga ibikingi by'inzuri byihariye mu turere byatumye abayobozi barushaho gukandamiza rubanda rugufi. Abanyabikingi binini barushijeho kugira abagaragu benshi. Uwategekaga igikingi yari anafite uburenganzira ku nzuri no ku bantu bahatuye. Yashoboraga nko kubategeka gukora imirimo imwe n'imwe no gutanga amakoro y'ubwoko bunyuranye. Bene ibyo bikingi byongereye inzego z'ubuyobozi zigiye zisumbana, birushaho no gukenesha abahinzi cyangwa aborozi. Abayobozi b'intara na bo bagumye gutakaza uburenganzira bari bafite ku borozi⁹⁵.

Ingaruka nuko abo batware bongereye ibisabwa abaturage n'imirimo bakorerwa. Ibikingi kandi ni byo byabaye intandaro yuko ubutegetsu bw'igiti buvamo ibice bibiri: umutware w'ubutaka n'umutware w'umukenke. Aha twavugaga ko Abahutu n'Abatutsi bose bagiraga ibikingi. Ndetse hamwe na hamwe nko mu Buganza bw'amajyaruguru, hari abagore bagize ibikingi⁹⁶. Biraboneka ko ikibazo k'ibikingi cyari kijyanye n'ibura ry'inzuri.

Naho ku bijyanye n'igihe ibikingi byabereyeho, twavugaga ko ari ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro ibikingi byatangiyeho kuremwa mu Buganza no mu Nduga. Mu mpamvu zibisobanura hatangwa izi: ubwiyongere bw'abaturage, ubwiyongere bw'inka igihe ibihugu zarimo nyinshi byari bimaze kwigarurirwa n'u Rwanda (Ndorwa, u Mutara), kurushanwa kw'abatware b'ingabo no gushaka gufasha abatoni be kwa Gahindiro. Bavugaga ko ibikingi byiyongereye cyane ku ngoma ya Mutara Rwogera kubera ubwiyongere bw'inka nyinshi. Inzuri z'imiryango zari zagabiwe imitwe y'inka zikuriwe n'abatware b'ingabo. Ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, ubutegetsu bw'abayobozi ba poritiki bwagiye bukura burusha ingufu ubutegetsu bw'abakuru b'imiryango. Abo bayobozi bagiye bagaba amasambu n'ibikingi by'inzuri ahahoze ari uburenganzira bw'imiryango.

⁹⁵Nkurikiyimfura J.-N., *Le gros bétail et la société rwandaise. Evolution historique dès XIIIe-XIVe siècles à 1958*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1994, pp. 96-97.

⁹⁶Kabagema I., *L'évolution socio-politique du Buganza-Nord des origines à 1931*, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1985, p. 109.

Nyuma ibikingi byakomeje gukura buhoro kugeza aho bivaniweho n'ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi mu wa 1929. Ariko ibikingi byagumyehe ndetse na nyuma y'icibwa ry'ubuhake. Abashefu n'abasushefu bagiye barema ibikingi n'aho bitabaga, bashaka kubona inzuri aho babaga bahawe gutwara. Ikibazo k'ibikingi cyaje kugibwaho impaka mu Nama nkuru y'igihugu muri za 1950 ariko ntibyagira icyo bigeraho gifatika. Nyuma ni Rezida udasanze Koroneri Guy Logiest washyize umukono ku iteka rikuraho ibikingi tariki ya 2 Gicurasi 1960. Mu gihe abayobozi ba Parmehutu barishyiraga mu bikorwa, abakomeye muri bo bigaruriye ibyo bikingi.

d. Imihahiranire mu by'ubukungu.

Impaka zishingiye ku birebana n'ibikorwa by'ubukungu mu Rwanda rwa kera ntizikwiye kongera kubaho na busa. Nta gihe gishize hari abahakana ko habaho amateka y'ubukungu mu "mbumbambaga" bita iza kera cyane⁹⁷. Kuri bo guhanahana ibintu ngo byaba byarakorwaga gusa mu rwego rwa kivandimwe, cyangwa mu rwego rw'ubuhake n'ubuntu bitagamije cyane ubucuruzi. Mu Rwanda, havugwa ubukungu bugarukira ku kubonera abantu ikibatunga gusa, bitagamije gusagurira isoko. Bavuga bati: "Ubukungu bw'u Rwanda bwari bufungiranye bivuze ko buri rugo rwishakiraga ubwarwo ibirutunga hafi ya byose, rwo n'abarugize. Ubucuruzi ntibwari bwagatera imbere. Guhanahana ibiva ku myaka, ku matungo n'imyuga byakorwaga n'inzego z'ubutegetsu, iz'ingabo n'iz'ubuhake. Ibyarengaga ku bitunga abaturage, byakusanyirizwaga mu nzego z'abayobozi gusa"⁹⁸.

Bene iyo mitekerereze ishingira ku myemerere idafite ubushakashatsi buyihamya. Imyanzuro y'abashakashatsi bamwe na bamwe yerekanye ko mu Rwanda rwa kera habaga amasoko⁹⁹. Muri ubwo bucuruzi kandi habagamo n'ibipimo bikoreshwa bikanemerwa na bose, hakabaho n'amakipe y'abacuruzi babigize umwuga bagamije inyungu, kandi ibyo

⁹⁷Malinowski B., *Argonauts of Western Pacific*, New York, 1921; Mauss M., *Essai sur le don, forme archaïque de l'échange*, New York, 1924.

⁹⁸Heremans R., *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*, Kigali, Editions rwandaises, Bruxelles, Editions de Broeck, 1972, pp. 55-56.

⁹⁹Ruzindana E., *L'évolution du commerce au Rwanda du dernier quart du XIXe siècle à 1950*, mémoire inédit, Louvain, 1974 ; Lugan B., *L'économie d'échange au Rwanda de 1850 à 1914*, Université de Provence, 1976; Nyagahene A., *Les activités économiques et commerciales du Kinyaga dans la seconde partie du 19^e siècle*, Butare, UNR, 1979.

byabayeho mbere y'ubukoronu. Mu rwego rwo kubisobanura no koroshya imvugo ibihakana, ni ngombwa kuvuga amagambo yakoreshwaga muri ubwo bucuruzi, uko imihahiranire yari iteye, uko amasoko yari ameze, ndetse n'abacuruzi n'ibyacuruzwaga.

Amagambo yakoreshwaga mu bucuruzi yerekana ko inzego z'ubucuruzi z'ubu ziyongereye ku za kera. Nk'ijambo *isoko*: ni ijambo ry'igiswahili riva ubwaryo kuri *es-sook* rivuga isoko. Mu Kinyaga, ni urugero, ijambo rya kera rivuga isoko ni *igerero* (*amagerero*) byo ku nshinga *kugera* bivuga gupima (ibyaho bahahirana). Ijambo *iguriro* (*amaguriro*) ry'inshinga *kugura* ryarakoreshwaga mu mvugo isanzwe ya kera. Mu bintu byabonekaga muri ayo *maguriro*, harimo ubutega. Iryo jambo rituruka ku rurimi rw'*igitembo*¹⁰⁰ ryageze mu Rwanda rinyuze mu Bushi.

Inshinga *gutunda* (gukora umwuga w'ubucuruzi) ryavuyeho ijambo *umutunzi* (umucuruzi w'umwuga) rikubiyemo igitekerezo cyo gushaka inyungu, bitandukanye no *guhaha* rivuga gusa kujya aho baguranira ibintu haba hafi cyangwa kure. Mu Kinyarwanda hari andi magambo nk'aya:

- *Gucira* (kuvuga igiciro k'igicuruzwa) ryatanze ijambo *igiciro*;
- *Guhora* (kwaka amahoro ku bicuruzwa);
- *Kubadika* (kugurana amavuta, ibiribwa);
- *Kuzegura* (kuba umuhuza) iryo jambo ntirigikoreshe mu mvugo y'ubu;
- *Amasuka y'amazege* (amasuka bahemba abahuza abahahirana)¹⁰¹.

Mu magambo mvamahanga, aho baguraniraga imyaka havugwaga n'ijambo *amageta*, yari amasaro atukura yazanwaga mu Rwanda n'Abashi, yaturukaga ku Barabu, bayakuye muri Afurika yo hagati. Ntawuzi niba iryo jambo riva ku mashi cyangwa ku cyarabu. Habonekaga n'amagambo *imiringa* n'*ibitare* (miringa na birhale y'amashi).

➤ **Amasoko n'abacuruzi**

Kugeza ubu nta buhamya buhagije bwemeza iremwa ry'amasoko mbere y'ubukoronu. Bisa naho yaremwaga bivuye ku bantu ku giti cyabo, bishobora kuba byaraturukaga ku bihugu

¹⁰⁰Newbury D., "Lake Kivu regional trade during the nineteenth century" in *Centre for Africa studies*, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, p. 2.

¹⁰¹Nyagahene A., *Les activités économiques et commerciales du Kinyaga dans la seconde partie du 19e siècle*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 1979, pp. 30-32.

byari bikikije u Rwanda nk'u Bushi. Umuryango ukomeye cyangwa umucuruzi ukomeye ufite ingufu mu karere runaka, yashoboraga kwiharira inzira z'ubucuruzi, ashiraho ahantu hahurira abacuruzi n'ibicuruzwa. Mu gice cya 2 k'ikinyejana cya 19 bene ayo masoko yari amaze kugera ku rwego rufatika rufite umuyobozi ubifitiye ubushobozi.

Habaga umutware w'isoko wariremeshaga, akariyobora, agakemura impaka zose zivutse ndetse akaka n'amahoro. Yafashwaga n'abahungu be cyangwa abantu bo mu muryango we. Kuba ahari ntibyabuza ubwiby. Hari n'igihe abantu baharwaniraga. Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya mbere y'ubukoroni, ibisambo byibaga mu masoko, iyo byafatwaga byarabohwaga, bigakubitwa, bigategekwa kugarura ibyo byibye cyangwa kwigura. Hari igihe byicwaga akenshi bajombwe igiti mu kabuno¹⁰².

Umukuru w'isoko yakaga *amahooro*¹⁰³. Igice kimwe akagiha umutware waho hantu. Akenshi uwashakaga kutanyura kuri izo nzego z'ubuyobozi, yigiraga umugaragu w'umwami, akajya amugezaho rimwe na rimwe ibintu by'agaciro gakomeye. Ibyo byatumaga agira ingufu ahantu ari. Amahooro yabaga agizwe akenshi n'amasuka, ihene, umunyu, itabi n'imyaka. Byahabwaga umutware w'isoko cyangwa abamwungirije. Urugero nko ku nka imwe, hatangwaga amahooro y'isuka imwe cyangwa ebyiri cyangwa ubutega bufite agaciro kabyo; bishyuraga ubutega 50 bw'amahooro ku ihene imwe. Uwangaga yirukanwaga mu isoko cyangwa agakubitwa, cyangwa akamburwa umutwaro we.

Muri ayo maguriro habagamo ibice bibiri bitandukanye: igice kigenewe amatungo n'igice kigenewe imyaka. Bene aho hagenewe imyaka, abagore bahazanaga imyaka n'ibiryo bihiye. Bari bake cyane kandi nta mwanya w'umwihariko bahabwaga¹⁰⁴. Hafi y'amasoko manini, habaga amasoko mato. Amasoko ahoraho yari afite umunsi uzwi wo mu cyumweru¹⁰⁵, hari n'ayabaga nyuma y'igihe runaka kizwi.

¹⁰² Mutombo R., *Les échanges commerciaux dans la région de Masangano à la fin de l'époque précoloniale*, Butare, UNR, 1978, p. 175.

¹⁰³ Iryo jambo ryari rifite andi mazina, uretse *ihoro*, hari *indamu* cyangwa *uruhino*. Iri rya nyuma ryari isuka

¹⁰⁴ Mutombo R., 1978, op.cit., p. 155.

¹⁰⁵ Icyumweru cya Gihanga cyagiraga iminsi itanu harimo ine y'imirimo n'umwe witwa akadogo, wahariwe ikiruhuko. Birashoboka ko ibwami uwo munsi wa gatanu wari ufite izina rifite icyo ryibutsa rya Cyumweru, umuntu wari ufite aho ahuriye na Kibogo, witwa ko yari mwene se wa Ruganzu Ndori. Izina rya Cyumweru ryaba ryarafashwe n'abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1900.

Ibyinshi mu byazaga ku isoko byavaga ku musozi ryaberagaho, bizanywe n'abaturage ubwabo cyangwa abacuruzi bagenda babunza ibintu. Iyo hari ubuhahirane bwaheraga mu ngo, abahinzi baguranaga imyaka urugo ku rugo bitagamije ubucuruzi. Babaga bashaka ibyo bakeneye muri icyo gihe, nk'ibishyimbo bikaguranwa amashaza. Byongeye kandi, ababunzaga ibintu bazengurukaga imisozi bagura ibintu ku giciro gito bakazabyungukaho babigurisha. Muri make, hari abashakaga inyungu y'ubucuruzi n'abandi baguranaga gusa imyaka, bayivana hamwe bayijyana ahandi. Ni muri urwo rwego inzego z'abacuruzi zacibwagamo ibice bikurikira:

- *Abavanaga ibintu ahantu babijyana ahandi.* Akenshi babaga ari abacuruzi bakomeye bashoreye abantu benshi babikorereye imizigo y'ibicuruzwa cyangwa bashoreye amashyo y'amatungo menshi bacuruzaga mu masoko ari kure y'iwabo.
- *Abatunzi:* bagenda ku misozi, bagura ibintu mu mazu, by'umwihariko amatungo n'imyaka bakabijyana nyuma aho babigurishiriza. Babonaga inyungu nke ugereranyije n'abacururizaga kure.
- *Abahuza:* bahuzaga abacuruzi babiri cyangwa bakabasemurira iyo batabaga bavuga ururimi rumwe, cyangwa iyo babaga bava mu turere tunyuranye, babonaga igihembo ku bicuruzwa.
- *Abahashyi babiterwaga n'inzara:* ntibahoragaho kuko n'inzara zitahoragaho ariko zarateraga buri gihe. Hari igihe abafite inzara bagurishaga ibintu byabo, bagakora ubucuruzi nubwo bwaba ubw'umunsi umwe¹⁰⁶.

Ku birebana n'aho amasoko yari ari, mu by'ukuri yabonekaga mu turere twinshi tw'igihugu, kandi agahurirwamo n'abantu bavuye hirya no hino mu gihugu. Hari n'abavaga hanze y'igihugu.

Uretse amasoko 40 yo mu rwego rw'igihugu, hari n'amasoko mpuzamahanga nk'iry'i Bitare, Mururu, Nyagahinga mu Kinyaga yahurirwagamo n'Abanyarwanda, Abahavu, Abarega, Abarundi, Abafulero, Abanyetambi, Ibishugi; Mushwiza na Ryabizirige mu Bugoyi ndetse na Gasakuza, Gacaca na Mpenge mu Mulera hahuriraga Abahunde, Abanande, Abayira, Abanyankore n'Abanyarwambi; Rwanza mu Bwanamukari yazagamo Abashi, Abarundi n'Abanyarwanda¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁶Mutombo R., 1978, *op.cit.*, p. 158 et Nyagahene A., 1979, *op.cit.*, pp. 159-164.

¹⁰⁷Ntezimana E., "Informations et communications au Rwanda avant 1900", in *Dialo-*

Umutekano muke wabaga mu mayira ndetse n'ingendo za kure byatumaga haba umubano hagati y'abacuruzi n'abandi bantu. Mu byarangaga uwo mubano habagamo igihango, guhana inka n'ubundi bucuti bushingiye ku mpano zinyuranye. Ubwo bunywanyi bwabaga cyanecyane hagati y'abanyakinyaga n'abantu b'iburengerazuba bwa Rusizi¹⁰⁸. Mu ngendo rero abacuruzi bakoreraga mu Bushi cyangwa mu Kinyaga, buri wese yabaga afite amacuti amushyigikiye.

➤ **Ubucuruzi n'ubwuzuzanye mu bukungu**

Mu bukungu, nta gihugu na kimwe kigeze kihaza muri byose. N'u Rwanda ni uko. Kugira ngo Abanyarwanda babone ibyo bakeneye, barabihahaga. Guhahirana byari bishingiye cyanecyane ku myaka n'ibiva mu bukorikori: mu birebana n'ubuhinzi, aho igihingwa runaka cyabaga ari kinshi, byatumaga abatuye mu turere kitabonekamo bagishaka.

Byongeye kandi, mu bukorikori habonekagamo ibintu by'ubwoko bwinsihi: ibicurano, ibibumbano, ibibohano n'imyambaro yo mu mpu n'impuzu n'ibibazanyo. Abacuzi bashoboraga gucukura ubutare bwo kvanamo ibikoresho bimwe na bimwe. Mu turere nka Kinyaga hataboneka ubutare cyangwa ububoneka bukaba ari ubwoko bubi, batumizaga hanze ibintu bikoze mu byuma bishaje, bakabicuramo ibindi bishya.

Abacuzi bishyurwaga imyaka iyo ibicurano byabo byabaga byagamuwe mu ngo. Ariko mu nganda zabo akenshi abacuzi bakaga ibindi bintu nk'ubutega cyangwa amatungo mato. Umwuga w'ubucuzi wahererekanywaga mu miryango nubwo hari abantu ku giti cyabo batari abo mu miryango y'abacuzi bashoboraga gukora imirimo y'ubucuruzi nko gusana ibyangiritse.

Umwuga w'ububumbyi na wo wari ukomeye, kuko ari wo watangaga ibikoresho byose by'ibibumbano byakoreshwaga mu guteka ibiryo, guhunika imbuto z'ubwoko bwose no gutwara ibinyobwa nk'amazi n'inzoga. Umwuga w'ububumbyi wari wihariwe n'Abatwa. Ariko hari imiryango imwe n'imwe y'Abayovu, baje kugirwa nyuma Abahutu, yari izi uwo mwuga

gue no122, mai-juin 1987, pp. 81-82; Ndekezi S., Nyetera P.-C., Nyagahene A., *Ubuhashyi bw'Abanyarwanda bo hambere*, Kigali, 1987, pp. 51-90 ; Mutombo R., 1978, *op.cit.*, 85-130.

¹⁰⁸ Chubaka B. cité par Nyagahene A., 1987, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

w'ububumbyi. Ibibumbano byabo na byo byaracurazwaga. Abaguzi bashoboraga kubikura mu rugo rw'umubumbyi cyangwa aho byaguranirwaga ibindi.

Umurimo w'ububaji wavagamo cyanecyane ibyansi, imbehe zo mu biti, imivure n'amasekuru. Na byo byashoboraga gutumizwa ku mubaji nyirizina cyangwa kugurirwa aho byaguranirwaga ibindi bintu. Gukora ibyambarwa mu mpu no mu mpuzu byasabaga iteka abantu babimenyereye kandi akenshi wabaga ari umwuga ugenda uragwa abo mu muryango umwe.

Ibintu bimwe byari byarahindutse nk'amafaranga kubera ko ari byo byifashishwaga mu guhahirana, bigafatwaho urugero rufite ibice byabyo. Akenshi byabaga ari imyaka, amatungo n'ibindi bikoresho bidakunze gupfa ubusa nk'amasuka, ubutega, byari bikunzwe icyo gihe. Ku bijyanye n'ubutega, hari ingero ebyiri zakoreshwaga: *igihumbi* (1000) n'*inzovu* (2000). Mu buhashyi bw'inka hakoreshwaga *inzovu*, naho mu bw'amatungo mato hagakoreshwa *igihumbi*. Amasaro yari afite ingero ebyiri: *ipfundo* ryarimo amasaro icumi atunze ku kagozi k'*ubuhivu* n'*akagozi* kariho amasaro 100.

Inka zari zifite agaciro kihariye mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Tudashatse gutinda ku ruhare rw'inka mu bukungu, twavuga ko ari yo yatangaga amata, amavuta, inyama, uruhu rukambarwa, *ubusenzi* bugakoreshwa mu nigi, amasonga y'amahembe agakoreshwa mu bakannyi. Utumasa twakoreshwaga mu ndagu. Amase agahomeshwa ibitebo cyangwa akavamo ibicanwa iyo yakorwagamo ibisheshe.

Inka yaguranwaga ibintu by'agaciro gakomeye nk'amasuka, imyaka n'amasaro. Bagurishaga cyanecyane ibimasa n'inka z'ingumba. Ugereranyije inka yagurwaga amasuka 8 cyangwa 9 y'icyo gihe¹⁰⁹ ariko ibyo biciro byahindukaga hakurikijwe uturere: urugero, mu Kinyaga inka yaguraga hagati y'amasuka 20 na 60¹¹⁰. Muri icyo gice kandi, imfizi yagurwaga ubutega 15.000, yaba yahenze cyane ikageza ku 20.000 ni ukuvuga *inzovu*.

¹⁰⁹ Ndekezi S., Nyagahene A., Nyetera P.-C., 1987, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁰ Nyagahene A., 1987, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

- **Ubuhahirane bw'amatungo mato**

Amatungo mato, ihene n'intama, yakoreshwaga na yo mu mihahiranire, akagurwa amasuka, imyaka cyangwa ibindi bikoresho byo mu rugo. Ihene yaguraga amasuka ane cyangwa atanu mu turere twinshi tw'igihugu. Umubare w'amasuka wahinduka bitewe n'ubukomere bwayo. Iyo umuntu yaragizaga undi ihene cyangwa intama, yaziturirwaga icyana cyayo cya gatatu.

- **Ubuhahirane bw'imyaka**

Ibiguzi by'imyaka byarahindukaga hakurikijwe ibihe by'umwaka n'uko yeze. Mu gihe k'isarura, kugira ngo umuntu abone isuka, yagombaga gutanga inkangara ebyiri z'ibishyimbo cyangwa inshuro ebyiri zabyo mu masaka. Mu gihe k'ibura ryabyo, inkangara imwe y'ibishyimbo n'iy'amasaka byaguranwaga isuka. Kandi igikoresho cyavaga kure yaho gikorera cyarushagaho guhenda.

- **Ubuhahirane bw'ubuki bw'inzuki.**

Ubuwumvu bwakijije Abanyarwanda benshi. Ubuki buteguye neza bwashyirwaga mu nzoga bugakoreshwa mu guhaha ibintu bikomeye nk'amasuka, amavuta n'amatungo mato n'amanini.

- **Ubuhahirane mu bintu by'ibikorano**

Mu bintu by'ibikorano byakoreshwaga mu mihahiranire, harimo amasuka. Yarimo amoko menshi kandi akagira ikiguzi gitandukanye bitewe n'ubukomere bwayo n'aho aturuka. Dore amwe muri yo:

- *Imberuka* zakorerwaga mu Buberuka mu majyaruguru y'igihugu (Ubu ni mu Ntara y'Amajyaruguru);
- *Indamba zo* mu Buramba ni mu Karere k'ubu ka Muhanga;
- *Inshikazi zo* mu Bushi, Buhavu (muri Repuburika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo);
- *Gikondo* zakorerwaga i Gikondo mu mugwi wa Kigali;
- *Giheshyi* mu Gisaka ariko yavuyeho;
- *Rusengesiyo* muri Nyantango (mu ntara y'u Burengerezaba)¹¹¹.

¹¹¹ Abacuzi bo muri ako karere bacuraga amasuka y'ibwami. Umurimo w'ubucuzi wari mu turere twinshi tw'u Rwanda nk'i Gishamvu no mu Mpungwe hafi ya Huye. Amasuka yo mu Buberuka yari akomeye kurusha ayandi, bigatuma acuruzwa mu gihugu cyose. Aho hantu hari mu hari hazwi cyane. Bivugwa mu gitabo cya Ndekezi S., Nyagahene

Dore ingero z'ibiciro by'ibintu by'ibikorano:

isuka 1 = ibirago binini 2

isuka 1 = icumu rito 1

isuka 1 = inkota 1

amasuka 2 = ibirago 4, buri cyose cyakorosa abantu bane, n'ihene 1

inkangara 1 = urusika 1

icyuma 1 = inkangara 1.

➤ **Ubucuruzi mpuzampahanga**

Hari ibicuruzwa byavaga mu mahanga: urugero ni umunyu wavaga i Katwe mu kiyaga cya Rwicanzige (Edouard) cyangwa i Burundi; imiringa yavaga Shaba, amasaro i Butembo n'amasuka yavaga i Bwishya cyangwa i Buvira¹¹². Mu Rwanda bivugwa ko ibicuruzwa by'i Burayi cyangwa muri Aziya byaba byarahageze bwa mbere ku ngoma ya Yuhi Mazimpaka hagati y'umwaka wa 1642 na 1675 (hakurikijwe imyaka itangwa na A. Kagame)¹¹³

Ni *Abanyamwezi* bazanaga ibiva ku nkombe y'inyanja bakabigeza mu bihugu byo hagati i Karagwe n'u Bushubi. Bohererezaga umwami w'i Rwanda amaturo arimo amasaro n'imyenda¹¹⁴. Ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro (1746-1802) imyenda yari imaze kwiyongera ho gato. Abatware bashoboraga kuyambara¹¹⁵. Ariko ibyo bintu by'agaciro gakomeye kandi bigenewe abo mu rwego rwo hejuru ntibyafatwaga nk'ibimenyetso by'imihahirane ihamye.

Ku ngoma ya Mutara Rwogera, ngo kwambara imikenyeru byari bimaze gukwira. Ni ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, Abarabu batangiye kugerageza kwinjira mu Rwanda¹¹⁶. Binyuze ku batware ba Mirenge na Gihunya, ubucuruzi bwo kugurana amahembe y'inzovu, imyenda, bwarakorwaga hagati y'umwami w'u Rwanda n'ibihugu by'u Bujinja n'u Buswi. Ni muri iyo nzira n'ubwo buryo, ubucuruzi bw'abantu na bwo bwinjiye mu Rwanda¹¹⁷.

A., Nyetera P.-C., *op.cit.*, pp. 103-104.

¹¹²Ndekezi S., Nyagahene A., Nyetera P.C., *op.cit.*, pp.55-56.

¹¹³ Kagame A., *op.cit.*, 1972, pp. 131-132.

¹¹⁴Van Noten F., *Les tombes du roi Cyirima et de la Reine-mère Nyirayuhi*, pp. 55-56.

¹¹⁵Kagame A., "Premiers contacts du Ruanda et de l'Occident », in *Grands Lacs* , no 135, 15 Septembre 1950, p. 8.

¹¹⁶Abacuruzi b'Abarabu bagendaga mu mato bageze ku nkombe z'Afurika y'u Burasirazuba mbere y'ikinyejana cya XII. Kuva mu kinyejana cya XII kugeza mu cya XV, bagumye kwiyongera muri za santeri zaho ku nkombe n'ubucuruzi bw'amahembe y'inzovu n'abacakara buriyongera. Ubwo bucuruzi bwaje nyuma no gukwira muri Afurika rwagati.

¹¹⁷Mujawamariya E., *Le commerce des esclaves au Rwanda*, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1983, pp. 81-82.

Ubucuruzi bw'abantu bugaragara nk'ikibazo gifite uburemere bufata ku mibereho y'abantu, ubukungu, poritiki n'ikiremhamuntu. Poritiki ya Rwabugiri yari iyo kugendera kure Abarabu n'abo bakorana. Ariko iyo poritiki ya Rwabugiri yagiye ihinduka buhorobuhoro, kubera ko yashakaga ibyo bicuruzwa bikomeye biva hanze, yararetse abacuruzanya n'Abarabu binjiza ubucuruzi bw'abantu mu Rwanda. Hajyaho abahuza Abarabu n'Abanyarwanda bagurisha abantu.

Hagurishwaga cyane abaja, bakagurishwa nk'abacakara. Akenshi babaga ari abafashwe cyangwa bibwe mu gihe k'ibitero, bakajyanwa kugurishwa kure. Hari n'abana, igihe k'inzara bagurishwaga n'imiryango ikize yabaga yabakiriye. Ibisambo n'abacuruzi na bo bafataga abana babaga bazerera muri ibyo bihe by'inzara. Ubwo bucuruzi bw'abantu buvugwa mu myaka ya 1890 no mu wa 1905-1906 igihe k'inzara ya *Kimwaramwara* cyangwa *Kiramwazamwaza*. Naho ubundi, nk'uko E. Mujawamariya yabyerekanye, nta masoko y'abantu nyayo yabagaho.

Kugira ngo abacakara bagurishwe, byabaga ngombwa kujya mu rugo rw'umucuruzi wabaga yemeye kugira uwo agurisha. Hari ahantu n'ibigo hagenewe bene ubwo bucuruzi bw'abacakara.

Bene nk'ibyo bigo byari i Kavumu (Akarere ka Muhanga) hari harakomeje kugurishirizwa amahembe y'inzovu nubwo umwami Rwabugiri yari atakibishaka. Hari ahandi ho kuvugwa: mu Rugerero i Bugoyi, mu Rwanza hafi ya Save, Mubuga mu Bukonya, Byahi mu Bugoyi¹¹⁸ n'i Rukira mu Gisaka. Aho mu Gisaka hari haratoranijwe kubera impamvu za poritiki n'ubucuruzi; umwami Rwabugiri yari yarahaye abatware b'i Mirenge na Gihunya ububasha bwo kumubera umuhuza n'abacuruzi b'amahanga, bwatumye ubucuruzi bw'abacakara bukomera muri ako karere.

Rukira ni ho honyine havaga abantu baturutse mu Rwanda bagurishijwe nk'abacakara kimwe n'abahanyuzwaga bavuye i Bwishya no mu Bufumbira. Ibiciro by'abacakara byakurikizaga imyaka bafite, ubwiza bwabo n'aho umuntu akomoka.

Umwana uri muni y'imyaka itatu yagurwaga ihene imwe cyangwa imyambaro 2, umugore ukiri muto yagurwaga ikizingo

¹¹⁸Ndekezi S., Nyagahene A., Nyetera P.-C., 1987, *op.cit.*, pp. 79-80 ; A. Pages, 1933, *op.cit.*, p. 163.

cy'umwenda w'abantu cyangwa imyambaro 15¹¹⁹. Ubwo bucuruzi ntibwageze hose nk'uko byabaye mu bihugu bidukikije nka Tanzaniya cyangwa Kongo (RDC y'ubu) byayogojwe na Tipotipo cyangwa Rumaliza. Ntabwo Abanyarwanda bashyigikiye bene ubwo bucuruzi. Umwami Rwabugiri yari yarabujije Abanyarwanda kugurisha abandi Banyarwanda kandi yari yararwanije abacuruzaga abacakara nka Rumaliza ¹²⁰.

3.3.5 Imiterere y'umuco n'imibanire mu Rwanda

a. Poritiki n'imvugo y'ubuhanzi

Birazwi ko ijamba *umuco* rifite ibisobanuro birenga ijana. Mu nyandiko ikurikira haribandwa ku gice kimwe cy'umuco kirebana gusa n'imvugo z'ubuhanzi. Ariko imbyino n'indirimo ntibizamo. Haribandwa cyanecyane ku mvugo z'ubuhanzi z'ibwami. Izo mvugo z'ubuhanzi z'ibwami zigizwe n'*ibisigo*, *amazina y'inka n'ibiyivugo*. Izo mvugo uko ari eshatu zihura n'ibintu bitatu byari imizi y'u Rwanda igihe cy'ubwami, ari byo umwami, inka n'ingabo. Ibyo uko ari bitatu byari inkingi y'imibanire y'abantu, poritiki ndetse n'iyobokamana¹²¹.

Ubuhanga bwo guhimba *ibisigo* (*igisigo* mu buke) bwitwa *ubusizi*. *Ibisigo* byashoboraga gusuzumwa, hashingiwe ku mpamvu enye: ibikubiyemo, akamaro bifite, uko bitangwa n'uko bitera imbere. Hano haribandwa kuri ibyo bice bya mbere uko ari bibiri. *Ibisigo* bigizwe n'ibice bibiri: igice cya mbere gikuru gihatse ibindi, ni ugusingiza ingoma *nyiginya*. Igice cya kabiri k'igisigo, gishobora kuvugwa mu buryo bweruye cyangwa buziguwe, ni igice cy'umusizi yihakirwa, arengera inyungu ze cyangwa asaba ibihembo by'ubuhanga bw'ibisigo bye kandi akabiheraho avuga ubukene bwe budakwiriye umutoni w'ibwami.

Gukuza ingoma y'ibwami byashingiraga ku bintu bine by'ingenzi: ingoma Karinga yari igize umutima w'ubwami, umwami uri ku ngoma (afatanyije iteka n'umugabekazi), abakurambere b'umwami baturwaga igisigo n'inyigisho zikubiye muri icyo gisigo.

¹¹⁹Ndekezi S., Nyagahene A., Nyetera P.-C. , 1987, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

¹²⁰Vansina J., *op.cit.*, p. 223. Hagati ya 1904 na 1909 Mgr Yohani Jozefu Hirth yategetse ko i Save, Zaza, Rwaza, Nyundo, Mibirizi na Kabgayi hubakwa amazu y'imfubyi z'abana barokotse inzara. Bwari n'uburyo bwo kugira icyo akora ku bucuruzi bw'abayisiramu. Ubwo bucuruzi bwarangiye mu 1918 bitewe nuko Musenyeri atabaje ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni b'Ababirigi.

¹²¹ Kagame A., "Le Rwanda et son roi", in *Aequatoria*, no 2, 1945, p. 41.

Kuri iyi ngingo ya nyuma, umusizi atongera umwami amubwira ko nubwo agomba gukurikiza ba sekuru b'ibihangange, agomba kubarusha kuko “*umwami uhawe uruharo arwigiza imbere*”.

Ibisigo bifite akamaro gakomeye mu ngengabitekerezo ya poritiki, amateka y'u Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni n'ubuhanga bw'imvugo zabyo ubwabyo. Uruhare rwa poritiki mu bisigo rugaragazwa n'ibyo bigamije (rb. ibikubiyemo). Ku birebana n'akamaro mu mateka, ibisigo ni byo bishingirwaho cyane mu kumenyekanisha uko ibintu byagiye bikurikirana mu Rwanda rwa kera, cyanecyane *ibisigo by'impakanizi* (ibisigo bikurikiranya uko abami bagiye basimburana ku ngoma) kuva kuri Ruganzu Bwimba kugeza kuri Mutara Rudahigwa¹²². “*Ibisigo*” byagombaga guhererekanywa uko byakabaye.

b. Imiryango

Nk'uko bimeze hose ku isi, urugo rwari ikintu gikomeye mu Rwanda rwo hambere, urugo rwakoraga ibintu bine : ubukungu, kubyara abana, kwimara irari ry'abashakanye no kurera abana. Mu Rwanda urugo rwabaga rugizwe n'abashakanye n'abana babo. Umugabo ni we mutware w'urugo. Hari ubwoko bw'ingo zitandukanye¹²³:

- *Umuryango muto* ugizwe n'umugabo, umugore n'abana babo. Bene uwo muryango washoboraga kugirwa n'umwe mu babyeyi. Iyo umubyeyi umwe yabaga yarapfuye cyangwa yarahukanye.
- *Umuryango urimo abagore benshi*: ugizwe n'umugabo n'abagore be n'abana batarashyingirwa. Buri mugore yagiraga urugo rwe¹²⁴. Umugabo agomba kumenya buri rugo. Ni yo mpamvu yasimburanyaga kuzisura.
- Igihe umugabo apfuye, umugore yashoboraga guhungurwa n'umugabo wo muryango w'umugabo we. *Ni umuryango w'umugore wahunguwe*. Abana bavutse bitirirwa umugabo wa mbere. Umugabo utari uwo mu muryango yashoboraga kubana n'umupfakazi, umuryango uwo mugore yashatsemo ubimwereye. Akenshi yabaga ari umugabo w'umukene

¹²²Kagame A., *Introduction aux grands genres lyriques de l'ancien Rwanda*, Butare, EUNR, 1969, p. 187; B. Muzungu, “La problématique de l'histoire du Rwanda», in *Cahiers Lumière et Société*, no 33, mars 2006.

¹²³D'Heltefelt M., Trouwborst A., Scherer J.-H., *Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale Rwanda, Burundi, Buha*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1962, pp. 51-52.

¹²⁴Maquet J.-J., *Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Bruxelles, MRCB, 1954, p. 94.

wagiraga imirimo akora cyangwa agatanga inzoga. Akenshi yasekwaga n'abaturanyi.

Umuryango wakoraga byinshi. Ni wo wabaga inkingi ikomeye mu gufashanya no kuzuzanya mu birebana no guteza imbere umutungo. Wishakiraga ubwawo ibyo wabaga ukeneye byo kuwutunga, ubundi ugahaha ibindi hanze. Mu muryango urimo abagore benshi, buri rugo rwa buri mugore rwirwanagaho mu birebana n'umutungo. Umugabo ni we wategekaga ibigomba gukorwa. Imirimo y'abagore yabaga itandukanye bitewe n'uko urugo rukize (cyanecyane urufite inka) cyangwa rukennye¹²⁵.

Mu myumvire y'Abanyarwanda abana benshi bari umugisha kandi bakaba n'ingufu z'umuryango. Gushyingira umukobwa na byo byongeraga amaboko yo mu miryango yashyingiranye. Umukobwa yahuzaga imiryango (*umukobwa ni gahuzamiryango*). Hari umuhango wakorwaga n'abashakanye wo kurarana byanze bikunze iyo habaga hari ubukwe bwabaye mu muryango, hari umwana wavutse, bavuye ku rupfu, umwami yimye ingoma, bateye imbuto cyangwa basaruye imyaka¹²⁶. Kurera umwana byari iby'urugo n'umuryango ndetse n'ingabo zigashobora kubigiramo uruhare (tuzabibona imbere ahavugwa uburere bw'umwana).

Mu Rwanda rwa kera, gushyingirwa byahuzaga abashakanye hamaze gutangwa inkwano no gukorwa imihango yo *gusaba no gukwa* yanyobwagamo inzoga nyinshi¹²⁷ : inkwano akenshi yari inka, ariko hari ubwo yashoboraga kuba ihene, amasuka ndetse mu bakene hashoboraga gutangwa imirimo ikorwa n'umuhungu kwa sebukwe. Mu by'ukuri umugeni yabaga atangiwe ubuntu. Umugore wabyaraga abakobwa gusa yashoboraga gusendwa¹²⁸.

Iyo umuryango wirukanaga umupfakazi, byafatwaga nko kwirukana umugore. Ntabwo inkwano yasubizwaga, iyo umugore atabaga yarabyaye mu rugo yashatsemo¹²⁹. Umugore wirukanwaga atakowe, yashoboraga gushaka undi mugabo.

¹²⁵D'Heltefelt M. et al., 1962, *op.cit.*, 1962, p. 23.

¹²⁶ Buregeya, S., *Les paysans du Bumbogo face aux autorités traditionnelles et coloniales*, 1900-1956, Butare, UNR, 1990.

¹²⁷Bigirumwami A., *Imihango n'imigenzo n'imiziririzo mu Rwanda*, Nyundo, 1974, pp. 112-132; Ndekezi S., *Ubukwe bw'Abanyarwanda*, Kigali, 1983; Ndekezi S., *Rituel du mariage coutumier au Rwanda*, Kigali, 1984.

¹²⁸Mukanyamurasa O., 2004., *op.cit.*, p. 11.

¹²⁹D'Heltefelt M. et al., 1962, *op.cit.* 54.

Akenshi imfubayi ni zo zitabonaga inkwano. Umugore wavaga mu rugo kuko atakowe yajyanaga n'abana yahabyaye. Umuryango wabaga utarahawe inkwano, washoboraga kwihimura, kwiba umwana w'umuhungu bitaga *muramu*, iyo abashakanye bakomezaga kubana¹³⁰. Mu batunzi bakomeye, umunsi wo gusaba, bajyanaga inka ebyiri, into ikazasubira iwabo w'umusore umunsi w'ubukwe¹³¹.

Gushyingiranwa byabaga hagati y'Abanyarwanda bose, uretse ko Abatwa batashyingiranwaga n'abandi Banyarwanda. Hari igihe ababyeyi bangaga ko abana babo bashyingiranwa. Ariko byarashobokaga ko abana bibanira ababyeyi batabyemeye. Umukobwa yasangaga umuhungu cyangwa umuhungu agakoresha imihango iba mu bukwe nko gucira amata umukobwa cyangwa kumwambika umwishywa¹³². Umuhungu yashoboraga no guterura umukobwa, bakabana bitanyuze mu buryo bwemewe.

A. Bigirumwami yanditse uko imihango yo gushyingirana ikurikirana¹³³ :

- Gushaka mbere na mbere *umuranga* (usa n'umuhuza) washoboraga kuba se cyangwa se wabo w'umuhungu.
- *Kurambagiza* ngo bamenye ingeso z'umukobwa;
- *Kuraguza* ngo bamenye ko bazahabwa umugeni, ko urugo ruzaba ruhira cyangwa uko batsinda ingorane zose bashoboraga guhura na zo;
- *Gusaba* bajyanye ibibindi by'inzoga. Mu miryango imwe n'imwe se w'umukobwa yabazaga impamvu y'iyi nzoga, ahandi umuranga yavugaga ko aje guhakwa akagira ati "nje guhakwa, mumpake neza, mundeme amaboko n'amaguru, mumpe ubuhake nange nyobokeye, mpakwe". Agahita aha umuryango w'umukobwa isuka n'isando¹³⁴;
- *Gutanga inkwano* bakavugaga icyo gihe umunsi wo gushyingirwa;
- Iwabo w'umukobwa mbere yo gushyingira bagakora umuhango wo kuraguza;
- Iwabo w'umukobwa nanone, mbere gato yo gushyingira, ba nyirasenge w'umukobwa bakamugira inama;
- Iwabo w'umuhungu na bo bakaraguza;

¹³⁰Bigirumwami A, *Imihango n'imigenzo n'imiziririzo mu Rwanda*, Nyundo, 1974, p. 116.

¹³¹Ibidem, p. 114.

¹³²D'Heltefelt M. et al., 1962, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

¹³³Bigirumwami A., 1974, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-132.

¹³⁴Mbere y'inka, kera isuka ni yo yari ikimenyetso gikomeye cy'ubukungu. Hari umugani uvuga ko isando ngo yaba yarazanywe na Nyirarucyaba. Itera inka kororoka n'umuryango kuramba.

- Gushaka umwishwa n'amata bikoreshwa ku munsu w'ubukwe nyirizina;
- Umunsu w'ubukwe, gukora umuhango n'ibibujijwe byose bijyanye n'uwo munsu.

Agaciro bashyiraga ku burere bw'umwana kerekanaga uko bifuzaga ko umwana yamera¹³⁵. Abana bato akenshi barerwaga na ba nyina. Mu bijyanye n'ubumenyi, abana bose bafatwaga kimwe. Urugero: bose bigishwaga imigani, hari n'abagore babaga abasizikazi, uwa mbere ni Nyirarumaga¹³⁶. Uko abana b'abakobwa bagendaga bakura ni ko bagendaga bigishwa imirimo yo mu rugo, abahungu bikigishwa imico y'ubutwari, kugira ingufu no kumenya kwitangira igihugu. Umuhungu yigishwaga n'imirimo yihariye ijyanye n'urwego rw'abantu arererwamo.

Kugeza ku myaka 16, umukobwa yagenderaga ku nama ahabwa na nyina. Akamutoza imirimo n'imiziririzo. Umukobwa akiga kugira isuku mu nzu arebera kuri bakuru be. Ku myaka 15, uburere bw'umukobwa bwakorwaga n'abandi bakobwa bangana. Ni bo bamwigishaga ibijyanye n'ubuzima bw'imyororokere n'uko agomba kuzitwara imbere y'umugabo we. Umuco wabuzaga ababyeyi kubwira abana babo ibintu bijyanye n'igitsina. Gutwara inda y'indaro byarahanwaga bikomeye¹³⁷.

Umukobwa w'isugi yabaga ari ishema ku muryango we. Uburere bw'umugore umaze gushyingirwa bwagirwagamo uruhare rukomeye n'umuryango yashatsemo n'abaturanyi. Bitewe n'imirimo itandukanye bagombaga kuzakora, hageraga aho uburere bw'umuhungu n'umukobwa na bwo ubwabwo butandukanywa. Umuhungu yabaga atozwa kuzarengera urugo n'igihugu. Yasimburaga se mu mirimo y'urugo n'indi yose¹³⁸. Ku birebana no kurengera igihugu, uko buri mwami yimye, haremwaga itorerero rishya. Intore zikamara igihe kirekire ibwami, ziga imyitozo y'ingororamubiri n'iyi kurwana, kuvuga neza ibisigo no kugira ingufu. Bigishwaga kugira ubuntu, kwihangana no kuba intwari¹³⁹. Ubwo burere bwo mu itorerero bwari uburezi nyabwo mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Ariko muri rusange bwahabwaga abasore bake b'icyo gihe.

¹³⁵Mukamanase M.-C., *La position socio-familiale de la femme rwandaise face à l'égalité de l'homme et de la femme*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 1983, p. 28.

¹³⁶Kanakuze J.-A., *Evolution de la scolarisation de la femme rwandaise de 1952 à 2002 à la lumière de la Vision 2020*, Mémoire de licence, Kigali, KIE, 2005, p. 26.

¹³⁷Mukamanase M.-C., 1983, *op.cit.*, p. 29.

¹³⁸Kanakuze J.-A., 2005, *op.cit.* p. 26.

¹³⁹Hermans R., *Introduction à l'histoire du Rwanda*, Bruxelles, Editions A. De Boeck ; Kigali, Editions Rwandaises, 1973, pp. 43-44.

c. Umwanya w'umugore

Mu Rwanda rwa kera, umugore yari afite umwanya w'ibanze¹⁴⁰. Yabonekaga hose no kugeza mu nzego zo hejuru zaba iza poritiki, iz'ubuyobozi n'iz'ingabo. Yari umugore akaba n'umubyeyi mu muryango. Yari ashinzwe imirimo yo mu rugo itari iy'ingufu. Ni we wamenyaga gucunga ibizatunga urugo. Umugabo wihaga gucunga iby'urugo bya buri munsu yaragawaga mu bandi Banyarwanda¹⁴¹. Ariko uwo mwanya w'icyubahiro mu bintu bimwe na bimwe ntabwo iteka ibyawo byubahirizwaga mu buzima busanzwe.

Uretse mu rugo, ahandi hose umwanya w'umugore wabaga muto cyane. "Mu buzima busanzwe uretse ko imirimo ye myinshi yatumaga atava no mu rugo, n'umuco wamutegekaga kwitarura ibitarebana n'urugo rwe. Inshingano ye cyanecyane yari iyo guteza imbere urugo rwe"¹⁴².

Imigani imwe, imiziro n'ingero zitangwa, byerekana imyumvire mibi yitirirwaga umugore, ikanamushyira ku rwego rwo hasi mu Banyarwanda.

- Umugore ntiyicara ku ntebe y'umugabo we igihe akiriho;
- Umugore nta we yatiza icumu cyangwa umuheto cyangwa intorezo. Ngo byakenya umugabo we¹⁴³;
- Nta nkokokazi ibika isake ihari;
- Uruvuze umugore ruvuga umuhoro.

Iyi migani n'iyi miziro yose byerekana ko Abanyarwanda bemeraga imitandukanirize y'imirimo y'abagabo n'abagore. Iyo mitandukanyirize yanagaragariraga mu mihango no mu

¹⁴⁰Nyirasafari G., «La situation de la femme rwandaise», in *Dialogue*, no 26, mai 1971 ; Erny P., *De l'éducation traditionnelle à l'enseignement moderne au Rwanda (1900-1975). Un pays d'Afrique noire en recherche pédagogique*, thèse de doctorat, Université de Lille, 1981; E. Mukamanase, *La femme rwandaise et le développement socio-économique*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 1982 ; Mugwaneza A., *Recueil des études et ouvrages ayant trait à la femme rwandaise*, Kigali, 1998; Nyiracumi A.-M., *La situation socio-culturelle de la femme rwandaise de 1900 à 1975*. Cas d'Astrida/Butare, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 2001; Kawema C., *L'émancipation de la femme au Rwanda (1975-1999)*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 2002; Rutabana E., *Le rôle des associations de veuves dans leur intégration psychologique. Cas des associations Avega (PVK)- Duhozanye (Shyanda)*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, UNR, 2001; Uwamariya E., *L'évolution des relations entre l'homme et la femme pendant l'époque coloniale belge de 1916-1962*, Kigali, KIE, 2004.

¹⁴¹Kagame A., *Les organisations socio-familiales de l'ancien Rwanda*, Gembloux, Editions Duculot, 1954, p. 234.

¹⁴²Mukanyamurasa O., 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁴³Bigirumwami A., *Imihango n'imigenzo n'imiziririzo mu Rwanda*, Nyundo, 1974, pp. 43-44; Mukanyamurasa O., *Idem*.

migenzo yakurikiraga ivuka ry'umuhungu n'iry'umukobwa. Byaterwaga n'ibyo bateze ko buri wese azamarira igihugu. Iyo bitaga umwana w'umuhungu izina, bamuhaga icumu n'ingabo bamwifuriza kuzaba ingabo nziza y'igihugu. Umukobwa we muri icyo gihe, yahabwaga ibintu bijyanye no kuboha bamwifuriza kuzamenya gufata urugo neza ¹⁴⁴.

Ikindi kandi “umuco ntiwemeraga ko umugabo n'umugore bangana, imiterere y'imiryango ishingiyeye ku bagabo, ni bo yahaga ubutegetsu n'umutungo mu rugo”¹⁴⁵. Ni umuhungu waragwaga umutungo w'ababyeyi ngo azage ashobora kubafasha mu masaziro yabo. Uretse iryo vangura, umuco wemeraga ko umugore ahabwa icyubahiro kihariye, kikarindwa n'urugo rwe n'umugabo we. Umugore yafatwaga nk'umuntu wungura urugo ibintu n'abana. Ibyo byamuheshaga icyubahiro gikomeye. Na we ku ruhande rwe, yari ategetswe kumvira no kubaha umugabo we. Yagombaga kwagura umuryango w'umugabo we. Umukobwa n'umuhungu babahaga inshingano zitandukanye kubera ko umuryango wibonaga mu muhungu kurusha uko wibona mu mukobwa. Muri make, mbere ya byose umugore yari umufasha w'umugabo we akaba n'umubyeyi w'abana. Ibyo ariko bigomba gufatwa mu rwego n'umuco by'icyo gihe.

Kubera uruhare rukomeye umugore yagiraga mu muryango no mu bukungu, yabaga yubashywe cyane. Byari bibujijwe kwica umugore. Iyo hari uwabirengagaho, umuryango we wagombaga kwicirwa umuntu, igihe cyose abagore bo muri uwo muryango, bo mu kigero cy'uwapfuye, babaga babyaye umwana, babikoraga bahorera umwana na we wari kuba yabyawe n'uwo bishe¹⁴⁶. Icyubahiro cy'abagore cyagaragariraga mu mazina amwe n'amwe bahabwaga nka Munganyinka, Mukobwajana na Nyampinga¹⁴⁷. Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni, umuntu warindwaga cyane yari umukobwa.

Mu mucu nyarwanda, imirimo y'umugabo n'umugore yaruzuzanyaga. Umugabo yakoraga imirimo y'amaboko, imirimo ivunanye yo mu mirima, kubaka amazu, kumenya inkya, guhiga no gufatanya n'umugore imirimo igendanye n'ubuhinzi n'ibindi. Umugore na we yamenyaga imirimo yo mu rugo n'ijyanye n'ubuhinzi: kumenya isuku y'urugo, gucunda amata, gutora

¹⁴⁴Migeprofe, FNUAP, *Etudes sur les croyances, les attitudes et les pratiques socio-culturelles en rapport avec le genre au Rwanda, version finale*, Kigali, 2002, p. 13.

¹⁴⁵Adriaenssens J., *La parenté, le mariage et la famille*, Butare, 1964, p. 148.

¹⁴⁶Kagame A., 1954, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁷Mukanyamurasa O., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

imboga n'imbuto, gusya amasaka, kuvoma no gutora inkwi, guteka no kwenga inzoga, gucana, kurera abana, guhinga, kubiba, guteka, kubagara no gusarura imyaka¹⁴⁸.

Ku birebana n'umupfakazi, ubufasha bw'umugabo we bwarangizanyaga n'urupfu rwe. N'iyi yabaga yarahawe inka n'umuryango we cyangwa n'umugabo we, "ntabwo umugore yazigiraga umutungo we burundu, ahubwo yagiraga uburenganzira ku musaruro zitanze"¹⁴⁹. Iyo umupfakazi yagumaga mu muryango wo kwa sebukwe, yari afite uburenganzira bwo gukomeza gutungwa n'ibyo umugabo we yamusigiye. Mu gihe yabaga yatanye n'umugabo we, yapfakaye cyangwa mu za bukuru, umugore yahabwaga umurima.

Umukobwa ugiye gushyingirwa yashoboraga guhabwa ibintu birimo inka bitaga *inka ya gashyimbo*. Yatahanaga iyo nka iyo yashyingirwaga. Iyo yavaga muri urwo rugo, yasubiranaga iwabo inka ze. Uwo mucu warangiye ku bwa Yuhi Gahindiro ngo bitewe nuko abagore bari batunze izo nka za gashyimbo bari batangiye kujya basuzugura abagabo babo no konona umutungo wabo. Kuva ubwo, habaye iteka ko impano abagore bahabwaga zabaga iz'abagabo babo¹⁵⁰. Muri make, izungura n'iyahukana byabangamiraga umugore.

Twakwibutsa ko hari abagore bamwe bazamukaga cyane mu nzego zo hejuru zaba iza poritiki, iz'ubutegetsi n'iz'ingabo. Twavugaga nk'umugabekazi (izina rye rivugaga umugore utegeka ingabo). Yagiraga uruhare rukomeye mu bikorwa bya poritiki n'intambara¹⁵¹. Ni muri urwo rwego, mu gitero cya mbere cya Rwabugiri ku Ijwi, umugabekazi Nyirakigeri Murorunkwere yari umugaba mukuru w'ibitero. Bageze i Nyamirundi, ubuyobozi bw'imirwano buhabwaga Nzirumbanje wa Mitari, musaza wa Nyirakigeri¹⁵².

Hari imihango bakoreshagamo abagore yo gutsinda amahanga. Havugwaga nk'umuhango wo kubashyingira mu rwego rwa poritiki. Hari abakobwa bashyingiwe abami cyangwa ibikomangoma

¹⁴⁸D'Heltefelt M. et al., *op.cit.*, p. 33.

¹⁴⁹ Bourgeois R., *Banyarwanda et Barundi T2 Coutumes*, Bruxelles, IRCB, 1954, p. 367.

¹⁵⁰Kagame A., 1954, *op.cit.* p. 183.

¹⁵¹Nahimana F., *Rwanda. Emergence d'un Etat*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1993, 1993, p. 36.

¹⁵²Minisiteri y'Amashuri Makuru n'Ubushakashatsi mu by'Ubuhanga, *Ingoma ya Kigeli Rwabugiri na Nyirayuhi Kanjogera*, Kigali, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ubugeni, 1988, p. 28.

byo mu mahanga. Abana bavutse kenshi kuri ubwo buryo bitangagaho abatabazi b'u Rwanda. Ni ko byagendekeye Nyiratamba, umukobwa wa Mibambwe Mutabazi wari warashyngiwe Mashira. Yatahanyeyo inka y'inkungu y'ibara ry'umukara bishaka kuvuga itsindwa rizaba kuri Mashira. Muri icyo gihe kandi Mibambwe Sekarongoro Mutabazi yarongoye Bwiza bwa Mashira na nyuma Gahindiro (ka Mibambwe akaba na sekuruza w'abene Gahindiro). Yarongoye uwitwa Nyankeri, na we wa Mashira¹⁵³. Kugira ngo igihugu cy'Abenengwe gitsindwe (mu magepfo y'uburasirazuba bw'u Rwanda), Yuhi III Gahima yarongoye Nyankaka wa Magunguru akaba murumuna wa Benginzage (Nyagakecuru), umugore wa Samukende, umwami w'u Bungwe. Yavuyeyo yaratewe inda na Samukende yavutsemo Binama. Uwo Binama w'igikomangoma yaje kuba umutabazi w'u Rwanda i Bungwe¹⁵⁴.

Ku ngoma ya Kirima II Rujugira, kugira ngo i Ndorwa itsindwe, Gahurira yarongoye Nyirantabwa babyarana abana babiri, Kamali na Mugozi. Kamali yari yarateganirijwe kuzagira uruhare rukomeye mu itsindwa ry'i Ndorwa. Kigeri wa III Ndabarasa yashutse Biyoro umwami w'u Mubari, maze amubwira ko yifuza kumushyngira umukobwa we Nyabugondo, avuga ko amushakaho ubucuti. Biyoro ahita abyemera: Nyabugondo ahashyngirwa nk'umutabazi. Hari undi uvugwa ko yapfuye nk'umutabazi ku ngoma ya Yuhi IV Gahindiro: umuja w'ibwami witwaga Kiyange, yemeye kwicwa mu kigwi cy'umugabekazi wari wagambaniwe n'igikomangoma Semugaza washakaga kwima ingoma. Undi mugore w'ibwami, Nyiramuhanda, yatanze uruhinja rwe ngo rwicwe mu mwanya wa Gahindiro. Urwo ruhinja na Kiyange bishwe nk'abatabazi. Nyiramuhanda yagorewe gushyirwa mu rwego rw'abiru, byari bidasanzwe kuva kera kose nta bagore bamenyaga ubwiru ndetse n'abagabekazi ntibabumenyaga¹⁵⁵.

Mu rwego rwa poritiki, umugabekazi yari afite umwanya ukomeye mu buzima bw'igihugu. Nta nshingano z'umwihariko yari afite, ariko yafatanyaga n'umuhungu we imirimo yose n'ibijyanye na yo byose. Urugero: iyo umwami yaturwaga, n'umugabekazi yahabwaga aye maturo¹⁵⁶. Ingufu z'umugabekazi ku mwami

¹⁵³Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, p. 77.

¹⁵⁴Ibidem, p. 85.

¹⁵⁵Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

¹⁵⁶Coupez et Kamanzi Th., *Récits historiques rwanda*, Tervuren, 1962, p. 93.

zaterwaga n'uko umwami ateye. Ibyo ari byo byose ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwari ubw'umwami keretse iyo yabaga akiri muto. icyo gihe ni umugabekazi wayoboraga igihugu¹⁵⁷.

Ubusanzwe nta batware b'abagore babagaho. Ariko ikipe y'abashakashatsi bo muri Kaminuza y'u Rwanda n'abo mu i Seminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda yashoboye gukora urutonde rw'amazina icumi y'abatware n'ibisonga¹⁵⁸. Kandi, mu mateka y'u Rwanda, hari amazina y'abagore bavugwa ko babaye abatwarekazi. Byabaye ku witwa Nyirantebe, mushiki wa Yuhi Gahima, yatwaye intara ya Nyakare. Yayoboye iyo ntara hamwe n'umugabo we n'abana be kugeza ashaje cyane¹⁵⁹.

Nyirangabo yabaye umutware w'urugo rwa Kigeri Rwabugiri ku kirwa k'Ijwi, nyuma no mu Bunyambiriri yarinze urugo rwa Rwabugiri abashakaga kuruvogera. Gicumatiro yayoboraga akarere ka Kagina muri Rukoma ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Nyirakimonyo yatwaraga Ndago (Nyaruguru) ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri na Musinga¹⁶⁰.

Mu tundi turere tw'u Rwanda, abagore bagize uruhare rukomeye muri poritiki y'u Rwanda. Mu Bukunzi no mu Busozo, *abamikazi* bagiraga uruhare rubangikanye n'urw'umwami mu miyoborere yaho. Bagenzuraga abapfumu b'ibwami kandi abenshi bari abagore bagera kuri za mirongo ingahe¹⁶¹. Impamvu zatumaga baraguza ni izashoboraga kugira ingaruka ku buzima bw'umwami n'igihugu: umwami agiye kugira urugendo mu mahanga, yakira se undi mwami, cyangwa baraguriza umugeni we wa mbere. Umugabekazi w'u Bukunzi cyangwa u Busozo yamenyeshwaga buri gihe icyo umwami akora, ndetse rimwe na rimwe umugabekazi akaba ari we umubwira gahunda y'icyo

¹⁵⁷Umugore wa Mibambwe, witwaga Shetsa w'umwegakazi, yari yarigize igitangaza ku buryo yari yarageze aho ateguka umwami gukora icyo ashatse. Yibwiraga ko umwami uzasimbura Mibambwe azaba ari umuhungu we Hondi. Ariko hari hateganyijwe ko umugabekazi azaba ari umuhakazi. Kugira ngo bishoboke bagombye gutumiza mu ibanga Matama wa Bigega mu Buha (rb. Kagame A., *Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda*, pp. 81-82).

¹⁵⁸Uwamariya E., 2004., *op.cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁵⁹Vansina J., "Historical tales (Ibitekerezo) and the history of Rwanda», in *History in Africa. A Journal of Method*, vol. 27/2000, p. 384.

¹⁶⁰Uwamariya E., 2004., *op.cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁶¹Ntezimana E., «Coutumes et traditions des royaumes hutu du Bukunzi et du Busozo», in *Etudes Rwandaises*, XIII, 2, 1980, pp. 24-25.

akora. Umugabekazi Mwari Rugamba akunze gutangwaho urugero¹⁶².

Mu byubahiro, bisa naho umugabekazi yareshyaga n'umwami. Mwarirugamba yagiye i Bujumbura mu wa 1904 kuburanira ingoma y'umuhungu we, umugabo we Nyundo amaze gupfa, hari abandi bo mu muryango wabo bashaka kumuhuguza ingoma. I Bujumbura bahaye amabwiriza i Shangi yo gusubiza ku ngoma ye Buhinga II wari ukiri muto maze akayoborerwa na nyina.

Abagore ntibivangaga mu birebana n'ubucamanza, byaharirwaga abagabo. Umugore ntiyari afite uburenganzira bwo kuvugira mu ruhame ngo adacibwa. Na gacaca yari ihariwe abagabo, ariko hari uburyo abagore bayigiragamo uruhare binyuze ku bagabo babo. Inyungu z'umuryango zarengerwaga n'umukuru w'umuryango. Ariko abagore b'akataraboneka kubera ubwitonzi bwabo n'uruhare muri poritiki bagize uruhare mu bucamanza bwa kera.

Bishingiye ku bwiru, imyeko y'abagabekazi bapfuye yahabwaga icyubahiro n'ababakomokaho. Yarindwaga n'abiru bihariye bitwaga *abiru b'imyeko*¹⁶³. Kumenya ubwiru byari ibanga. Umugore wa Mibambwe Mutabazi n'umuhungu we ngo baba barishwe bazize gushaka kugerageza kumenya ubwiru. Na Nyiramavugo Nyiramongi, nyina wa Mutara Rwogera, yatumye Kigeri Rwabugiri atanga Nkoronko aricwa kuko yari yavuze inkuru itari yo y'uzasimbura Rwogera¹⁶⁴.

Hari ibyemezo byagiye bifatwa birebana n'abagabekazi byerekana uruhare rwa poritiki umugore w'umunyarwandakazi yagiraga. Imva y'umugabekazi Nyirakigeri I Nyanguge, nyina wa Mukobanya irabyerekana. Iyo mva iri i Rubingo ahitwa ku *Kabira* (Shyorongi). Ni we mugabekazi wa mbere ufite aho yahambwe hazwi. Hari umuryango w'abami bato b'imihango bakomoka kuri *Mugina* bari batuye aho, bashinzwe gukora imihango yari igenewe uwo mugabekazi, bakabiyoborwamo n'abiru b'i Nyamweru. Ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori, ubwiru bwemeje ko abagabekazi bazajya batabarizwa aho abagabo babo bashyinguwe. Ni yo mpamvu Nyiramavugo I Nyirakabogo yatabarijwe i Butangampundu, mu irimbi ry'abami batanze

¹⁶²Muri gicurasi 1923, Padri mukuru wa Mibirizi yagiye gusura umwami wa Busozo, Buhinga II, babanza kumunyuzza ku mugabekazi Mwalirugamba.

¹⁶³Uwo mwiru yavaga mu muryango w'Abakuna ngo baba baturuka kuri Nkuna. Urwo rwego rwari rutakiriho mu wa 1945 ubwo abiru berekwaga Padiri Kagame.

¹⁶⁴Nkurikiyimpfura J.-N., *Les sources de l'histoire du Rwanda*, collection Cours universitaires, Ruhengeri, UNR, 1992.

bazize urupfu rw'igikatu¹⁶⁵. N'umugabekazi Nyirakigeri II Nshenderi ni ho yatabarijwe kuko yitwaye nabi agasama inda.

Ku ngoma ya Mutara Semugeshe, hafashwe ikemezo ko igihe cyo kubahiriza imihango y'Inzira y'ishora, umwami azajya avuga amoko azavamo abagabekazi bazabyara Kigeri na Mibambwe, n'inzu y'Abega izavamo nyina w'uzaba Kirima. Yuhi Mazimpaka aca iteka ko ntawumukomokaho uzongera gushaka umugore wo mu bwoko bw'Abacyaba. Impamvu yavuzwe nuko umwami w'u Bugesera Nsoro III Nyabarega yaba yarabonye ubwiza bw'umwami w'u Rwanda ku bugambane bw'abagore be Kihunde na Kiranga bavukaga mu bwoko bw'Abacyaba¹⁶⁶.

B. Muzungu¹⁶⁷ na A. Kagame¹⁶⁸ batanga amazina amwe y'abagore mu bakomeye mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Umugore witwa Nyiragahira, wari utuye ku Mukingo-Mwanabiri avugwa mu bateguye kugaruka mu Rwanda kwa Ruganzu Ndori. Ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori, Nyirarumaga w'Umusingakazi yamenyekanye cyane kubera ubuhanga bwe mu bisigo byitwa *impakanizi*, birimo ibice byinshi bivuga icyarimwe ingoma nyinshi z'abami, bitandukanye n'ibisigo byariho mbere bitarenzaga "imikarago" icumi byitwaga *ibinyeto*.

Hari n'abagore bavugwa mu bisigo. Ku ngoma ya Kigeri III Ndabarasa, umusizi Musare mu gisigo ke "*Mbwire umwami uko abandi bami bantumye*", avugisha abami n'abagabekazi ko rubanda rwifuza kongera kubona umwami wari waratinze mu Ndorwa, amaze gutsinda icyo gihugu. Umugabekazi asaba umusizi Muganza kumuhimbira igisigo kitwa "*Mvulire ubuhake*" cyaje kunga abahungu be babiri bari mu makimbirane¹⁶⁹.

Ku ngoma ya Yuhi Gahindiro, umugabekazi Nyirayuhi IV Nyiratunga, yayoboye neza igihugu kugeza aho Gahindiro abereye mukuru. Naho Mucuma, wabayeho ku ngoma ya Kigeri IV Rwabugiri, azwi kuba yari azi kuririmba no gusiga byahebuje. Ni we wahimbye "*Uramutashye*", "*Wibabara*" n"*Inkuru nziza yabaye*". Hari abana, iyo bashakaga kwimenyakanisha, bavugaga amazina ya ba nyina. Bisobanura iki? Mu majyaruguru bakunze kugira abagore benshi, inama z'ingo zaberaga mu rugo rw'umugore

¹⁶⁵Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., p. 74.

¹⁶⁶Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., p. 127.

¹⁶⁷Muzungu B., *Histoire du Rwanda précolonial*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2003, pp. 349-353.

¹⁶⁸Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., pp.99-100

¹⁶⁹Kagame A., 1972, op.cit., pp. 158, 164.

mukuru. Rimwe na rimwe, abana bavutse ku bagore b'abakeba bangaga gusanga se mu rugo rw'umugore mukuru, bagahitamo guhurira mu ngo za ba nyina. Iyo umugabo yemeraga, agakora uko abana babyifuza, habaga hatangiye gucikamo ibice. Hagatangira kuboneka uduce twiyita utw'umugore runaka na runaka, kuko ari ho babaga bakorera inama no kuba ari ho bibona¹⁷⁰.

Aha twavuga umuryango w'Abatabaro bo muri Nyaruguru (Intara y'Amagepfo). Abahungu bamwe ba Matabaro biyitiriye ba nyina. *Abatambi* baturuka kuri Nyirakwitambi, *Abaremezo* baturuka kuri Nyiraremezo¹⁷¹. Ibyo byo kwiyitirira abagore byabagaho mu Rwanda rwo hambere. Ariko byajijishaga abantu batabisobanukiwe. Hashobora kuvugwa igisekuru gore. Ariko byashoboraga kuvugwa gusa yiba byibuza icyo gisekuru cyavaga ku mugore kigahererekanywa ku mukobwa we, kandi n'izungura rigashingira kuri ba nyirarume w'abana. Mu *Batabaro*, abana bahabwaga iminani na ba se¹⁷².

Ni Abanyarwandakazi bake bavugwa kuba barabaye abasekuruzi b'amoko amwe n'amwe mu Rwanda. Hari ibitekerezo bisa n'imigani bivuga ko *Abacyaba* bava ku mateka y'igihange Gihanga n'umukobwa we Nyirarucyaba¹⁷³. Inkomoko y'*Abatsobe* yo ntisobanutse neza, ahubwo ivugwa ku buryo bunyuranye. Hari igitekerezo kivuga ko Nyirarutsobe, umuja wa Nzira ngo yaba yarabwiye Ruganzu Ndori inzira yo gutsinda Nzira. Mu magambo make, uwo mugore yaba yaragize akamaro gakomeye mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Hari amazina azwi cyane akomeye mu mateka¹⁷⁴.

d. Ukwemera n'imihango.

Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko muri byose habaho Musumbabyose witwa *Imana*. Bemeraga kandi ko nyuma y'urupfu habagaho ubuzima bw'abakurambere. Barimo ibice bibiri: abakurambere bagwa neza bitwaga Ingabwa, n'abakurambere bagwa nabi.

¹⁷⁰Nahimana F., 1993, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁷¹Minani O.-G., *Evolution socio-économique d'un lignage: Abatabaro dits Abahebyi dans le Nyaruguru (1850-1935)*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, 1981, p. 5.

¹⁷²Nahimana F., 1993, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁷³Nyagahene A., *op. cit.* 454

¹⁷⁴Kanakuze J.-A., 2005, *op.cit.* p.32.

➤ **Uko Imana yagaragara**

Ku Banyarwanda ba kera isi n'ibiyikikije byose bigengwa n'Imana. Nubwo nta nsengeru cyangwa imihango byabagaho, ariko Abanyarwanda barayambazaga kandi bakayishimira. Abana babo babitaga amazina yaganishaga ku bushobozi n'ibikorwa binyuranye by'Imana. Izindi nyito zakorehwaga kenshi zerekanaga iby'ingenzi mu biranga Imana binyuranye: Iyakare, Rurema, Ruhanga, Rugira, Rugaba¹⁷⁵. Hari ibiyiranga bibiri mu bubasha bwayo bigaragara ko biruta ibindi mu mvugo y'imvanganzo: Imana yitwa Rurema na Rugira.

Ubundi bubasha bwiyongeraho buvugwa cyanecyane mu migani miremire cyangwa migufi no mu mazina y'abantu. Byerekana ko isumba byose kandi ikaba ishingiro rya byose. Ku bijyanye n'ibi, hari umugani werekana impamvu Imana yibera kure hatagerwa. Bavuga ko kera *Imana* yiberaga hafi y'abantu, ikabakurikira, ikabafasha, ikabarinda ijoro n'umunsi. Cyanecyane yitaga ku bana. Umunsi umwe, se w'abana yari yagiye guhiga naho nyina akorera hanze, *Imana* iza kurera abana, kubakuyakuya, no kubasetsa. Se w'abana, ku buryo butunguranye, aza kuva mu muhigo, nuko atangazwa no gusanga umuntu atazi amubereye mu bana. Ibyo biramurakaza cyane ati: iki kintu ni iki? Nta kujijinganya, ahita akirasa umwambi ariko ku bw'amahirwe Imana mu kanya gato cyane, yari yahise yigurukira mu ijuru. Ngiyo impamvu ituma Imana itakigaragara mu bantu.

Niba, dushingiye kuri uwo mugani, Imana isumba byose kuruta kuba muri byose, ntibubujijwe ko igaragara hose mu buzima busanzwe bw'abantu nk'uko biboneka mu mvugo zisanzwe z'Abanyarwanda (ukaba wabigereranya no mu Burundi cyangwa mu Buha buherereye muri Tanzaniya y'ubu). Imigani iha Imana isura y'abantu: iragenda, irakora. Ariko bayibona nkaho idafatika. Imana ishobora byose. Imenya byose, yumva byose, kandi ibona byose. Kandi igira neza bikaba ari byo bisobanura impamvu batayitura kuko ku Banyarwanda amaturo agenewe kugusha neza abazimu babi. Muri uko kutabaho kw'imihango ikorerwa Imana, umuntu yitabaza ibisa n'umuhuza nk'umwami, ubonwa nk'umuhuza n'Imana n'abantu mu rwego rw'igihugu, cyangwa abazimu n'abapfumu, kugira ngo avugane n'Imana.

¹⁷⁵D'Hertefeldt M., Trowborst A., Scherer J.-H., *Les anciens royaumes de la zone interlacustre méridionale Ruanda, Burundi, Buha, Tervuren, MBAC, 1962.*

Hariho ikigirwamana cyo mu rwego rwo hasi ariko gifite ubushobozi bukomeye kikaba ari cyo nyirabayazana w'ibibi, kitwa Ruremankwashi¹⁷⁶. Uko kubona Imana, nta sano bifitanye n'imyemerere ya gikirisitu. Ibisigo bya kera, amazina muntu, imigani usanga mu biganiro, ibyifuzo, indahiro n'iyindi migani ni byo soko nkuru y'ubumenyi by'Abanyarwanda ku Mana isumba byose. Umuntu n'ibimukikije abamo ni ibintu by'Imana kandi *Imana* yonyine ni yo ibigenga byose, abantu babiyobora ku bw'ubushake bw'Imana¹⁷⁷.

Dore ingero z'imigani n'interuro nke z'ibisigo zibyerekana:

- *Umukama uyu akamirwa n'Imana na we akadukamira. Akazi gasanzwe kagira umusaruro kubera ko kuzuye umugisha w'Imana.*
- *Uhingwiwe n'Imana agira ngo azi guhinga.*
- *Uwo Imana ihaye irobe agira ngo arusha abandi guhinga*¹⁷⁸.

➤ **Imana n'imana**

Abanyarwanda ba kera batandukanyaga ukubaho kw'*imana* n'ukw'*Imana Rurema*. Kandi basangaga hari isano hagati y'*imana* n'*Imana*¹⁷⁹. Usanga ko ukurikije amateka n'imibereho y'amadini, Imana, abamarayika, amashitani na roho z'abantu zitakiri mu mubiri nyuma y'urupfu, byinjira byose mu rwego rw'abazimu¹⁸⁰. Hari kandi n'ibindi byitwa imana : umwami, amahirwe, inyamaswa zo kuragura (ikimasa, imfizi y'intama, iy'ihene, umushwi), impigi iba irimo ibyo bakuye ku nyamaswa zakoreshejwe baragura, imandwa ihagarariye Ryangombe mu mihango *y'ibandwa*, abazimu barinda umuryango, ibiti byubahwa by'ahantu habereye imihango y'*imana zeze*, umuvumu n'umuko biri ahantu hubashywe bambarizaga umukurambere washinze umuryango muto, ahantu bashyize ibintu byibutsa imihango, umuntu usabana kandi ugira ubuntu bamwitiriraga Imana y'i Rwanda.

¹⁷⁶Mbonimana G., *Le culte des Mandwa au Rwanda . Contribution à l'histoire des mentalités*, Mémoire de licence, Université Catholique de Louvain, 1973-74, p. 12.

¹⁷⁷Muzungu B., « Religion traditionnelle rwandaise et problème démographique », in *Dialogue*, no 104, 1984, pp.86-87.

¹⁷⁸ Schumacher P., «Un cours de Théologie dans la Brousse africaine», in *Grands Lacs*, 1935,no 5-6, pp.163-175.

¹⁷⁹Nothomb D., «Le Dieu de nos Pères », in *Dialogue*, janvier-février 1974, no 49, p. 39.

¹⁸⁰Misago A., «La croyance aux esprits au Rwanda et son impact sur la vie quotidienne d'aujourd'hui», in *Foi et culture*, Séminaire du 26-31 octobre 1987, p. 8.

Habagaho kandi amazina ajyanye n’Imana¹⁸¹ yarangaga uburyo Abanyarwanda biyumvishaga Imana y’i Rwanda mbere ya 1900 . Ubu imyigishirize ya gikirisitu yagize uruhare ku mazina ajyanye n’Imana mu Rwanda. Ubundi nta zina rishyira ku Mana ryigeze rigaragara mu mivugire ya rubanda cyangwa y’ubutegetsu. Ariko kandi amazina nka Gihanga na Rumeza biganisha ku bushobozi bw’Imana.

Icyakora hagati ya 1928 na 1994 hari amazina yerekeza ku Mana yitwa Abanyarwanda (aho idini Gatorika imariye kuganzira) yerekana imyemerere y’abakurambere cyangwa ashingiyeye ku iyobokamana ryabo.

➤ **Guterekera cyangwa gushengera abakurambere**

Umuhango wo guterekera uva ku kwemera ko hari ubuzima nyuma y’urupfu kandi ko hari n’imibanire hagati y’abazima n’abapfuye. Ni byo koko umuntu n’inyamaswa bigizwe n’igice kigaragara (umubiri) n’ikindi kitaboneka kitwa igicucu. Nyuma y’urupfu umubiri uhinduka umurambo naho igicucu kikigendera. Nyuma kigahinduka umuzimu. Uwapfuye ashobora kugira ibyo akorera abakiriho ku isi y’abazima, byaba byiza cyangwa bibi. Ni yo mpamvu gutinya abazimu byavuyeho intandaro ku baterekera¹⁸², kuva ku mihango yo gushyingura kugera mu buzima busanzwe bwa buri munsu. Kandi habaho imikoranire kuva hasi kugera hejuru hagati y’abazima n’abakurambere bapfuye bagwa neza bitwa *Ingabwa* (ni yo nkomoko y’izina Habingabwa).

Abapfuye bifuzurukundon’icyubahiromu babo n’uburenganzira ku byo basize batanzeho umurage. Ni yo mpamvu muri buri rugo habaga utuzu twitwa indaro buri kamwe muri two kakitirirwa abazimu b’abakurambere bazwi kandi bagomba kugushwa neza.

Bemeraga kandi ko habagaho ukwihinduranya: bemeraga ko umwami yahindukaga ingwe nyuma y’urupfu (twavuga ko hari isano hagati y’abami n’ingwe, ari na yo mpamvu abami bitwaga Abambarangwe bivuga abambara impu z’ingwe). Bemeraga kandi ko habaho ibindi bidafatika ariko bishobora kugira nabi, ariko muri rusange, bikora mu buryo butagaragara. Babyitaga amazina atandukanye mu turere dutandukanye. Twavuga

¹⁸¹ Muzungu B., “Imana y’i Rwanda. Dieu qui règne au Rwanda”, in *Cum paraclito*, Noël 1965, p.12

¹⁸² Heremans R., *Introduction à l’histoire du Rwanda*, Kigali, Editions Rwandaises, 1988, p.51

nk'amahembe (mu gihugu hose ariko cyanecyane hagati mu gihugu cyangwa i Burasirazuba), *ibitega* (hagati mu gihugu no mu magepho y'iburengerazuba by'igihugu), *ibihume* (cyanecyane mu ntara ya kera ya Cyangugu), cyangwa *ibigashanyi*, etc ¹⁸³.

Hari insamugani ivuga ko inkomoko yo *guterekera* ari iyi ikurikira:

- Abavandimwe babiri Basindi na Kibande bari inshuti zikomeye;
- Umwana w'uwa mbere yica umwana w'uwa kabiri;
- Ibyo bituma umuryango w'umwicanyi uhunga;
- Ba bavandimwe nyuma y'imyaka myinshi baza guhurira mu mahanga;
- Kibanda ntiyihorera ku muhungu w'umuvandimwe we;
- Kibanda aza gushyingira umukazana we wa mwicanyi;
- Kibanda yemera umwishywa no gusigwa ingwa¹⁸⁴.

Umwishywa n'ingwa byerekana ubwiyunge no kureka kwihorera mu muryango, nubwo ubwicanyi bwakozwe na mwene se bwose. Ubwo bwiyunge butuma umuzimu w'uwapfuye atagutera. Mu by'ukuri, icyo gitekerezo cyahimbwe nyuma y'ugutsindwa kw'i Nduga, kugira ngo Ababanda babane n'Abasindi mu bwumvikane.

Mu gukora umuhango wo *guterekera*, bahengeraga igihe ijoro riguye maze umutware w'urugo akagana mu kazu k'umukurambere runaka yagombaga kugusha neza. Akicara ku muryango wako maze bakamusiga ingwa bazanye ku kibabi cy'umuko. Uzanye icyo kibabi akoza urutoke rwe muri iyo ngwa, agashyira ikimenyetso ku gahanga no mu gituza cy'umutware w'urugo amwifuriza amahirwe n'ubudahangarwa. Umutware w'urugo agatera iyo ndaro amazi y'umugisha, akazana imbuto z'uburo n'ingwa mu gakangara. Agacana umuriro ngo abazimu bashyuhwe nuko akajugunyamo za mbuto muri uwo muriro, zigaturagurika byerekana inseko y'abazimu. Umuhango uherekezwa n'amagambo atuma uwapfuye yemera ko urwo rugo rukimuhoza ku mutima. Muri icyo gihe na we asabwa kugwa neza mu be no kutabagirira nabi¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸³Misago A., loc.cit., 1987, p.10; Ibihume ni abazimu b'abapfuye batagira ababate-rekerera, ntihaire urugo rubitaho. Bagaragara nk'abazimu baba mu mashyamba, mu migezi, mu buvumo, n'ahandi. Biyerekanira mu ndwara nk'igicuri cyangwa indi ndwara mbi idasanzwe itavurwa n'imiti ibonetse yose.

¹⁸⁴Bigirumwami A., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.270.

¹⁸⁵Ibidem, p.19.

Mu gikorwa gikomeye icyo ari cyo cyose, Umunyarwanda wa kera yagombaga kwitabaza umupfumu¹⁸⁶. Ni we wari uzi gutandukanya ibimenyetso byo ku isi bigaragara n'ubushake bw'Imana. Hari uburyo bunyuranye bwo kuragura:

- Kuragura utugufa, inzuzi, akabehe, udukoni, ihembe;
- Kuragura inka, intama, ihene, inkoko;
- Kuragura urugimbu, indabyo zumye, amavuta, ibimera, inzige, amazi, umuheha;
- Kwambaza imandwa na Nyabingi;
- Kuraguza umutwe cyangwa guhanura.

Bigirumwami yerekana impamvu zimwe na zimwe zituma baterekera : ni uburyo bwo kurinda umutungo, umuryango, cyangwa ikigamijwe gukorwa, ni uburyo bwo kugusha neza umugore wishe umwana wa mukeba. Mbere y'ubwo bwicanyi, Abanyarwanda bemeraga ko nyuma y'urupfu umuntu yazukaga. Uwo muhango ubuza uwo mugore kuzimya uruhando rw'abantu¹⁸⁷. Twavuga kandi ko mu zindi mpamvu zo guterekera harimo ubushake bwo kugira umuhungu uzaragwa uzasigara aterekera se ntazime mu bazima.

➤ **Kubandwa**

Haruguru twerekanye imihango ijyanye no guterekera abakurambere mu rwego rw'umuryango. Ariko kandi habaho abazimu bagizwe ibigirwamana bamaze gupfa, imihango bakorerwa ikaba isumbye ikorwa mu rwego rw'urugo n'urw'umuryango. Byiganje mu Karere kose k'Afurika y'Ibiyaga Bigari. Iyo ni imihango yo kubandwa cyangwa kwambaza Ryangombe. Abayikora baba bashaka kurindwa na Ryangombe. Umuhango wo kubandwa ni uwa kera cyane mu Rwanda kandi wagiye uhindagurika uko imyaka yagiye isimburana¹⁸⁸.

Ijambo imandwa risobanura umuhanga cyangwa umusimbura mu muhango wo kubandwa. Iryo jambo rikoreshe mu buryo bunyuranye mu Bunyoro, Toro, Nkole, Kigezi (Uganda), Buhaya, Bujinja, Buha, Bukerewe (Ikirwa cyo muri Victoria), mu Rwanda, mu Burundi no muri Kivu (Repuburika iharanira Demokarasi

¹⁸⁶Hariho abandi bantu bazi gufundura ibintu ubusanze itaboneka nk'abacunnyi baca inzaratsi; abahannyi bakora umuhango wo kuziririza .

¹⁸⁷Bigirumwami A., 1974, *op.cit.*, p.270

¹⁸⁸Arnoux A., «Le culte de la société secrète des imandwa au Rwanda», in *Anthropos* , vol. VII, 1912 et vol. VIII 1913; Schumacher P., « Les mystères des Mandwa sont d'origine hamite », in *Congo*, 1931, I, pp.549-550.

ya Kongo). Kubandwa ni ugukora umuhango mukuru utuma umuntu yinjira mu muryango w'imandwa. icya kabiri ni ukubahiriza imandwa wigana urusaku n'imihango yazo, ikindi ni ugukomeza gukora iyo mihango igihe wemerewe burundu.

Nta bwumvikane bwari bwabaho ku nkomoko ya Ryangombe n'imihango y'imandwa¹⁸⁹. Imvugo kuri Ryangombe no ku bacwezi ijyana n'ibigenekerezwa ku mvugo bise "hamiti"¹⁹⁰. Bamwe bemeza ko imihango y'imandwa yabayeho mbere ya Ryangombe kandi ko ifite inkomoko mu Bahutu¹⁹¹. Abandi bavuga ko yavuye hanze ndetse ko yaje nyuma y'itsindwa ry'Abarenge (ikinyejana cya XV)¹⁹². Hari abavuga ko iyo imihango yo kubandwa ije vuba kandi ko Ryangombe ari umututsi, binyuranyije n'abamufata nk'umutwa cyangwa umuhutu¹⁹³. Abari ku butegetsi bemera Ryangombe ku mpamvu zo kubafasha gutegeka abafite umuco umwe¹⁹⁴.

Amateka ntiyemeza neza impamvu nyakuri zatumye umuco wo kubandwa wamamara. Hariho abahamya ko iyo mihango ari Mutara Semugeshe wayitegetse Abanyarwanda bese. Abandi na bo bavuga ko yamamaye ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori. Ku ngoma ya Yuhi Mazimpaka, imandwa zari zizwi neza. Kirima Rujugira ni we washyizeho umwami wa mbere w'imandwa. Umwami w'imandwa n'umutware w'ingabo z'imandwa yakundaga gukomoka mu bwoko bw'Abashambo mu nzu y'Abayumbi. Ni Mibambwe Sentabyo wabashyize muri urwo rwego¹⁹⁵. Umutwe w'inka zitwaga *Impara* yahawe uwo mutwe w'ingabo. Rwabugiri yazigabiye umuhungu we Sharangabo¹⁹⁶.

Isano riri hagati yo kubandwa no guterekera rishobora kugaragazwa n'ugushyirwaho kw'abakobwa b'isugi baterekeraga umuzimu wa Yuhi Mazimpaka ku Kamonyi¹⁹⁷. Hari Abazimu bamwe na bamwe bakorerwaga imihango yo kubaterekera by'umwihariko, ari bo aba :

¹⁸⁹Kagame A., 1976, *La philosophie bantu-rwandaise*, p.24,416

¹⁹⁰Berger I., *Religion and Resistance East African Kingdoms in the precolonial period*, MRAC, 1981, p57

¹⁹¹Arnoux A., 1912, *art.cit.* p.57

¹⁹²Ndagijimana A., *Notes personnelles*, s.d.n.d. (copie du manuscrit dans nos archives)

¹⁹³Sandart G., *Cours de droit coutumier*, Vol. II, Butare, 1939, stensilé, p.39

¹⁹⁴Berger I., 1981, *op.cit.*, p. 57

¹⁹⁵Rennie K.-J., *Kingdom of Rwanda*, p.38, cité par I. Berger, *Religion and resistance*, p.59

¹⁹⁶De Lacger L., 1959, *op.cit.* p.312

¹⁹⁷Buhigiro J.L., *op.cit.*, p.19

- Umwami ariko aterekererwa mu nzu abamo;
- Umugore wapfuye asize abana benshi;
- Umugore waciye inzigo mu muryango;
- Umuzimu w'umugwagasi;
- Umuzimu w'ikigirazina (wapfuye ataritwa izina);
- Umuzimu w'inkumi;
- Umuzimu w'umunyamahanga waguye mu rugo rw'umuntu¹⁹⁸.

Twibutse ko mu gihe imihango y'imandwa no kubandwa yagendaga yiyubaka, hari nanone undi muhango wagendaga ukura, urebana n'ibihangange Kibogo na Cyumweru bavugwa ko ari abo ku ngoma ya Ruganzu Ndori. Bavuga ko Kibogo yari umuhungu wa Ndahiro Cyamatare, yaba yarishwe hamwe n'umuryango we mu bijyanye no guhora mu rwego rw'imiryango. A. Pagès yemeza ko Kibogo yatanzwe na se nk'igitambo, kugira ngo ibihe byiza bigaruke nyuma y'inzara ikomeye. Umurambo we watwikiwe ahanu hitwa mu “*Kadasaya ka Ngoma*” (Akarere ka Kamonyi) kandi ujyanwa mu ijuru mu ishusho ry'umwotsi. Ibyo byabaye ku ngoma ya Mutara Semugeshe aho kuba ku ya Ndahiro Cyamatare. Abavubiyi bamufata nk'umutware wabo wo mu ijuru. Ababanzwe bamuturaga ikibindi k'inzoga naho umugore we bakamutura amaseri y'ibitoke. Kibogo yahindutse imandwa kugeza Yuhi Musinga acirirwa i Kamembe n'ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi. Kibogo yakorerwaga imihango y'umwihariko ibwami¹⁹⁹.

Cyumweru ni umuntu wari utuye i Ruhina (mu Karere ka Marangara). Yacungaga imirima ya Kibogo kandi yamuherekeje mu izamuka rye mu ijuru. Mutara Semugeshe yaba yarasonye umugore we imirimo yose yakorerwaga abakomeye rimwe mu minsi itanu yari igize icyumweru cya gakondo. Umunsi wa gatanu wubahirizwa iteka witwaga *Akadogo*.

Ku bijyanye n'imikurikiranire y'imihango yo kubandwa cyangwa umunsi mukuru w'abayoboke b'imandwa, uwo muhango wakorerwaga nk'umunsi mukuru kandi ku mugaragaro, ukagenda n'ibikorwa, amagambo n'indirimo zisingiza Ryangombe, “umwami w'Abazimu”. Ababikora ahanini ni ababa barabanzwe cyangwa abagiye kubandwa. Abatarabandwa bitwa “*inzigo*”. Nyuma y'urupfu abatabanzwe bajya muri Nyirangogo, ikirunga kicyaka. Naho imandwa, nyuma y'urupfu, zigorererwa kujyanwa mu birunga byazimye, Muhabura cyangwa mu buryo bw'umwihariko Karisimbi.

¹⁹⁸Bigirumwami A., 1974., *op.cit.*, pp.278-280

¹⁹⁹Pagès A.1933 , *op.cit.*, pp.132-132, 236-238

Mbere y'imihango yo kubandwa, babanza kuraguza kugira ngo bakumire icyago icyo ari cyo cyose cyaba muri iyo mihango. Ugiye kubandwa agira umubyara w'umugabo ku bagabo cyangwa w'umugore ku bagore. Bagomba kandi na bo ubwabo kuba barabanzwe. Kubatoranya cyangwa guhitamo aho umuhango uzabera byemezwa n'umupfumu. Kubandwa bigizwe n'ibice bibiri : *kwatura* no *gusubira* ku ntebe. Kubandwa bisozwa no gusangira igitambo ari byo *gutonora* ari byo gusangira iby'umunsi mukuru nk'abavandimwe²⁰⁰.

Kwatura ni umuhango wo kuragiza umuntu Ryangombe, ikamubera umubyeyi n'umurinzi, undi na we akayibera umwana. Ugiye gukorerwa uwo muhango n'umubyara baba bambaye impu. Uwa mbere aba atamirije urugori ku mutwe, yambaye n'igisa n'urukweto ku ino rimwe. Mu gice cya mbere berekeza ku giti cy'umuko bafata nk'igiti cy'umurinzi. Abagore babanzwe basaba Ryangombe ngo abarindire umwana wabo. Umubandwa akorerwa ibintu by'ibigeragezo, bishingiye ku miziro y'igitsina ariko banavuzwa inzogera banywa n'inzoga. Nyuma y'iyi mihango bamwambika ubusa bakamusiga ibyondo.

Igice cya kabiri kigizwe no guhishurirwa ibanga ry'imandwa, ritagomba na rimwe kumenerwa umuntu uwo ari we wese n'iyi yaba se cyangwa nyina, igihe baba batarabanzwe. Nyuma yaho basubira mu rugo imuhira, nuko uwabanzwe akaryamana akanya gato n'uwamubyaye w'umugabo cyangwa w'umugore. Bamwita Ruzingo (akantu kananutse) kandi ashobora kuzajya akurikirana imihango ariko adashobora guhabwa ikicaro mbere yo gusubizaho. Ubusanzwe yicara ku ruhu rw'intama.

Mu bijyanye no gukomezwa (gusubiraho imandwa): ubandwa yicara ku ntebe bakamwubaha nka Ryangombe. Bakamwita izina ry'umuhango. Hanyuma bakarya, bakabyina. Umubyara bamuha inka, intama cyangwa isuka. Ibirori birangira kenshi mu museke, bigasozwa n'umuhango wo gusabiriza ujyanye no kunyanyagira kw'imandwa mu ngo z'abaturanyi zisabiriza cyangwa zitwara icyo zihitanye mu nzira yazo.

Muri iyi mihango haba igitambo (kubagira imandwa, cyangwa gutonora) kijyanye no gusangirira hamwe ikimasa kishwe kw'abaje muri uwo muhango. Ababanzwe cyangwa se indorerezi

²⁰⁰Bigirimwami A., 1974, op.cit., pp.284-285; A Arnoux, art.cit., *Anthropos* (1912-1913), p.290; de Lacger L., 1939, op.cit., p.290-310.

bahabwa inyama barira aho. Ibiryo biherekezwa n'indirimbo n'imbyino zijyanye n'ibyo birori. Iki gice ntikiba iteka kuko kigomba kwemezwa n'umupfumu.

Uretse umuhango wo kubandwa Ryangombe, mu bice bimwe na bimwe by'igihugu hanubahirizwa umuhango wa Nyabingi. Imvugo mugani yita Nyabingi Nyiramubyeyi (Umubyeyi), no mu muhango umugenera akitwa Nyabingi (umukire), Biheko cyangwa Nyirabiheko mu ntara zimwe na zimwe. Imvugo migani imwe ivuga ko Nyabingi ari umugore utigeze ushaka wabaye mu Ndorwa cyangwa i Karagwe kandi ko *Imana* yamugize ikiremwa kizabaho iteka ryose²⁰¹. Imihango ye yamamaye cyanecyane mu majyaruguru, no mu majyaruguru y'uburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda kugeza mu Mutara no mu Bwishya, mu Bufumbira no muri Kigezi.

Mu gitero ke mu Nkole, Rwabugiri yateye Ntare umwami w'icyo gihugu, nuko atangira kumuhiga. Atahukanye insinzi mu Rwanda, Rwabugiri yatahukanye inka nyinshi n'abaja benshi barimo Nyiramubyeyi-Nyabingi. Kubera uruhare rukomeye yagize muri icyo gitero, yaje kuba icyamamare. Yaba yaragabiwe intara nyinshi zirimo u Murera n'i Ndorwa aho yaguye.

Imvugo zimwe na zimwe ziganisha ku bijyanye n'amateka kuri Ruganzu Ndori, zerekeza amateka y'imihango ya Nyabingi kuri uwo mwami. Nyabingi yaba ari umukobwa wa Ndahiro n'umugore Nyanka, akaba na mushiki w'abahungu ba Ndahiro, umwami w'u Rwanda: Ndori, Kinywi na Kibogo. Imvugo ijyanye n'abo babiri ba nyuma, isa naho iganisha ku migani mvugo gusa. Mu by'ukuri, umuhango wa Nyabingi waba ari uwa vuba ku *w'imandwa*; ukaba warubahirizwaga mu majyaruguru, bitarengeje hagati y'ikinyejana cya cumi n'ikenda (XIX) ugereranije.

Nyuma yo gupfa ntabwo Nyabingi yibagiranye. Imihango ye yakwiriye mu turere twavuze haruguru. Itandukanye n'iya Ryangombe kubera ko nta mihango yo *kwatura*, kuko Nyabingi aba yifitiye abagaragu be b'abagabo cyangwa b'abagore, bitwaga Nyabingi n'umugore bakorega imihango yose akaba umuhuza wa Nyabingi n'abayobokeye be. Abo bagaragu ba Nyabingi bakoraga umurimo w'ubuhanuzi n'ubuvuzi. Muri rusange umuntu aba Nyabingi ari uko yahanzweho na Nyabingi, ariko mu buzima busanzwe umuhungu cyangwa umukobwa ashobora gusimbura se cyangwa nyina, umupfakazi na we agasimbura umugabo we wapfuye.

²⁰¹D'Hertefeldt M., Trouwborst A.A., Scherer J.H., 1962, op.cit.p.85

Ubufasha n'uburinzi bwa Nyabingi bisabwa, mu gihe k'ibyago no mu buzima bugoye. Ibyo Nyabingi ashaka bivugwa n'abagaragu n'abaja be bamusaba kuza mu nzu yamwubakiwe mu rugo. Nuko Nyabingi agasaba amaturo y'imyaka cyangwa y'amatungo magufi. Abapfumu ba Nyabingi bazwiho gukunda cyane ibintu²⁰². Imihango ya Nyabingi yaje gufata intera ya poritiki mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya XIX. Yaba yaragize uruhare mu bwigomeke ku ngoma ya Musinga.

Mu magambo make, Ryangombe cyangwa Nyabingi bamwe bitiranya na Muhumuza, ntibazwi neza. Ubushakashatsi bwari bukwiye gukomeza gukorerwa no ku bandi bazimu basa n'abubashywe mu tundi turere tw'igihugu, bityo hakamenyekana uruhare rwabo mu buzima bw'Abanyarwanda ba mbere ya 1900. Ibyo ari byo byose, kubandwa ari byo gukora umuhango wa Ryangombe, bifatanije kuba umuhango w'ubuhanga, umuhango wo kwatura, umuhango w'abakurambere, umuhango w'ibihangange kandi ukaba n'umunsi mukuru kurusha uko yakwitirirwa umuntu ku giti ke, imibanire y'abantu, cyangwa ibijyanye n'ibirangamutima by'umuntu.

Uko twagiye dusesengura iyi nyigo, twerekanye amateka y'u Rwanda rwa mbere ya gikoroni mu nzego zinyuranye. Ibiranga uko u Rwanda rwiubatswe nk'igihugu kiyobowe n'umwami byarerekanywe. Ni ibirebana no kurema u Rwanda ruherereye ku gasozi ka Gasabo hagati mu gihugu, kurwagura, kurwubaka mu mibereho rusange n'ya poritiki, no mu mibanire y'u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu birukikije.

Intangiriro z'ukwiyubaka kw'ingoma (ubwami) by'u Rwanda uko byagiye bikurikirana. Hari abayishyira mu kinyejana cya XIII, abandi mbere yaho. Ariko cyanecyane ni ahagana mu kinyejana cya XVI ingoma nyiginya yashinze imizi, igenda ikura buhorobuhoro yigarurira utundi duhugu duto duto tugeze nko kuri mirongo itanu twayoborwaga buri kose n'Umuhinza cyangwa *Umwami*.

Kubaka u Rwanda byatangiranye na Ruganzu Ndori nko hagati y'ikinyejana cya XVI. Nk'uko bimeze mu bindi bihugu byo mu karere k'Ibiyaga Bigari, byari bishingiye ku nkingi ebyiri zikomeye, ari zo iyobokamana n'intambara. Imiterere ya poritiki yahurizaga hamwe imirimo yoherezwaga ibwami mu ngo z'umwami zitandukanye zigakorana n'urusobe rw'imitwe y'ingabo zishinzwe kumenya inka n'inzuri. Byashimangirwaga

²⁰²D' Hertefeldt M., Trouwborst A., Scherer J.H., 1962, *op. cit.* p. 86

n'amasezerano y'ubuhake bw'inka. Mu kinyejana cya XVIII, kuza kw'ibihingwa bishya, byatumye ubuhinzi butera imbere bityo inzara ziragabanuka, abantu bariyongera. Ibi byagize ingaruka ku bwaguke bw'igihugu, ku kubura kw'amasambu, ari byo byatumye hashyirwaho *ibikingi*.

Amateka ya poritiki n'imibereho mu Rwanda bizwi neza guhera mu kinyejana XVIII n'icya XIX aho amateka mvugo abonekamo amakuru yo kwemerwa. Ayo mateka arangwa no gukomeza ubutegetsu bwo hejuru buhuza bukanahurizwamo byose, cyanecyane ku ngoma ya Kirima Rujugira : gushyira ingerero z'ingabo ku mipaka, kuba ibwami kw'abatware bakuru, kongera ibintu byinshi mu mihango y'ibwami no guhindagura ibitekerezo shingiro ku nyungu z'ingoma yimye.

Mu kinyejana cya XIX, uhereye ku Rwanda rwo hagati, ingoma nyiginya yagerageje kwagura igihugu no gukomeza ubutegetsu bwayo aho yigaruriye. Kwagura igihugu byabaga bishingiye ku mpamvu z'intambara no ku z'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi, no ku z'ubucuruzi. Iyo nkubiri yarakomeje irangirana n'ingoma ya Rwabugiri, umwami wa nyuma w'u Rwanda wigengaga. Nyuma yo guhangana n'Abarabu bashakaga abacakara, u Rwanda rwabayeye rumwe mu bihugu by'Afurika byinjijwe nyuma mu rutonde rw'ibihugu byashyizwe mu buyobozi bwa gikoroni cy'Abanyaburayi mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya XIX (1897).

Abami bari bafite ububasha busesuye ku ngabo zabo, ariko mu miyoborere yabo bakumirwaga n'ibintu bitatu bikurikira: kugira ingufu zikomeye kw'imiryango imwe n'imwe y'imfura, uruhare bw'abakoreshaga *ubwiru* bakanabusobanura uko bashatse n'urw'abapfumu. Guhuriza ubutegetsu hamwe ntibyari bishingiye ku miterere y'ubuyobozi iteye kimwe hose; ahubwo byaterwaga buri gihe n'uko ahantu hameze. Igitekerezo cyo gutsinda ibihugu bikikije u Rwanda cyaje kubangamirwa, muri bimwe, n'irari n'amatiku ya bamwe bari ku isonga rya poritiki n'imitwe y'ingabo.

Igihe umuzungu wa mbere yinjiraga mu Rwanda, mu wa 1892, imiterere ya poritiki mu Rwanda yari itandukanye cyane, ukurikije uturere. Nubwo umwami yari afite icyubahiro ntakuka ahantu ugereranyije n'ahangana n'u Rwanda rw'ubu, ubutegetsu bwe nyakuri bwakoreshwaga ku buryo butandukanye cyane. Bwari budafashe cyane mu turere tw'amajyaruguru twakomezaga

gutegekwa mu buryo bw'amoko yaho. Ubutegetsu bwari bushingiye cyanecyane ku ikusanya ry'imisoro no gutanga ikoro ry'ibwami. Bwariho bujyaho mu burengerazuba no mu magepfo y'iburasirazuba. Bwari bukomeye hagati no mu magepfo y'igihugu.

Abatware bakuru, akenshi bakomokaga mu miryango y'abami cyangwa yavuyemo abamikazi, bategeka ingabo rimwe na rimwe zishinzwe uturere tuzwi neza. Amatiku ajyanye no kurwanira ubutegetsu yaragaragaraga kenshi mu bategetsu bo hejuru. Intambara zitarangizwaga buri gihe n'insinzi, zateraga ahanini ku Burundi, ku Bushi, no ku turere tw'Amajyaruguru n'Amajyaruguru y'i Burasirazuba.

Rubanda, kenshi rwahanganaga n'ibibazo bikomeye by'ubuzima, rwakoraga uko rushoboye ngo rutere imbere, kandi rwubaka imizi y'indangagaciro zikomeye. Kuba umuntu (bishingiye kuri se) ari mu nzu ifite inkomoko ku Bahutu cyangwa Abatutsi, byaterwaga n'ibisekuru. Ariko kandi ubwo butandukane ntibwabangamiraga gushyingiranwa cyangwa ubuhahirane. Imiryango y'Abahutu n'iy'Abatutsi yasangiraga ubwoko. Bose bahuriraga hamwe mu mihango y'ibwami n'iy kubandwa. Kandi bese bahuriraga hamwe mu ngabo.

Ubushyamirane ntibwariho nk'uko bwafashe intera mu kinyejana cya XX. Mu by'ukuri baba Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi ntabari bujije ibiranga amoko abiri atandukanye. Bose bavugaga ururimi rumwe, imyemerere imwe, kandi bakanabana. Imibanire yabo ntiyerekezaga ku bushyamirane. Amateka yerekana ko ahubwo ubushyamirane bwabaye kenshi hagati y'imiryango yahanganaga kuruta uko bwaba bwarabaye hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Mu gice cya nyuma k'ikinyejana cya XIX, mu gihe imiryango ikomeye y'abayobozi yari ishyamiranye, kandi igakoreshwa n'abakoroni, abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri b'abakirisitu bahirimbaniraga kwigarurira u Rwanda, baje ndetse kubigeraho bararukandamiza. Ni bwo u Rwanda rwatakaje ubusugire bwarwo.



IV

U RWANDA MU GIHE CY'UBUKORONI BW'ABADAGE N'ABABIRIGI

Byanditswe na **Paul RUTAYISIRE**

Ubutegetsi bwa ba mpatsibihugu b'abazungu ku Rwanda bwatangiye mbere y'ikinyejana cya 19 ni ikintu gikomeye kitari cyarigeze kibaho mu mateka y'u Rwanda, cyahinduye mu gihe k'imyaka 60 gusa ibyarangaga Abanyarwanda byose. Ubukoroni ari ubw'Abadage, ari ubw'Ababirigi, bwombi bwari bushingiye ku ihame ryo "gucamo Abanyarwanda ibice ngo babone uko babanyunyuzwa imitsi". Iryo hame rigomba kumenyakana kuko ari ryo ubukoroni bwagendeyeho, abakoronijwe batabizi, ngo bureme u Rwanda rutakigenga ahubwo rusigaye rutegera amaboko n'amaso ibyo hanze.

4.1. U Rwanda mu gihe cy'ubukoroni bw'Abadage

Abadage basanze u Rwanda ari igihugu gifite uko kiyoborwa, maze bagitegekesha igitugu bafatanyije kandi bashyigikiye n'abihayimana b'abamisiyoneri; ariko bahanganye n'Abanyarwanda barwanyaga ubwo butegetsi bushya, kandi hari n'igihe cy'amakimbirane ku isi yose yaje kuvamo gutsindwa kw'Abadage no kuva mu Rwanda kwabo.

4.1.1 Igihe cy'abazungu bazengurukaga bavumbura igihugu.

Igihe kirekire u Rwanda rwabereye abazungu n'abacuruzi b'Abarabu igihugu cy'amayobera, kivugwa nk'imigani. Kuva mu 1894 kugeza mu 1920, u Rwanda barwanditseho byinshi (Raporo,

inyandiko, imvugo, ibitabo) bavuga ko rutaragerwamo n’umuco wo hanze yarwo. icyo bari bitayeho cyane nuko u Rwanda rwari rwaramaze igihe kirekire rutinjirwamo n’amahanga, rukaba kandi rwarakoronijwe bitinze cyane. Cyari kikiri “igihugu kitazwi”¹. Abarabu bamaze igihe kirekire barananiwe kukinjiramo kandi barabishakaga. Hari umwarabu w’umucuruzi ukomeye bitaga Hamed Ibrahim wari utuye i Karagwe wari warashatse igihe kirekire kugirana umubano w’ubucuruzi “n’umugabekazi w’i Rwanda, ariko iteka byari byaramunaniye”².

Icyo abazungu ba mbere bazengurukaga bashakaga yari isoko ya Nil. Kandi ni ikintu kitaweho kuva kera cyane³. Bifuzaga kumenya amayobera bitiriraga imisozi y’u Bufumbira, cyangwa imisozi y’Ukwezi mu burengerazuba bw’u Rwanda. Ikindi bifuzaga kwari ukumenya ibiri mu Rwanda bijyanye n’ubucuruzi n’iyobokamana bishobora kuhakorerwa⁴.

Ingendo za mbere zijyanye n’abazungurukaga bashakaga isoko y’umugezi wa Nil zateguwe n’ikigo cy’ubumenyi bw’isi k’i Londoni guhera 1856. Aba mbere bazengurutse bakaza kwita ku Rwanda, ariko ntibarwinjiremo, ni ba Burutoni (Burton), Sipeke (Speke) na Garanti (Grant), bese bari ba ofisiye mu mutwe w’ingabo z’Abongereza zitiriwe Ubuhinde. Bageze ku biyaga bya Vigitoriya (Victoria) na Tanganyika. Mu mpera z’Ugushyingo 1861, Johani Hanning Speke wari muri Karagwe yanditse avuga ko yagiriye amatsiko “Ibisozo birebire nk’imitemeri yarabukwaga mu Rwanda”. Mu nyandiko ze hari ibyo avuga ku Banyarwanda byaba ari byo byabaye inkomoko y’ibitekerezo bisa n’imigani, bivuga ngo u Rwanda ari igihugu cy’amayobera, ngo ibyago bishobora kugwirira abanyamahanga kuko batahashakwa.

Nyuma, mu wa 1875, H.-M. Morton Stanley yabaye umuzungu wa kabiri wavuze ku Rwanda. Inkuru yayikuraga ku Barabu bacuruzaga amahembe y’inzovu n’abacakara ariko bakaba batarashoboye gucuruzanya n’u Rwanda kugeza icyo gihe. H.-M. Stanley yashakaga gusobanukirwa amayobera y’icyo gihugu kitazwi; k’ingoma igikomeye ituwe n’abantu bataziwe inkomoko yabo ariko banga ko igihugu cyabo kivogerwa n’amahanga.

¹Lugan B., «Sources écrites pouvant servir à l’histoire (1863-19180)», in *Etudes rwandaises*, vol .XIV,1980,p.209

²Stanley H.M., *A travers le continent mystérieux*,T.I, Paris, 1879, p.436.

³Ikarita ya Ptoleme, ya kera cyane, yavugaga ko isoko ya Nil iri hagati y’ibiyaga bibiri binini biri hafi y’«imisozi y’ukwezi»

⁴Baker S.W., *Le Lac Albert. Nouveau voyage aux sources du Nil*, Paris, 1879, p.48.

Yagerageje kwinjira mu Rwanda anyuze ku mupaka w'uburasirazuba, ku kiyaga k'Thema, ariko bamurasa imyambi asubirayo. Igitabo yanditse cyavuzwe kerekanaga ko kwinjira mu Rwanda bigomba kwitonderwa n'ubushishozi bwinshi. Ni we wise Akagera izina rya "Nil Alexandra".

Muri Werurwe 1891, itsinda riyobowe n'abitwa E. Schinitzer (ufite izina rya Emin Pascha) na Franz Stuhlmann ryageze muri Karagwe. Nk'uko bari babihawemo ubutumwa na komiseri w'ingoma y'u Budage, Wissmann, bagombaga kuzenguruka akarere kose Abadage bigaruriye kari hagati y'ikiyiga cya Victoria n'ikiyiga cya Tanganyika, bakagirana umushyikirano n'abayobozi gakondo baho. Ni bo bazungu ba mbere bari bagamije kugirana umubano n'u Rwanda. Basabye kubonana n'ibwami, ariko igihe batarabona igisubizo, bahindura inzira barigendera. Oscar Baumann (1864-1899) wari umufirozofu w'umuhanga mu bumenyi bw'isi wo muri Kaminuza ya Leipzig, yari yarahawe akazi, kuva mu wa 1891, n'ikigo cy'"Abadage cyarwanyaga Ubucakara". Yari yoherejwe mu gihugu cy'Abamasayi, ariko ahitamo kujya mu Burundi agamije kuhashaka isoko y'uruzi rwa Nil. Yanyuze mu magepfo y'u Rwanda hagati y'amatariki ya 11 na 14 Nzeri 1892, ariko ntiyambuka u Rwanda rwose. Igihe yashakaga kuva mu Rwanda, abaturage bagerageje kumurwanya n'amacumu n'imiheto, yirwanaho abarashisha imbunda, yicamo bake abona kuva mu Rwanda⁵.

Mu wa 1894, igikomangoma Gustav Adolf Von Götzen (1866-1910) yakoze urugendo agamije kumenya ku giti ke ako karere⁶. Abantu yari ayoboye bageze mu Rwanda tariki ya 3 Gicurasi. I Rwamagana Von Götzen yakiriwe na Sharangabo wa Rwabugiri wari waje kumutegereza ngo azamugeze kuri Kigeri Rwabugiri wari i Kageyo, ku musozi uri mu Karere ka Nyabihu (Intara y'Uburengerazuba). Binyuranyijwe n'ibyari byaranditswe ku myumvire y'ibwami, Götzen na bagenzi be, Von Prittwitz na Kersting, bakiriwe neza ku buryo butandukanye n'ibyavugwaga ku Rwanda.

Mu gihe k'imihango yo kuramukanya no guhana amaturo, Von Götzen yanerekanye ingufu za gisirikare yari afite. Byatumye ibwami kwa Rwabugiri bibatangaza, bagwa mu

⁵ Yanditse ibyo yabonye mu gitabo ke kitwa *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Berlin, 1894

⁶ Von Gotzen G.A., *Durch Afrika von Ost nach West*, Zweite Auflage, Berlin, 1899

kantu baranashoberwa, ariko babura uko babigira kuko bari bumvise intege nke ingabo z'u Rwanda zari zifite. Ariko Von Götzen yatangajwe n'ubuhangange bw'umwami Rwabugiri. Urugendo n'abo bari kumwe rwarakomeje, bava i Kageyo bagera ku Kivu (mu mugu wa Rubavu w'ubu), bajya muri Leta yigenga ya Kongo. Urugendo rwa Von Gotzen ni rwo rwa mbere rwahuje ku mugaragaro Leta ya gikoroni n'Abanyarwanda yari igiye kuzayobora.

Hari n'abasirikare b'Abadage bazengurutse mu Rwanda, havugwa nk'abari bayobowe na Wilhelm Langheld (Kanama 1894), abari bayobowe na Lothar Von Trotha (1896), abari bayobowe na Hans Ramsay (1897) na Heinrich Bethe (1898), bose banditse ibirebana n'ingendo zabo. Ramsay n'umwami ngo baba barahanye igihango bambikana imigozi y'imigwegwe mu rukenyerero, "ngo banahana ibiganza". icyo gihe umwami yahawe urwandiko n'ibendera ry'igihugu cy'u Budage, byerekanaga ko u Rwanda ruyobotse u Budage na bwo buzururinda. Ramsay n'abamusimbuye, ntibigeze bamenya ko batakirawe n'umwami nyawe, ahubwo bakirawe n'umwami w'ikitiriro.

Mu wa 1895, Richard Kandt yageze mu Rwanda azanywe no kwiga umuco warwo no gusubiza burundu ikibazo k'isoko ya Nil. Yarahabaye kugeza mbere gato ku itangira ry'intambara ya mbere y'isi yose. Yabaye umuzungu wa mbere wabonye Musinga afite imyaka 18 mu Kwakira 1900. Mbere y'iyi tariki ni Mpambara werekanwaga nk'umwami. Bamwerekanaga bagamije kurinda umwami wari ukiri muto, kuko icyagenzaga abo banyamahanga kitari kizwi neza. Ariko kugeza mu mpera z'ubukoroni bw'Abadage, nta muzungu n'umwe, uretse Madamu Schloiferen mu wa 1901, wari warashoboye kubona umugabekazi Kanjogera n'abagore ba Musinga.

Muri bose ni Kandt waje kwemeza isoko ya Nil, ahanya ko isoko ya Rukarara ari yo ikwiye gufatwa nk'isoko y'umugezi w'Akagera, ikaba ari yo soko ya Nil yera. Yari anyomoje ibyo Baumann yavuze yemeza ko isoko ya Nil ari Ruvubu, ifite isoko mu Burundi, igahura n'Akagera mu Burasirazuba bw'amagepfo y'u Rwanda. Kandt yakurikije ihame rivuga ko iyo imigezi ibiri ihuye, bagomba gukurikira ishami ry'umugezi munini muri yo, kugeza ku isoko yawo⁷. Nyuma abakoroni b'Ababirigi baje gushyira isoko ya Nil ku buryo budafututse mu magepfo y'u

⁷Kandt R., *Caput Nil. Eine empfindsame Reise zu den Quellen des Nil*, Berlin, 1921

Burundi, kuko ari yo soko ya Nil iri kure. Bahubatse ikimenyetso cya “pyramide”, ahitwa i Rutovu.

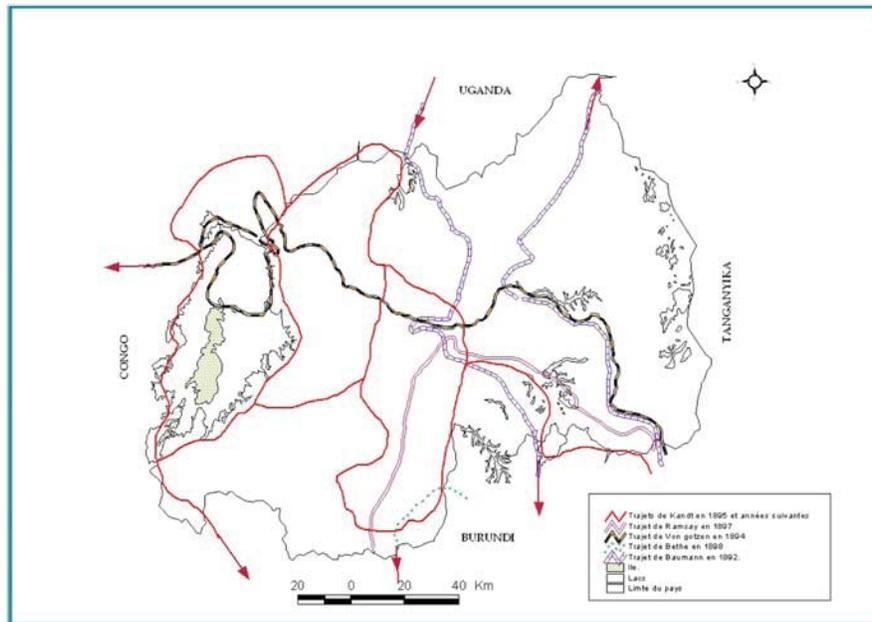
Mu wa 1900, Musenyeri Hirth, wo mu bapadiri bera akaba n’umukuru wa Vikariyati ya Nyanza y’amagepfo yageze ibwami ari kumwe n’abandi bapadiri batatu n’abandi bafasha b’abanyamahanga benshi⁸. Bari baje ku butumire bwa R. Kandt bwo gushinga Kiriziya mu Kinyaga, hari hamaze gusurwa n’abapasitori b’abaporoso. Yasabaga abamisiyoneri gatorika kuza kubatanga kuhubaka. Nyuma Myr Hirth yaje guhindura gahunda amaze kubonana i Shangi na Cap Bethe na Kandt, kuko akarere k’Ikinyaga kari kakigibwaho impaka n’ibihugu by’abakoroni.

Myr Hirth ahabwa uburenganzira n’ibwami bwo gutura aho ashatse, mu Bwanamukari. Nta gahato ko haba ari ibwami bamuhitiyemo aho atura. Ukuntu yabonye aho hantu (i Mara) bitamuruhije, byatewe n’umubano mwiza wari hagati y’ibwami n’Abadage. Ntabwo Myr Hirth yari yabwiye ibwami ku buryo bweruye impamvu yashakaga kuhubaka.

Mu wa 1907, igikomangoma Adolf Friedrich de Mecklenburg yayoboye itsinda ry’abantu bazengurutse u Rwanda. Uretse ubwinshi bw’abo (bari nka 600), harimo by’umwihariko abashakashatsi ku bimera batatu n’umuhanga mu by’imico y’abantu ari we Czekanowski waje nyuma kwandika igitabo gikubiyemo ubuhanga mu birebana n’umuco n’umuryango w’Abanyarwanda (reba ikarita iri hasi)

⁸Minnaert S., *Premier voyage de Mgr Hirth au Rwanda*, Les Editions Rwandaises, Kigali, 2006

Ikarita ya 8: Abatemberezi mva Burayi



Aho byavuye: LUGAN B., Histoire du Rwanda: De la préhistoire à nos jours, Paris, Bartillat, 1997, p. 248

Iyo umuntu asomye ibyanditswe n’abo banyamahanga bazengurukaga mu Rwanda, usanga uretse imibonano n’umwami n’abamuhagarariye, batarashakaga guhura n’abaturage basanzwe. Umubano n’abaturage wari uwo kubaha ibibatunga, gushakamo abikorezi, n’ababayobora, kubahembera ibyo bakoze no gukiranura amahane yavukaga hagati y’abikorezi b’abo bazungu n’abaturage basanzwe. Akenshi byaterwaga no kutamenya ururimi n’ubwirasi bw’uko bafite ingufu. Ni Kantt wabaye rezida wa mbere w’umudage mu Rwanda, nyuma n’abamisiyoni bacengera mu giturage, biga ururimi ngo bage bumvikana n’abaturage ku buryo buhoraho.

Ubumenyi bw’abazungu ku Rwanda bwagiye bukura uko imyaka ishira. Raporo za mbere zavaga ku bagenzi, bavugaga ibyo bagendaga babona mu ngendo zabo. Nyuma haje aba ofisiye n’abakozi b’abakoroni batinze mu Rwanda mu kazi k’ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni y’Abadage n’abamisiyoneri bagiye bubaka hirya no hino mu gihugu guhera mu ntangiriro z’ikinyejana cya XX.

Abazungu ba mbere bazungurukaga bugenzi, ntibari bateguwe gukora ubushakashatsi burambuye, bavuze neza u Rwanda n'umuco warwo, ndetse rurabatangaza, baranarwubaha. Batangajwe no kubona igihugu gisa n'ikiyobowe neza, gifite inka nziza, zifashwe neza, gifite imirima imeze neza, kikagira n'abantu n'abagore beza n'ibindi. Umwami bamuhaye ububasha n'ubushobozi atari afite mu by'ukuri. No kuvuga ko u Rwanda cyari igihugu kiyobowe n'umwami kimwe hose kandi bitari byo, biza no kuba ishingiro ry'imiyoborere y'ubukoroni bw'Abadage.

Ni Von Götzen wabaye uwa mbere mu gucengera u Rwanda no kurutangaho amakuru anyuranye kandi menshi. Yabonaga u Rwanda rutangaje kandi runyuranye n'ibyo yari yarabonye ahandi. Avuga ibijyanye n'urugendo rwe, Dr. Kandt agira ati: Bitandukanye n'uko ahandi muri koroni bimeze, mu Rwanda yahabonye abaturage begeranye, abirabura bo mu bwoko bw'Abantu babarirwa ku bihumbi n'ibihumbi biyita Abahutu.

Abo baturage bahatswe n'Abatutsi b'imfura z'abanyamahanga b'Abasemiti cyangwa "Hamiti", abakurambere babo bava mu gihugu cya Galla mu magepfo y'Abisiniya bakaba baratsinze ibihugu byose byo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari. Götzen yasanze u Rwanda rugabanyijemo intara n'uturere bitegekwa n'abo Batutsi, b'ibihangange bya metero 2 byibutsa ibivugwa mu bitekerezo by'imigani. U Rwanda rutegekwa n'umwami ugenda azenguruka igihugu cyose ubutitsa, akubaka aho ashatse. Havugwa ubwoko bw'abantu bagufi b'Abatwa baba mu buvumo mu birunga no mu majyaruguru by'igihugu, batunzwe no guhiga mu ishyamba ry'umutamenwa"⁹.

Ibyanditswe na R. Kandt na J .Czekanowski bitandukanye n'iby'abandi kubera ubushakashatsi bufite ireme bakoze. R Kandt yamaze mu Rwanda imyaka cumi n'umwe. Naho J.Czekanowski, yari azi cyanecyane ibirebana n'amoko y'abantu, yashoboye kubona amakuru menshi mu gihe gito. Yakoranye cyanecyane n'abamisiyoneri bari bazi u Rwanda, ni bo bamuhaga inkuru zirebana n'ibyo yabaga akeneye. Ababaga baratinze mu Rwanda bamuhaga amakuru mashya. Ni yo mpamvu hari ibitekerezo byinshi bitari byo byagiye bisubirwamo n'abazungu benshi, ndetse n'Abanyarwanda baminuje mu mashuri.

⁹ Lugan B., 1980, loc.cit., p.27

Ni ho havuye igitekerezo kivuga ko ibyo abazungu babona bitangaje kuba byiza mu Rwanda, babyitiriraga ko bifite inkomoko mu majyaruguru y’Afurika, mu Misiri no muri Etiyopiya.

Icyo gitekerezo gikomoka kuri Speke mu gihe yazengurukaga muri Karagwe na Uganda, yaguye ku bintu atatekerezaga ko yasanga muri Afurika rwagati: imitegekere ya poritiki ndetse n’abahatuye yabonaga basa cyanecyane n’Abanyetiyopiya kurusha Abanyafurika birabura uko babatekerezaga. Aho kugira ngo ibyo babonaga bibafashe guhindura imitekerereze yabo ya mbere ahubwo babihereyeho bashingiraho ihame rivuga ko hari igice cy’abantu bavuye iyo mu majyaruguru, ngo bakaba baramanutse bakarenga Sahara, ngo bakaba ari bo baba barazanye umuco n’amajyambere bikomeye muri Afurika nk’uko abazungu babyibwiraga. Abo bitaga ko ari bo bazanye ayo majyambere ni bo bitwaga “abahamite”. Iryo hame ryaje kugira ingaruka zikomeye ku buryo abazungu babonaga u Rwanda.

Raporo y’inyandiko za mbere z’abagenzi (1892-1900) zakabyaga kwerekana ko mu Rwanda hari ibice bitatu bita “amoko” anyuranye, atandukanijwe n’uko basa, ariko bagize umuryango umwe w’Abanyarwanda nubwo bakora imirimo itandukanye. Abo bagenzi bitaye cyanecyane ku Batutsi babavuga kwinshi ngo bagizwe n’urwego rw’abantu b’imfura bigaruriye icyo gihugu hashize gusa nk’imyaka amagana, bakaba barashyize mu buhake rubanda rw’abaturage bo muri icyo gihugu¹⁰.

Bethe avuga ko “Abatutsi” bategeka uko bishakiye kandi bagakandamiza bikabije “Abahutu”, Bethe yifuza ko ubwo butegezi bw’Abatutsi bwakomeza. Impamvu nuko abazungu batagira icyo bageraho batanyuze kuri urwo rwego rw’abayobozi rwubaha nta gushidikanya umwami warwo¹¹. Abatutsi bitiranywa rimwe na rimwe n’abagize umuryango w’umwami baba ngo bakomoka mu majyaruguru y’Afurika ndetse bishoboka ko baba bakomoka muri Afurika y’Abarabu¹². Abo muri uwo muryango ni bo bene inka zo mu gihugu zose bakaba ari “abavandimwe b’Abagala cyangwa b’Abanyabisiniya”. Ubwo bwoko bw’abo bantu bigaruriye ibihugu by’impinga ndende zitandukanya ibiyaga bigari n’umurongo ugabanya Afurika mo kabiri, bavuga ubwabo ko hashize ibinyejana bike baturutse mu majyaruguru

¹⁰ Lugan B., 1980, loc .cit., p.79

¹¹ Idem, p.59

¹² Hamed I., cité par Stanley H.M., 1879, *op.cit.*, p.436

y' Afurika, abafatwaho urugero rwigaragaza neza batuye ku murongo uva ku Kiyaga kitiriwe umwami Albert ukagera mu majyaruguru y'ikiyaga cya Tanzaniya”¹³.

Baumann yatangajwe cyane n'ubwiza bw'Abatutsi yitaga “Wahuma cyangwa Wahima”. Avuga ko rwose hari Abatutsi bamutangazaga kubera indeshyo yabo no gutera nk'abazungu. Ab'inzobe muri bo bagomba kuba ari bo babaye intandaroy'imvugo ngo “Abirabura bera”¹⁴. Abatutsi bafatwaga nk'abaturutse mu majyaruguru, Abanyeturikiya, “abahamite” cyangwa “semita”: “Abatutsi bafite isura imeze neza nk'iy'Abanyabisiniya cyangwa abantu basa ku mpande zimwe na zimwe n'Abasemite”¹⁵.

Uretse ibyo byo gushingira ku isura y'Abatutsi, abazungu banatangazwaga kandi n'imyitwarire ya gipfura yabo no kubagereranya n'imico y'abantu b'iwabo ba kera. Abantu b'imfura rwose ugereranije n'Abirabura ndetse n'abazungu. Umuhima ni umuntu urambutse, muremure, ufite intoki nziza n'ibirenge biteye neza, akagira ibimuranga byose nk'uko babonwa n'abazungu bakanabashushanya uko bateye mu ishusho bise iya “Praxitele”¹⁶.

Abazungu ba mbere batangajwe n'abatware basanze ibwami nka ba Ruhinankiko cyangwa Rwidegembya: “Abari hafi y'umwami bari abantu batangaje basaga n'abantu bo muri Bibiriya, ingingo zabo n'ingendo yabo ya gipfura byibagizaga ko ari Abirabura mu bandi”¹⁷.

Myr Hirth yavuze “umwami” yabonye (mu by'ukuri ntiyari umwami) nk'umuntu wo mu rwego rw'ubuyobozi rwo hejuru mu gihugu, muremure cyane, usa n'umunyabisiniya cyangwa umwarabu, ufite izuru rimutandukanya na rubanda rw'Abirabura basanzwe”¹⁸. “Uretse ko umwami anasumba Abatutsi bese ni na we ubarusha ubwenge bese”¹⁹.

Abazungu bavugaga ko Abatutsi ari 1 cyangwa 2% y'abaturage bese, bakaba bari barashoboye gutegeka abandi bese kubera

¹³ Lugan b.,1980,op.cit.,p.79

¹⁴ Honke G., *Au plus profond de l'Afrique*, Wuppertal, 1990, p.100

¹⁵ Idem

¹⁶ Idem

¹⁷ Honke G., *Au plus profond de l'Afrique*, Wuppertal, 1990, p.100

¹⁸ Lugan B.,1980, *op.cit.*, p.78, 215

¹⁹ Ibidem, p.229

ubwenge bwabo. “Ntabwo ari abirabura nk’Abahutu, ahubwo ni Hamite, barangwa no kuba bateye neza, gusa neza mu maso no kugira metero ebyiri zirenga. Ariko ntibasumba gusa Abahutu ahubwo banabategekesha ubwenge. Ni yo mpamvu nubwo hakumvikana impamvu, nubwo ari bake bwose, bashoboye gutegeka bidashidikanywa no gushinga ingoma y’ubuhake ijya gusa n’iya gikomunisiti”²⁰.

Isura y’Abahutu ntabwo bayitayeho. Bavuze ko: “Banyuranije n’Abatutsi bajya gusa n’abazungu, Abahutu ni abirabura nyabo, bafite iminwa minini n’izuru ribwataraye”²¹. “Abahutu ni rubanda rw’abakene, rw’abagaragu n’abaturage bato bato. Ni ubwoko bwa ba gakondo, bwatuye muri iki gihugu kuva kera, bahindutse nk’abacakara”²². Kandt yatanze isura mbi y’Abahutu bo mu gihugu hagati batatinyukaga ba shebuja b’Abatutsi. Yabivuze muri aya magambo: “Imyitwarire y’Abahutu ntiyumvikana. Iyo bari imbere ya ba shebuja bicisha bugufi ntibavuge, ntibasubize n’ibibazo babajijwe. Ariko iyo turi kumwe twenyine badusubiza icyo tubabajije cyose ndetse n’icyo tutabajije, ariko nta cyo nabamarira mu byo basaba n’ingorane bahura na zo, iyo bavuga ko bakandamizwa kandi bakabuzwa uburenganzira bwabo bwose. Kenshi nababwiraga kwirwanaho bo ubwabo, ndetse nkanabaseka, mbambwira ko bakubye inshuro ijana umubare w’Abatutsi ariko bagahora baganya nk’abagore”²³.

Hari ibivugwa ku Batwa cyanecyane birebana n’indeshyo yabo: “Abantu bato kandi bagufi” bashyirwa mu rwego rwo hasi mu Banyarwanda. Abatwa banita impunyu ni “ubwoko ukwabwo, bwa kera mu gihugu, busa n’ubwabanjirije Abahutu kuba mu Rwanda: ni hafi kuba “ibikuri”, “ni bato, ntibagira ubwoba kandi bafite ingufu”²⁴. Mu Rwanda Abatwa ntibafatwa nk’abantu kubera “ isura yabo isa n’iy’inguge”²⁵.

Hari ibivugwa n’abazungu ba mbere baje mu Rwanda biri rusange, kandi bikareba Abanyarwanda bose muri rusange. Urugero, Hamed Ibrahim avuga ko Abanyarwanda barangwa n’ubugambanyi n’amayeri, bikunze gukorwa cyanecyane ibwami²⁶. Ariko Abanyarwanda si “ibigwari”. Ikibihamya nuko

²⁰ Idem

²¹ Lugan B.,1980,loc.cit..p.78,229

²² Idem

²³ Lugan B.,1980,loc.cit..p.27

²⁴ Ibidem,p.9

²⁵ Ibidem,p.229.

²⁶ Stanley H.M.1879,op.cit..p.436

bigaruriye i Gisaka, Umubari na Mpororo. Abanyarwanda ni “abagabo” barabatangirira ariko bakanabanga. Hamed avuga ko Abanyarwanda ari “ibisambo, abagizi ba nabi, ababeshyi n’abagambanyi”. Ngo ni babi kuko “bataretse hari umwarabu n’umwe wemererwa gukorera ubucuruzi iwabo”. Abanyarwanda kandi ni abagome, ntibashaka ko abanyamahanga baza iwabo. Ni abantu bafite uko bateye kwabo, kandi barangwa rwose n’uburyarya²⁷.

Stanley avuga ukuntu yabujijwe kwambuka yanyuze mu kiyaga k’Thema. Agira ati: “Twagerageje gukuka, abatwage barabisha nk’imbwa yabambye, bafora imiheto yabo nk’abashaka kurasa, bituma twigendera, tureka abo bagizi ba nabi iwabo²⁸. Na Myr Hirth amaze kugirana ibibazo by’urudaca n’abakozi be yavuze ko “Abanyarwanda barangwa no kuba ibisambo bya ruharwa²⁹. Bethe we avuga ko Abanyarwanda ari ubwoko bwiza kandi bukomeye. “Ni abarwanyu kandi batinywa n’abaturanyu babo³⁰”.

Nk’uko bigaragara, ibyo abazungu ba mbere bavuze ku Banyarwanda byuzuyemo ibivuguruzanya, ibitari byo n’ibisubiranamo bidafite ishingiro. Nubwo ibyinshi muri byo atari ukuri byakomeje kuvugwa kugeza na n’ubu.

Ikibazo abo bazungu ba mbere bashakaga gusubiza kwari ukumenya abayobozi b’igihugu. Von Götzen yavuze ko abatware b’Abatutsi ari bo bari mu rwego rwo hejuru naho Abahutu batunzwe no guhinga, ari rubanda rwa giseseka. Abo bazungu kandi hari amagambo bitiranyaga bakayakoresha kimwe uko bishakiye. Ijambo “ubwoko”, ijambo “caste” rivuga abari mu rwego rwihariye rutivanga n’ayandi n’inyito “classe sociale” rivuga urwego rw’imibereho mu bukungu abantu b’igice kimwe baba barimo, bihariye.

Bwana Langheld we, yavuze ko u Rwanda ari ingoma ya cyami itavugirwamo, iyobowe n’urwego rw’imfura rufite ingufu. Abahutu bagizwe na ba rubanda rusanzwe rw’abakozi, batunzwe no guhinga. Ku bwe Abatutsi bakora gusa umurimo wo korora amashyo y’inka zabo. Ariko mu Batutsi harimo abataravukiye gutegeka. Ubutegetsu bwazaga n’ubwihariwe n’imiryango imwe.

²⁷ Idem

²⁸ Stanley M., 1879, op.cit., p.444

²⁹ Lugan B., 1980, op.cit., p.75

³⁰ Lugan B., 1980, op.cit., p.57

Myr Hirth yatangajwe mu rugendo rwe rwa mbere no kubona ubusumbane bwari hagati y'abari mu rwego rw'ubutegetsu na rubanda rugufi. "Nta handi biboneka ku isi muri iki gihe, ukuntu rubanda rugufi rukandamizwa n'abo mu nzego z'ubuyobozi. Igihe kirageze ngo abamisiyoneri binjire muri aka karere"³¹. Ku bwe abamisiyoneri bagombaga "kubohora" rubanda rugufi.

Imitandukanire mu bijyanye n'ubutegetsu bwa poritiki ikurikiza "amoko" kimwe neza n'imitandukanire mu bijyanye n'ubukungu. Mu Rwanda byose byagenda bitandukana bikurikije amoko: Abatutsi ni aborozi, Abahutu ni abahinzi, ariko iyo shusho ntihuye iteka n'ukuri kose. Abagize amoko yose y'Abanyarwanda bavugaga ururimi rumwe. "Mu Rwanda nyirizina, abategetsu n'ingabo basangiye hafi ya bese umuco umwe. Ari mu birebana n'intwari n'imyambarire, Umuhima nta tandukaniro afitanye n'umuhinzi". Hari ibimenyetso n'ibikorwa by'akarengane "bikandamiza Abahutu"³².

Bethe we yavugaga ko mu majyaruguru (ku mupaka wa Mpororo) Abahutu bategekaga. Ndetse yahabonye n'umutware w'Umutwa. Kandt arushaho gusobanura ibyo muri ako karere k'amajyaruguru gafite ubutegetsu bwihariye. Birashaka kuvuga ko mu Rwanda, ubutegetsu butari kimwe hose nk'uko inyandiko zimwe z'abazungu ba mbere zibivugaga.

Gushyira abantu mu byiciro by'amoko bisa n'ibishingiye cyanecyane ku mibereho yabo n'imitungo yabo, ntabwo urwego umuntu arimo ruterwa gusa n'imivukire. Mu gitabo yasohoye mu wa 1917³³, Czekanowski atandukanya ibyiciro bine by'inzego z'abaturage: Ikiciro cya mbere kigizwe n'abari mu rwego rw'abakomeye bari hafi y'umwami, abagaragu be bakuru, ababatwarira imirengi n'abandi banyacyubahiro aho ibwami. Ni Abatutsi gusa by'umwihariko.

Ikiciro cya kabiri kigizwe n'urwego rw'ingabo ziyobowe n'umutware w'ingabo. Batura ku butaka bwaho basigiwe na base na basekuruza, batanga amokoro asanzwe kandi bahora biteguye gutabara.

³¹ Ibidem,p.37

³² Igiterekerezo cya Von Götzen

³³ Czekanowski J., Forschungen in Nil-Kongo-Zwischengebiet, Leipzig, 1917.

Ikicro cya gatatu kigizwe n'urwego rw' "Ibiretwa"; ni abaturage batagira ubutaka bwite bwabo. Bahinga ubutaka bw'umwami, bakanahingira iminsi ibiri cyangwa itatu abatware babo. Bishyura amakoro.

Ikicro cya kane kigizwe n'Abatwa (barahiga, bakanabumba)³⁴, Czekanowski asoza avuga ko, kuva abakoroni baza, imibereho y'abaturage igenda irushaho kuba mibi kuko, uretse amagambo ya nyirarureshwa avugwa n'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni, amategeko mashya yazanywe n'abazungu atarengera abaturage nk'uko umuco bagenderagaho mbere wabarindaga.

Kuri we ubwoko bw'umuntu bwajyanaga n'urwego ariho mu mibereho na poritiki, kandi ubwo bwoko nticyari ikintu kidahinduka mu rwego umuntu ariho, bishingiye ku ivuko rye gusa³⁵. Ku bwe, kuzamuka mu rwego rw'imibereho bijyanye n'ugushyirwa mu bwoko ubu n'ubu, ni byo bisobanura cyane imiryango y'Abahutu mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi. Hagiye habaho ihinduka ry'amoko bitewe n'ihinduka ry'imibereho mu miryango myinshi mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu. Czekanowski ari mu ba mbere bahakanye imitandukanyirize y'Abanyarwanda mu moko mu byiciro byose. Ibyo yavuze ntibytaweho kuko ubayobozi bw'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri bashingiye, muri gahunda zabo, ku bitandukanya amoko.

Ingero zerekana ko Abanyarwanda bakomeje kurebwa mu isura y'amoko ni nyinshi: Mu bisa n'imigani, mu migani no mu zindi mvugo, ni imvugo y'ibwami n'abahegereye yemejwe, ikwizwa hose n'abazungu ngo basobanure uko babona urubumbambaga rw'Abanyarwanda n'imibereho y'amoko atandukanye, ayobowe n'Abatutsi. Bamwe mu batangaga amakuru, kandi bazi ko abazungu batangarira Abatutsi, babwiraga abo bazungu ibyo bifuza kumva. Ni yo mpamvu bibandaga cyanecyane ku moko yashyizwe imbere n'abazungu, ataboneka mu iyobokamana gakondo no mu mihango y'igihugu cyangwa y'imiryango. Iyo babishingiraho bari kugera ku bitandukanye n'imvugo y'ubwoko bashingiyeho.

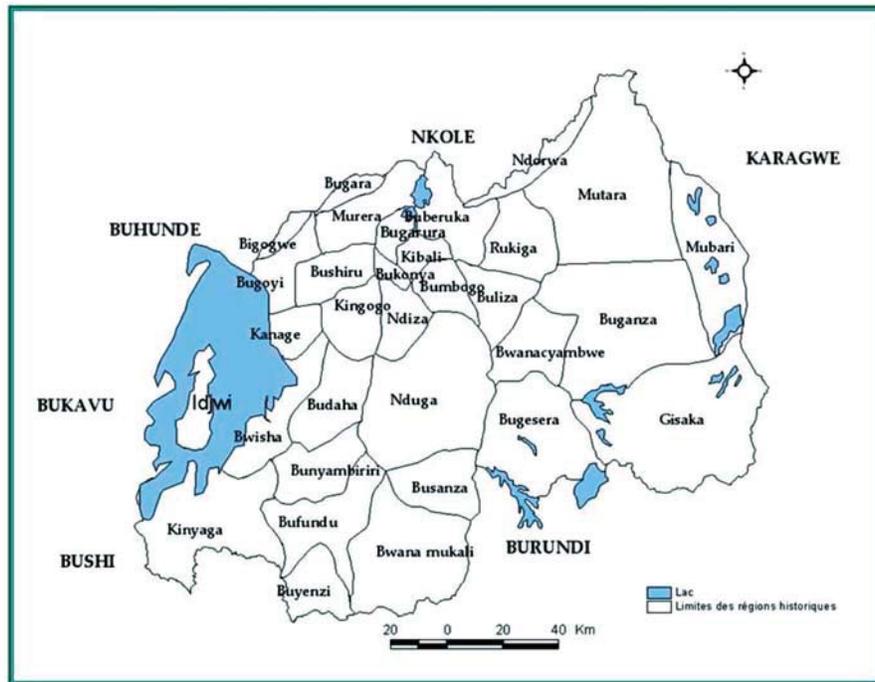
³⁴ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, pp.174-175

³⁵ Honke., 1990, *op.cit.*, p.108

4.1.2 Imiyoborere y'igihugu ku mwaduko w'Abadage.

Abadage bagera mu Rwanda, rwari rugabanyijemo intara cumi: Nduga, Kinyaga, Bugesera, Bugoyi, Bwishaza, Murera, Bwishya Buberuka, Ndorwa n'i Gisaka (reba ikarita ya 9).

Ikarita ya 9: Uturere Ndangamateka twemejwe n'ubutegetsi Gikoroni



Byavuye: LUGAN et MUTOMBO, (Africa-Tervuren, XXIX, 1983, 1-2)

Izo ntara cumi zakurikizaga imiterere y'uturere twa kera. Hari abaturage bakoraga imirimo byo kugombora imirima bahinga. Umutware kandi hari icyo yafataga ku maturo y'ibwami Abatware b'umwami bayoborerwaga n'ibisonga, na byo bigafashwa n'abakuru b'imirenge. Habonekagamo Abahutu benshi muri bene izo nzego cyanecyane mu turere tw'u Murera, Bwishya, n'u Bugoyi. Ni Kigeri IV Rwabugiri wahuriye hamwe ubuyobozi bw'igihugu anagabira abatware ahantu hagiye hatandukanye kugira ngo agabanye ingufu z'abatware babaga, bashaka kwironda. Byaje kumuteranya n'imiryango imwe n'imwe ikomeye, biza kuvamo intambara yo ku Rucunshu. Mu

mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19, igihugu cyari kikiri mu midugararo ikomoka ku byo ku Rucunshu³⁶.

Riyetona Von Parish avuga abantu benshi bishwe kubera “gukekwa kuba baracumbikiye umuhungu wabuze wa Kigeri. Kongera kwigaragaza k'umuntu urwanira ingoma byari bimwe mu biteye impungenge ingoma ya Musinga n'Abega. Bivugwa ko Kigeri yari yararaze ingoma ye Biregeya. Yahise abura vuba na bwangu, ku buryo n'abashakaga kumwica batabonye umwanya wo kwitegura. Ubu abantu bose bakaba bafite ubwoba ko yagaruka. Hari Abatutsi basigaye bitwaza Biregeya ngo babeshyere abandi kuri Musinga, ngo bicwe byanze bikunze, bigatuma ababeshye bagabana iby'abantu bishwe”³⁷.

Abadage babonaga ko igihugu cy'u Rwanda, ugereranyije n'ibindi bihugu birukikije cyanecyane u Burundi, ari igihugu kiri mu mahoro no mu migendekere myiza bitewe n'ubutegetsu bukomeye bw'umwami. Bethé avuga ko “Kigeri ari umwami utavugirwamo kandi icyo ashatse kikubahirizwa mu ntara zose z'igihugu, ndetse no mu Gisaka. Ubutegetsu bwe bushobora gufasha cyane iterambere ry'ubukungu, afatanije n'Abadage”³⁸. Ariko iyo umuntu yerekeye mu majyaruguru umuntu akikiye inkombe z'uburengerazuba bwa Kivu, Kandt yavugaga ko “hari Abatutsi badategeka icyo gice k'igihugu, bibera ku misozi yitaruye, hamwe n'abaturage b'abahinzi, ariko n'abo Batutsi b'aborozi bagakora umurimo uruhije nk'Abahutu”³⁹.

No hakurya ya Mukungwa, Kandt yabonye ko nubwo abaturage baho ari ingabo z'umwami, “ntibayoboka ahubwo ni ibigande byigometse”. Mu Bugoyi, umwami “ahafite ubutegetsu bwa nyirarureshwa. Umutware w'intara, Bushaku, ntagitinyuka kuhatura, ndetse n'ibisonga bye ni uko, kubera ko ari Abatutsi, bigiriye mu Rwanda hagati, naho abasigaye ntibatinyuka kwerekana ubutegetsu bwabo”⁴⁰. Byagenda birushaho kuba bibi kuva aho abazungu bahagereye kandi imirimo ibagenerwa irushaho kuba myinshi. Meyer H. na we yarabyiboneye agiye mu Majyaruguru gusura ibirunga. Yahasanze abaturage b'abanyamahane, bivumbura ku butegetsu bw'umwami w'u

³⁶ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, p.115

³⁷ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, p.115

³⁸ Ibidem, p.59

³⁹ Ibidem, p.45

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p.46

Rwanda no kuri Leta y'Abadage. Ubwicanyi no gusubiranamo kw'amoko n'imiryango ni ibintu bya buri munsi⁴¹.

Mu karere k'u Rukiga (hagana Mpororo), Bethe yahasanze ibintu nk'ibyo. "Ntabwo ari Abatutsi gusa batwara hari n'Abahutu, bashyizweho na Kigeri". Bethe yagombye gucubya amahane yavaga ku nzangano hagati y'amoko kuko Basebya, umutware w'impunyu, atashakaga kumvira Abatutsi bamwiratagaho⁴². Mu Ndorwa imiryango irigenga, bigatuma intumwa z'ibwami zihura n'ingorane⁴³. Mu Murera, amoko yayobotse umwami, anishyura amaturu, abategetsu b'Abatutsi bagombye kwirukana abaturage ku misozi imwe n'imwe ngo bahatuze abantu b'amoko yazimye (bagomba guhakwa kuri ba shebuja ngo babarinde). Hari abandi bo mu moko yo ha mbere (nka Bishingwe) yayobotse abategetsu bashya. Mu Nduga, amoko yose araturanye ku misozi. Igice kinini cy'ako Karere ni abakungu b'ubutaka: hari n'ingabo zihatuye zitagikora akazi k'uburetwa⁴⁴.

Kugira ngo imyivumbagatanyo y'urudaca irangire mu turere tw'amajyaruguru, Kandt R. yavuze uko ibintu bigomba kugenda (yari ataraba rezida): "Ni mu nyungu za poritiki yacu y'ubukoroni ko dushyigikirwa n'umwami kandi tukagumishaho ubutegetsu bw'Abatutsi bakayobokwa n'abaturage bose nk'uko bigombwa kumera"⁴⁵. Izo mpugu zasaga n'izikigenga zari zikiri mu nzira yo kuyoboka byuzuye ubutegetsu bw'umwami. Mu majyaruguru y'u Rwanda, ni ho byari bigitangira⁴⁶.

Uko amaturu yatangwaga icyo gihe mu Rwanda byasuzumwe neza na Czekanowski J.⁴⁷. Amaturu abaturage bagombaga gutanga yarimo ibice byinshi byakwa n'abategetsu banyuranye. Abo bategetsu kandi nubwo bari intumwa bwose, ni ko basigaranaga igice kinini cy'ayo maturu. Amaturu y'abaturage yari agizwe n'imyaka, amasaka, inzoga, amatungo n'imirimo. Hari uturere twasonewe mu gutanga amaturu y'imyaka ibwami. Urugero ni nk'umusozo wa Save kubera ko wariho abazungu. Igice cy'amaturu asigara ibutware kigenwa n'umutware ubwe.

⁴¹ Ibidem., p.209

⁴² Ibidem, pp.55,57

⁴³ Ibidem, p.177

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p.177

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p.46

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p.229

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p.180

Amaturo y’imyaka atangwa ku mwero kandi aratandukanye bikurikije uturere ⁴⁸.

Czekanowski J. yatandukanyije amoko menshi y’amaturo uko agenda arutana⁴⁹. Uburetwa ni bwo buza ku isonga: ni imirimo ikorwa mu mirima y’abatware kabiri cyangwa gatatu mu cyumweru cya Gihanga. Uwo murimo ukorwa n’abadafitte amasambu yabo bwite, bakawukora nk’inshungu y’ubutaka batuyemo; ntukorwa n’ingabo zifitiye ubutaka bwazo zituyeho. Andi maturo ya kera na kare ni ayitwa “ubutaka” agizwe n’imyaka, itabi n’isuka no kugemurira umutware uba utuye akenshi ibwami. Rwabugiri yongeyeho amahooro y’umuheto, na Musinga yongeraho ingemu y’abazungu bazungurukaga, yitwa Irari⁵⁰. Amahooro y’ubutaka n’ay’umuheto ubundi atangwa mu gihugu hose. Amahooro y’umuheto yakwa n’umutware w’inka z’umwami muri buri Karere. Afite uburenganzira bwo kuragira inka mu mirima y’abaturage yasaruwemo imyaka. Irari ryakwa n’intumwa zihariye zishinzwe gukurikirana iby’ingendo z’abazungu mu gihugu. Igice cy’amahooro gisigaranwa n’abatware kitwa umusogongerero. Bene icyo gice kiba kizwi ku birebana n’amahooro y’“ubutaka” n’“umuheto” ariko si ko bimeze ku irari. Hari amahooro yakwa imiryango imwe n’imwe: umunyu (uva mu byatsi byo mu gishanga), ubutega, impu z’inzoka, impu z’ingwe, impu z’inka, impuzu, intwari, etc. Imiryango itanga bene ayo mahooro hari ubwoko bw’andi mahooro isonerwa: u Murera utanga igice kinini cy’ubutega, umuryango w’Abahennyi wubaka ingo z’ibwami.

Mu Murera, amahooro atangwa n’ubwoko. Umukuru muri ubwo bwoko ni we ushinze gukusanya ayo mahooro, icyo buri rugo rutanga ni bo bakiyumvikaniragaho. Abagize buri bwoko bose bafatanyaga gutanga amahooro y’ibwami. Ingabo zitanga amahooro y’ubuki kandi buri mwaka bagaha umwami inka nka 20. Hari n’amahooro yitwa indamu yakwa ababunza ibintu byo kugurishwa, agahabwa abatware (urugero mu Bugoyi): hatangwa hagati ya 10 na 15% y’agaciro k’ikigurishwa ku Nyundo⁵¹. Ni Rwabugiri washyirishije amahooro mashya yo

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.180

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p.181

⁵⁰ Teritwari z’Amajyaruguru ziyoborwa zitya : mu Bugoyi , Bushaku ni umutware ku ”butaka” no “ku muheto”; Kinunu, Rwidegembya na we akora iyo mirimo yombi; mu Bwishaza, Bushaku ni umutware “ku butaka”, Rwidegembya akaba umutware “ku muheto”; mu Kinyaga, Rwabilinda ni umutware “ku butaka”, Rwidegembya akaba umutware “ku muheto” (Lugan B., 1980, loc.cit., p.180).

⁵¹ Lugan B., loc.cit., 1980, p.183

gutunga abatware yari amaze gushyiraho. Uburyo bw'amahooro mu Rwanda rwo hambere bwari butandukanye bishingiye ku mwihariko wa buri karere, kandi byose byagiye bihindagurika uko ibihe byahaga ibindi.

4.1.3 Ubutegetsi bwo ku gihe cy'Abadage.

U Rwanda rwagiye mu gice cyagabanywe n'u Budage mu nama yabereye i Berlin mu wa 1884-1885. U Rwanda rwomekwa kuri koroni z'u Budage. Mu wa 1890, u Budage bwitwa ku mugaragaro ko bushinzwe kurinda igice cy'Afurika y'uburasirazuba cy'u Budage. Ubutegetsi bw'Abadage muri iki gice cy'Afurika bugizwe n'ibice bibiri: ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare n'ubuyobozi bwa gisivire bwiswe "ubutegetsi buziguye".

a) Kuva ku butegetsi ku izina gusa kugera ku butegetsi bwa gisirikare

Muri rusange ubutegetsi bw'Abadage bwari bufite akantu k'umwihariko kubera uko bwakozwe. Mu by'ukuri, mu ntangiriro, Abadage bakoraga poritiki isa no "gutegereza" gusa. Ni ku itariki ya 22 Werurwe 1897, Kapiteni Hans Ramsay, wategekaga batayo ya Udjiji, yagiranye umubano wa poritiki n'u Rwanda kandi abikora mu mahoro. Yaje ibwami, i Runda, afite abasoda 112 n'abikorezi 129 n'abazungu bake bamuherekeje. Bakiranwa ubwoba no kumwishisha⁵². Kapiteni Ramsey yanditse avuga ko icyo gihe yashoboye kugirana umubano w'ubucuti n'uwitwa Mpamarugamba, mubyara w'umwami Yuhi Musinga kandi basaga, ndetse amuha ibaruwa ihamya ko u Budage buzarinda u Rwanda, amusigira n'ibendera ry'u Budage. Ni no muri ubwo buryo u Rwanda rwometswe ku mpugu zose zari zarigaruriwe n'u Budage. Umuhango wiswe uw'ubucuti hagati ya Kapiteni Ramsay n'uwo yakekaga ko ari umwami w'u Rwanda yawuvuzeho aya magambo : "Namukenyeje umugozi na we ankenyeza indi migozi, hanyuma duhana ibiganza dukomeje, kuva ubwo haba habaye igihango hagati y'umwami nange"⁵³.

Mu gihe u Rwanda rwashyirwaga mu maboko y'Abadage, Musinga wari uhagarariwe na Mpamarugamba, yaregeraga ibitero u Rwanda rwari rwakorewe n'abasoda ba Leta yigenga ya Kongo (birarebana n'intambara y'i Shangi/Cyangugu, aho ingabo z'u

⁵² Honke G., 1990, op.cit., p.115

⁵³ Lugan B., 1980, loc.cit., p.189

Rwanda zari zatsindiwe). Ibwami bizeraga ko babona inkunga yo kwirukana abo bari barigaruriye igice cy'uburengerazuba bw'u Rwanda ndetse n'yo kurwanya abarwanya ubutegetsu bwa Musinga mu Rwanda nyirizina.

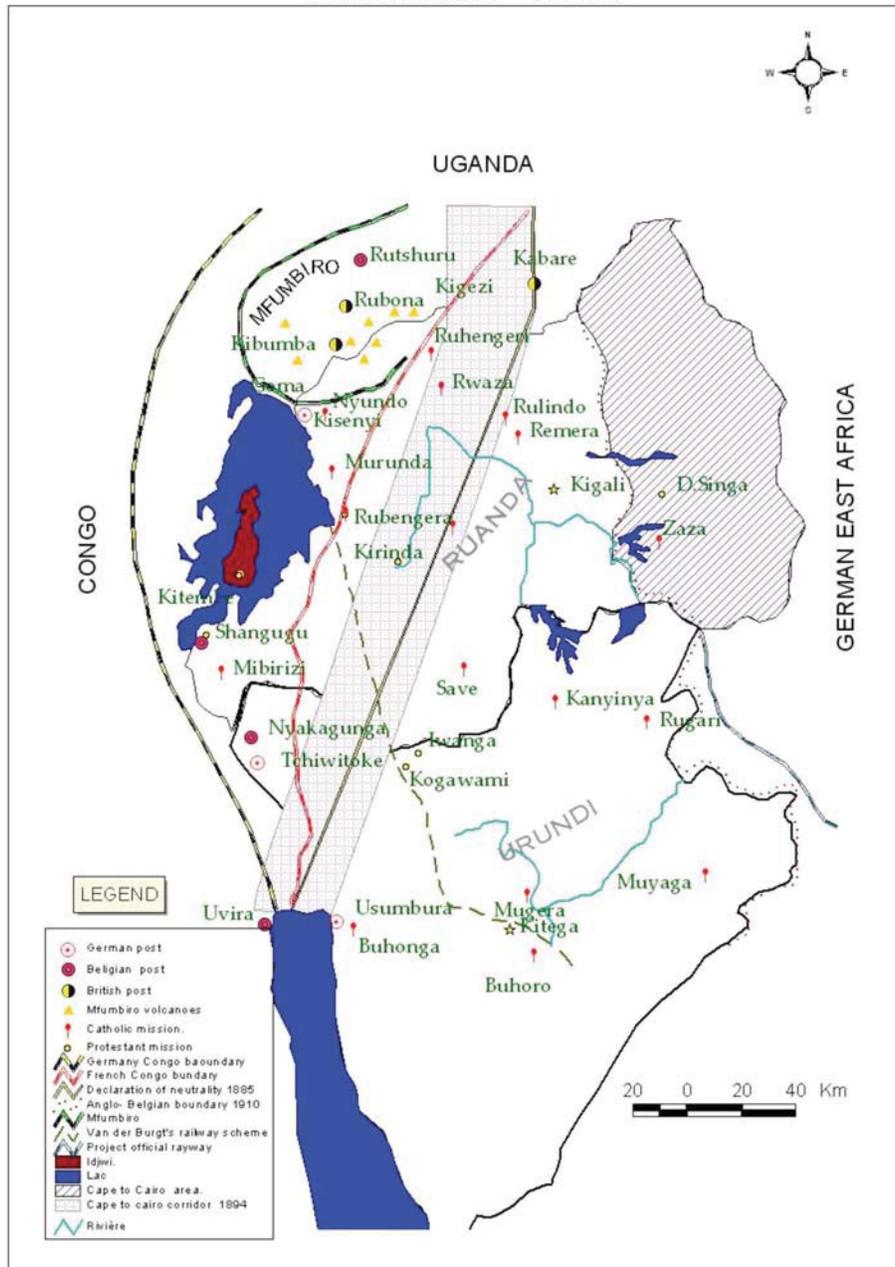
Nyuma y'umwaka Kapiteni Heinrich Bethe (bitaga Gahiza kubera ingofero ye ya Gisirikare) yaje ibwami, i Gatwiko hafi ya Kamonyi, tariki ya 3 kugera ku ya 6 Werurwe 1898, aza aherekewe na Liyetona Von Grawert, n'umuganga Hoesemann, n'umufomokazi Pfeuffer ari kumwe n'abasirikare 145, na bwo yongeye kubwira Mpamarugamba⁵⁴ iby'umubano mwiza. Hagati aho mu wa 1897 hari harashinzwe ikigo (station) cya gisirikare cya Bujumbura cyari gikuriye ibirebana n'imategekere y'u Rwanda n'u Burundi kugeza mu wa 1907⁵⁵. Ni uwo mwaka kandi, Abadage bashinze ibindi bigo bya gisirikare nyuma yuko habaye amahane hagati yabo n'abasirikare ba Leta yigenga ya Kongo bapfa imbibi z'umupaka wa Kongo y'uburasirazuba: Mu ruzinduko yagiriye ibwami kuva tariki ya 3 kugeza 6 Werurwe 1898, Kapiteni Bethe yabwiye ko ibwami bemeye burundu ko bayobotse ingoma ndage. Na we yemerera ibwami ko ikigo cya gisirikare k'i Bujumbura kizabatera inkunga bidasubirwaho.

Ikibazo k'imbibi na Leta yigenga ya Kongo cyakomeje gukurura impaka mu gihe k'imyaka cumi yose hagati y'u Budage n'u Bubirigi. Bitewe n'amasezerano atari asobanutse neza ku birebana n'imipaka ya Kongo, umwami Léopold II guhera muri 1885, yizeraga ko umupaka wa koroni ye n'afurika y'u Burasirazuba y'Abadage uzaba ugizwe n'umurongo ugororotse uva kuri "longitude" 30 na "latitude" 1020 ukagera ku mutwe w'ikiyaga cya Tanganyika. Bivuga ko igice cyose cyari kuba kigizwe n'umurongo urambuye uva Gatuna, ukanyura Gitarama, Gikongoro-Nshiri, cyari kuba kiri muri Kongo mbirigi (Reba ikarita no 10).

⁵⁴ Honke G., 1990, *op.cit.*, p.117

⁵⁵ Bindseil R., *Le Rwanda et l'Allemagne depuis le temps de Richard Kandt*, Berlin, 1988, p.1

Ikarita ya 10: Rwanda - Urundi 1884-1919



Byavuye : Louis R., Ruanda-Urundi 1884-1919, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963.

Leta y'u Budage yo yabonaga ko umupaka ubagabanya ari ikiyaga cya Kivu. Yashingiraga ku masezerano hagati y'u Budage

n'u Bwongereza, yitiriwe Helgoland-Zanzibar, yo ku itariki ya mbere Nyakanga 1890 yerekanaga aho buri gihugu kigomba kugarukira muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba. Afurika y'u Budage y'uburasirazuba yagombaga guhera ku Nyanja y'Abahinde ikagera mu biyaga byo muri Afurika yo hagati⁵⁶.

Leta yigenga ya Kongo nta ngufu za gisirikare yari ifite icyo gihe zari gutuma ibyo yifuza biba ari byo bikorwa; ndetse kuva mu 1896, abasoda bayo bari barigaragambije kenshi. Leta y'u Budage yategetse Kapiteni Bethe, wari ufite ikicaro Udjiji, gufata igice cy'uburasirazuba bw'umugezi wa Rusizi n'ikiyaga cya Kivu yabonaga ko ari icyayo. Ni muri urwo rwego, hashinzwe ikigo cya gisirikare i Shanghi. Haje kuba amasezerano y'agateganyo tariki ya 23 Ugushyingo 1899 hagati ya Kapiteni Heqc na Kapiteni Bethe yemezaga ko imipaka izakomeza kugarukira ku nkengero y'ibiyaga. Igihe Musenyeri Hirth yacaga mu Kinyaga mu ntangiriro za 1900, imbibi zari zitarasobanuka neza. Ababirigi ni bo bageze mbere mu kibaya cya Rusizi n'Ikivu. Ariko bahirukanywe n'abasoda babo bari bigaragambije. Abadage barabafatirana bashinga ibirindiro byabo ku mupaka wa Rusizi n'Ikivu ngo babone uko bashobora kwirinda abasoda bari barigaragambije. Imirimo ya komisiyo yo gushyiraho imipaka yatangiye mu wa 1906.

Yifashishije ibishushanyo by'agateganyo Kandt yari yarakoze akosora ibyari byaratanzwe na Speke, Stanley na Stuhlmann. Kandt yifuzaga ko imipaka yakurikiza imbibi z'amoko ahasanzwe ni ukuvuga umupaka wa Rusizi-Kivu, naho ikirwa k'Ijwi cyatakazwa, kuko ari byo bigize umupaka w'amoko atandukanye y'abahatuye. Ku bwe, undi mupaka wose, wari kugira ingaruka mbi nko guca igihugu mo ibice, no gukurura ingorane z'urudaca mu mitegekere n'imanza. Yavugaga ko hadakurikijwe uwo mupaka, byaba byiza u Budage buretse u Rwanda rwose. Ubwo Kandt yari yarashyize ikicaro ke i Shanghi, agamije kuburizamo Ababirigi baburanaga ko ari aha Kongo.

Amasezerano yo kuri 14 Gicurasi 1910 yagumishijeho imipaka y'agateganyo yariho kugeza icyo gihe. Nyuma u Bubirigi bwaje kwemera umupaka ugizwe n'umurongo unyura kuri Karisimbi, u Bwishya, i Gishari n'ikirwa k'Ijwi. Ikigo cya gisirikare k'i Cyangugu kiba icy'u Budage: Mu wa 1911, rezidansi ihashyira ikigo cya gisirikare, imaze kvanaho icya Shanghi kitari gifite

⁵⁶ Louis W.M.R., *Ruand-Urundi 1884-1919*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1963

akamaro na busa ka gisirikare. Musinga ntiyanyuzwe na busa n'ubwo bwumvikane ku mipaka. Yababajwe no gutakaza ibyho bihugu ariko imibanire ye n'Abadage ntiyagira icyo ihindukaho. Bagumye kubahiriza ububasha bwe buke yari asigaranye.

b) U Rwanda rurindishwa u Budage cyangwa ubutegetsu buziguze.

Mu wa 1904-1905, havutse intambara y'aba "Mayi-Mayi"⁵⁷ muri Afurika y'Abadage y'uburasirazuba. Mu kuyirwanya Abadage bamena amaraso menshi ndetse imbere y'ibihugu byateye imbere mu majyambere bitesha agaciro imitegekere y'Abadage muri koroni. Iyo ntambara yaje kugira ingaruka mu buryo bwo gutegeka koroni z'u Budage: Leta ndage ya Berlin yagombye gusubira mu miterere y'ubutegetsu bwa koroni. Abakuru b'ingabo bayoboraga mu turere twose basimburwa n'abasiviri, ndetse haremwa na Minisiteri ya koroni ihabwa Dernburg wari mbere Diregiteri Jenerari muri Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga y'u Budage.

Kandt avugaga ko u Rwanda n'u Burundi ari cyo gice cy'ubukoroni bw'Abadage cyarusha ibindi byose kuba kiza no guturwa muri Afurika Ndage y'uburasirazuba. Riyetona Von Perish (1902) yavugaga ko u Rwanda n'u Burundi ari hamwe mu bice byose by'afurika y'Abadage y'uburasirazuba hafite akamaro, ndetse hashobora kuba harusha ahandi hose. Ariko yavugaga ko ari byo bice bisigaranye ubutegetsu gakondo butavugirwamo muri koroni z'u Budage zose⁵⁸. Inyungu babonaga ku Rwanda zaterwaga n'ibi bikurikira: cyari cyo gihugu gitegekwa n'umwami wayobotse u Budage kandi ugitegeka ingabo uko abyumva, igihugu gifite ubworozi n'ubuhinzi bumeze neza, igihugu gituwe cyane, kugituramo bakaba batahura n'ingorane, gifite imisozi myiza, muri make cyagirira umuzungu w'umukoroni akamaro kanini cyane⁵⁹.

Tariki ya 10 Kamena 1906, ni ho ubutegetsu bw'u Budage ku Rwanda bwatandukanijwe n'ubw'u Burundi. Ku itariki ya 15 Ugushyamba 1907, Bwana Richard Kandt wari umuganga⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Mu giswayiri ijamba "maji-maji" bivugaga amazi y'imitsindo amoko amwe yo muri Afurika y'Abadage nk'Abaherero, banywaga ngo birinde amasasu y'imbunda z'Abadage.

⁵⁸ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, p.106.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p.126.

⁶⁰ Bindseil yerekanye ko R. Kandt yari umuganga koko ariko ko atari yaranditse igitabo cyo kurangiza amashuri ye (Thèse) ngo abone izina rya dogiteri nk'uko byasab-

(banamwitaga Kanayoge) wari utuye i Shangi (bitaga Bergfrieden) nyuma akaza kujya i Gakira muri Nyantango, yagizwe rezida w'ingoma y'u Budage mu Rwanda. Yari afite inkomoko ye mu Bayahudi, akaba yari yarazengurutse u Rwanda rwose kuva mu wa 1898 yiga ibijyanye n'imiterere kamere y'ibintu (ibyatsi, amabuye n'ibindi). Uwo mwanya mushya yari abonye wari intambwe ariko nto imuteza imbere kuko kuva mu 1905 yari asanzwe azwi nk'umushakashatsi wa Minisiteri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga ahabwa inkunga ijya kungana n'umushahara w'umukomanda yari abonye kandi asanzwe afasha guverineri Von Götzen mu bijyanye n'ubuyobozi. Umuhango wo gutaha rezidansi wabereye i Kigali (Nyarugenge) mu wa 1908, ari we wari warahatoranije ubwe ngo hazabe ikicaro cy'ubutegetsi bwa rezidansi y'Abadage mu Rwanda.

Mbere 1907, mu by'ukuri nta nzego z'ubuyobozi bwa kizungu zari mu Rwanda, hari ibigo bibiri bya gisirikare mu gihugu hose, i Shangi no ku Gisenyi. Nyuma hubatswe ibindi i Kigali (1907), Ruhengeri (1909) na Gatsibo (1914). Ibyo bigo uretse Kigali na Gisenyi, ntabwo byakuruye Abanyarwanda, byaranakomeje mu bukoroni bw'Ababirigi (biza guteza ikibazo cyo kudakura kw'imigi mu Rwanda).

Gushinga umurwa mukuru wa kizungu i Kigali, mu 1907, hashingiwe ko ari ho hahurira imirongo ihuza inguni enye z'u Rwanda byari bigamije kuba kure y'ibwami. Nyarugenge iteganyeye n'umusozo wa Kigali, ni yo yatoranyijwe : kugeza mu wa 1908, iryo zina rya Nyarugenge ni ryo ryandikwaga mu mpapuro za Leta mbere yuko irya Kigali ririrusha kumenyerwa⁶¹. Abadage bahisemo aho hantu kubera impamvu za poritiki, ubutegetsi n'ubukungu.

Imitegekere y'Abadage mu Rwanda, bita poritiki iziguye yatangiye icyo gihe, yarangwaga no kuyobora koroni y'u Rwanda bishingikirije ubuyobozi bwa gakondo busanzwe, bugizwe n'umwami n'abatware. Kurema rezidansi bwari uburyo bwatekerejwe na Von Götzen wabonaga ko bwari bufite akamaro ahantu hose hari hasanzwe ubutegetsi bwa gakondo (Bukoba, Rwanda, Burundi). Rezida yagombaga kwemeza umuyobozi mukuru wa gakondo mu mirimo ye. Yafashaga umwami kandi nk'umujoyanama we, akaba ahagarariye guverineri. Umuco gakondo wagombaga kubahirizwa, n'imisoro idakabije

waga mu Budage bw'icyo gihe.

⁶¹ Kureba ibivugwa na Kantt R., in Bindseil, 1988, *op.cit*, p.108

yagombaga gutangwa aruko binyuze ku mwami. Mu Rwanda, ibyaranze ubwo butegetsi buziguye ni ibi:

1. Gushyigikira no guha ingufu ubutegetsi bw'umwami, bamurinda icyamutera cyose: umwami yimikwaga hakurikijwe umuco, ariko akemerwa na Leta y'Abadage ;
2. Gushyigikira ubutegetsi bw'umwami Yuhi Musinga bitabujije ko ajenzurwa akanahozwaho igitsure ariko ubutegetsi bwe bukagira icyo bubamarira ;
3. Gushyigikira no kwagura ububasha bw'abatware b'Abatutsi, ari na ho havuye by'umwihariko gushyiraho ishuri rya Leta ry'abana b'Abatutsi mu wa 1910 (ariko ntiryatinze) ;
4. Kurekeraho inzego z'imibanire na poritiki zari zisanzweho: amabwiriza yari ayo kutivanga mu bibazo by'abaturage bisanzwe, igihe cyose bitabangamiye ubutegetsi bw'Abadage ;
5. Gushyigikira no kurinda misiyoni za gikirisitu (Gatorika n'Abaporoso).

Umwami ni we w'ingenzi wavuganaga na rezidansi. Kandi ni we wari ushinze kubahiriza ubucamanza nubwo hari bimwe rezidansi yari yaramubujije. Iyi ngingo yatumye haba kutumvikana n'abamisiyoneri gatorika batahitaga bemera uko imanza zaciwe n'abategetsi b'Abanyarwanda iyo zabaga zitsindisha umukirisitu wabo; ntibatinyaga rimwe na rimwe kwicira imanza ubwabo. Abadage bari barihayeho uburenganzira bwo kugira uruhare mu birebana n'ubuzima rusange. Ni muri urwo rwego mu wa 1903 Kapiteni Von Beringe yacyiye Musinga igihano k'inka 40, aranamugaya mu ruhame kubera ko atari yubahirije ijamba yari yavuze ryo kutica abagaragu ba Muhumbika wari umutware wo mu Gisaka. Mu wa 1905, Riyetona Von Nordeck yemeje ko abamisiyoneri bubaka mu Rwanda rwagati, atanga uburenganzira bwo gushinga misiyoni ya Kabgayi mu Marangara, hari mu mutima w'ingoma. Musinga ntiyashakaga ko bahaba.

Gushyigikira ubutegetsi bw'umwami ntibyari ibyo guhoraho iteka ryose. Mu ibarwa yandikiye i Daesalamu, Bwana Wintgens wari warasimbuye Kantt kuba rezida, hagaragara ko yari ababajwe cyane n'ubutegetsi bw'Abatutsi mu gihugu cyose. Yagize ati: "Hari ikibazo kidukomereye cy'uko gukora neza kwacu atari ugukoresha intwari zacu turenge Abatutsi, ahubwo twagenda buhorobuhoro tuvanaho akarengane bakora tukubaka Leta igendera ku mategeko"⁶².

⁶² Bindseil R., 1988, *op.cit.*

Yabonaga ko inyungu z'Abadage zitazaramba nibakomeza gushyigikira ku buryo budasubirwaho ubwo butegets, ahubwo rezidansi yashoboraga no kwangwa mu gihe yari ishyigikiye ako gatsiko kari ku butegets, gategeka abaturage bageze kuri 97%. Nta cyakurikiye iyo baruwa kubera intambara. Ariko irerekana ko hari abakozi b'Abadage barwanyaga poritiki yari yarashyizweho na Kandt. Ndetse Wintgens yatekerezaga kuzagira ibyo avugurura yongera imisoro kandi n'abategets b'Abatutsi bagashyirirwaho uburyo bwo gutegeka burushaho kurenganura Abahutu.

Ibyo byose ntibibujije ko Musinga yafashijwe n'ishyirwaho rya poritiki ya Kandt. Abategets b'Abadage bashoje ibitero mu gihugu byaba ibyo guhana abashakaga kumwigomekaho, nko mu Gisaka mu wa 1902 na cyanecyane igihe cyo kwigomeka cya Ndungutse, byaba se ibyo guca ingufu abatayobokaga bose, bakagarukira ubutegets bw'umwami, ndetse no guhosha abangaga kuyoboka ibwami bose cyangwa se byaba guhorera abamisiyoneri. Urugero ni uguhana abaturage bo mu Murera bari bishe Padiri Loupias wari umukuru wa misiyoni ya Rwaza (mu wa 1910). Imibanire y'abategets b'Abadage n'ibwami yari iyo kuzuzanya. Kandi ibwami ni bo bavugaga mbere na mbere icyo bifuzwa ko gikorwa.

c) Poritiki y'ubukungu

Abayobozi b'Abadage bagerageje kumenya no guha agaciro ibyashoboraga kugira agaciro mu by'ubukungu mu Rwanda. Ku bwabo, u Rwanda nta mutungo kamere ukomeye rwari rufite. Umutungo wonyine rwari rufite ugizwe n'amatungo magufi n'amanini. Ikindi kwari uko u Rwanda rwari inzira yari kunyuzwamo ibicuruzwa bivuye i Kongo bijyanywe kugurishwa mu maguriro yo mu Burasirazuba.

Riyetona Von Perish, mu wa 1903, yatekerezaga uburyo bwashobokabwogutuza abakoronib'abazungu mu Bwanamukari, mu Nduga no mu Kabagari kubera imitumburukire n'imiterere by'utwo turere, ubutaka bubereye ubuhinzi n'abaturage bahagije bo gukora imirimo. Ariko yongeragaho ko ari ngombwa kubanza kwigizayo Abatutsi cyangwa se akabaca intege ntibahagire ingufu. Mu kubigeraho, yari kwifashisha Abahutu bari kubyitabirana umwete, naho Abatutsi bagashobora kwifashisha gusa imbaraga z'Abatwa⁶³. Uwo mugambi wigijweyo.

⁶³ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, p.113

Ingengo y'imari yakoreshwaga na rezidansi yari nto: umutungo bwite wari muke, bitewe n'uko u Rwanda rwari rutaratera imbere icyo gihe. Igice kinini k'ingengo y'imari yakoreshwaga icyo gihe yari inkunga yatangwaga na Leta y'i Daesalamu. Mu 1912, ingengo y'imari y'ukuri ya rezidansi yari igeze kuri 42.000 DM, igizwe n'inkunga kuri 80%, ayinjiraga mu ngengo y'imari idasanzwe yavaga mu Rwanda yageraga kuri 9.512 DM yaturukaga ku misoro y'ibitimukanwa n'amahooro ya gasutamo; 50% y'iyi ngengo yarakoreshwaga mu guhemba abakozi.

Kugira ngo bazamure igice k'imisoro iva mu Rwanda kandi batume abaturage bakoresha ifaranga ryari ryarinjijwe mu gihugu n'abacuruzi n'abazungu, ubutegetsi bwa rezidansi bwategetse ko hajyaho undi musoro muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba bishingiye ku kemezo cya Leta y'Abadage cyo gushyiraho umusoro w'umubiri ungana n'urumiya ku muturage wese w'umugabo ufite ingufu zo gukora. Ariko ubutegetsi bwa rezidansi ntibwahise bwihutira gusoresha. Kandt yabanje gusobanurira umwami ko igihugu ke kigomba gutanga imisoro. Ntibyashimishije umwami watinyaga ko iyo misoro mishya izatuma abaturage babifatiraho bakanga gutanga amahooro asanzwe⁶⁴. Ariko Wintgens we, yabonaga ko uwo musoro mushya wakwakwa ahantu hamwe hatoranijwe utagomba gukuraho itangwa ry'amahooro asanzwe. Uwo musoro wa mbere ungana n'urumiya rumwe ku mugabo ufite ingufu watswe mu wa 1914 mu turere tumwe na tumwe twafatwaga nk'utwateye imbere, ari two Kigali, Gisenyi, Shangi na na Bugarama. Ubutegetsi bwa rezidansi bwabonye imiya 34.681 bitagoranye. Bwari bwizeye kuzashobora kwishyura igice kinini k'imirimu y'ubutegetsi ihembwa n'ibivuye ku misoro n'amahoro.

Muri rusange ubutegetsi bw'Abadage bwakoze ibintu bito cyane mu bijyanye n'ubukungu. Hariho gusa imishinga itashoboye gukorwa mu bijyanye n'ubuhinzi, amatungo y'inka n'ingufu z'abaturage.

Umushinga w'amajyambere rukumbi ukomeye Abadage batekereje kandi bakaba bari hafi kuwushyira mu bikorwa ni uwa gari ya moshi yari guhuza Tabora na Rusumo. Wari ugamije kuvana mu bwigunge intara yari ifite ibya ngombwa byose ngo ubuhinzi bwohereze ibintu mu mahanga. Imirimu yo kubaka gari ya moshi ya Tanganyika yatangiyeye mu wa 1905, nyuma y'imyaka ibiri iya Uganda yubatswe. Umurongo wa gari ya moshi wageze

⁶⁴ Bindseil R., 1988, *op.cit.*, p.120

Tabora mu wa 1912. Igice cyari kiruhije kurusha ibindi cya Tabora-Ikiyaga cya Tanganyika cyarangiyeye muri Gashyantare 1914. Mbere yo gutangira kuyikoresha havutse igitekerezo cyo kuyongeraho umurongo ugana mu Rwanda n’u Burundi.

Uwo mushinga wa Leta wari ushyigikiwe na guverineri Schnee (wari warasuye u Rwanda n’u Burundi ari kumwe n’umuhanga wagombaga kwiga uwo mushinga) wari waremewe i Berlin, wari ugizwe n’ishami rya Km 450 ryafatiraga kuri gari ya moshi i Tabora rikagera aho imigezi ya Ruvubu n’Akagera bihurira. Uwo murongo wagomba gukomerezaho inzira y’amato ku migezi ya Nyabarongo n’Akagera. Ubutegetsu bw’Abadage bwari bushishikajwe no kumenya niba iyo migezi yombi yagendwaho n’amato. Nyuma yo kuzenguruka muri iyo migezi, Riyetona Gudovius, mu wa 1908, atanga umwanzuro ko bishoboka. Iyo nzira yambukiranyaga uturere tw’impinga yari nziza kuko itasabaga ko hubakwa ibikorwa by’akarenga byo gushyigikira uwo murongo wa gari ya moshi.

Padiri Van der Burgt, wari umumisiyoneri i Burundi, yari yaratanze indi nzira yakurikizwa: iyo nzira yari kwambukiranyaga u Burundi n’u Rwanda yerekeza ku Kiyaga cya Kivu, yarenzagaho km 200 ku nzira Tabora-Akagera. Uwo mupadiri yabonaga ku bwe ko iyo migezi ya Kanyaru na Ruvubu itagendwaho n’amato kandi ko umurongo wa gari ya moshi Tabora-Akagera nta cyo waba umaze kuko wambukiranyaga ahantu h’ubutayu cyangwa hatuwe buke cyane. Yavugaga ko umutwe wa gari ya moshi wagera ku kiyaga cya Kivu watuma u Rwanda n’u Burundi bishobora kujya byohereza mu burasirazuba igice kimwe k’ibintu bya Kongo mbirigi. Abayobozi ntibemeye icyo gitekerezo kuko batinyaga ko byahenda cyane kubera ko hari hateye nabi. Kubaka umurongo wa gari ya moshi mu misozi ku birometero 200 byambukiranyaga agasongero ka Kongo-Nil.

Hari ikindi gitekerezo cyari kigamije kubangamira gari ya moshi y’Abongereza cyashakaga guhuza umurongo wa gari ya moshi Tanga-Moshi kugeza Arusha, ugafatira aho ukagera ku nkombe z’uburasirazuba bw’ikiyaga cya Victoria. Ubwato bwari guhuza uwo murongo n’uwari gufatirwaho kuva Bukoba kugera i Kigali, unyuze muri Karagwe. Icyo gitekerezo na cyo cyaranzwe kubera guhenda n’imirimo ya tekini iruhije, uwo murongo wagongaga impinga zihanamye, imigezi myinshi n’ikibaya kinini cy’Akagera kirimo amazi. Ku bw’abayobozi, guhangana n’Abongereza

byagombaga gukorwa hubatswe umurongo wa gari ya moshi uteganye n'uwa Uganda Railway.

Uwo mushinga wa Leta wageze igihe cyo gushyirwa mu bikorwa intambara ya mbere y'isi yose iraye iri bube, byageze mu wa 1915, igihe ingabo z'Abadage zariho zirwana ku mipaka y'Afurika Ndage y'uburasirazuba, hari injeniyeri woherejwe na Leta wari mu Gisaka n'ikipe ye imufasha, yahamaze amezi ane yiga aho inzira ya gari ya moshi yari kunyura⁶⁵. Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'Abadage (Reichstag) y'i Berlin itora mu ngengo y'imari y'u Budage y'umwaka wa 1914 ama D.M miriyoni 50 y'inguzanyo yo kubaka gari ya moshi Tabora-Rusumo. Uwo mushinga waje kuburizwamo n'intambara ya mbere y'isi yose (1914-1918).

d) Iterambere ry'ubucuruzi

U Rwanda ntirwinjijwe mu nzira z'ubucuruzi bw'abazengurukaga ku maguru Afurika y'Abadage. Ni uguhera mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19 rwinjijemo. Hari inyandiko nyinshi zigamije guhamya ko u Rwanda rwa mbere w'umwaduko w'abazungu rwari rufungiranye, ko nta bucuruzi rwakoranaga n'amahanga. Uburyo bwonyine bwo guhahirana kw'imirimo n'ibintu bwari ubwanyuzwaga mu buryo bwa "gihake" bwo gukora imirimo, guhana ibintu n'ibindi byasabwaga⁶⁶. Agace gato kari mu buyobozi, mu kwiharira no kwikubira ibyasagukaga ku musaruro w'abaturage, kabujije ko havuka umuco wo gucuruza⁶⁷. Ingorane ziturutse ku nzego zariho zikaba zitaratumye ubucuruzi butera imbere. Umuhinzi yiberaga iruhande rw'isambu ye uretse mu gihe k'inzara. Imirimo yose y'ubuhinzi yakorwaga ishingiyeye ku nzego nto z'imiryango ntiyarengaga ingo⁶⁸.

Nyamara hari ubuhamya bwemeza ko ubuhahirane bw'imyaka bwakorwaga nubwo hari imirimo yasabwaga n'ubuhake⁶⁹. Ibyatangwaga mu rwego rw'ubuhake ntibyari byinshi nk'uko bamwe babikeka. Amahooro y'imyaka yatangwaga rimwe mu mwaka, ku mwero kandi imyaka yose ntiyatangirwaga

⁶⁵ Diaire de Zaza, 13 décembre 1915

⁶⁶ Leurquin P.H. *Le Niveau de vie des populations rurales du Ruanda-Urundi*, Louvain, Institut de recherche économique, 1960, p.30-36

⁶⁷ Vidal C., «Economie de la société féodale rwandaise », in *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, XIV, 53, 1973, p.53

⁶⁸ Ruzindana E., *L'évolution du commerce au Rwanda (du dernier quart du XIXe siècle à 1950)*, Université catholique de Louvain, 1974

⁶⁹ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.*, p.103

amahooro. Amahooro yatangwaga ku bishyimbo n'amasaka gusa. Ibyatangwaga ibutware ntibyigeze na rimwe bibuza ko buri rugo rushobora kugira ibyo rwisagurira bigenewe kuguranwa ibyo rukeneye, n'imihahiranire y'imyaka ntiyigeze ibuzwa n'uburemere bw'amahoro⁷⁰.

U Rwanda rwa mbere w'umwaduko w'abazungu rwari rufite amoko abiri y'ubucuruzi: ubucuruzi bw'imihahiranire imbere mu gihugu n'ubucuruzi bw'imihahiranire n'ibihugu birukikije. Amarembo y'u Rwanda yari akinguye ku bintu byavaga i burasirazuba, n'ibicuruzwa byavaga mu burengerazuba. Ubushakashatsi mu bivakuzimu bwa Van Noten⁷¹ bwerekana ko mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 18, u Rwanda rwabonaga ibintu bivuye ku Nyanja y'u Buhinde. Amasaro akoze mu birahure yavaga i Burayi, amasaro akoze mu mabuye yavaga mu Buhinde. Ngo ibintu bya mbere byavaga i Burayi no muri Aziya byaba byarageze bwa mbere mu Rwanda ku ngoma ya Yuhi Mazimpaka⁷². Imikenyerero y'imyenda yasakaye hose ku ngoma ya Rwogera.

Ibicuruzwa byavaga mu burasirazuba byarushijeho kuba byinshi ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri. Ndetse yashyizeho umubitsi ibwami witwaga "umunyabyuma" ushinzwe guhunka ibyo mu Rwanda n'undi wari ushinzwe ibiva hanze byitwaga "urwunguko". Abacururiza Abarabu ntibambukaga Akagera ariko bakomezaga kohereza amaturo ibwami. Ubucuruzi bw'ibyo bintu biva mu burasirazuba byari umwihariko w'ibwami, byanyuzwaga ku mutware w'intara yo ku mupaka ya Gihunya mu Gisaka.

U Rwanda rwanakoraga ubuhahirane n'ibihugu birukikije byo mu burengerazuba bwa Kivu: Intara ya Kinyaga ni yo byanyuzwagamo biva i Bunyabungo⁷³. Impugu zo mu magepfo y'ikiyaga cya Rwicanzige zoherezaga ibwami buri mwaka umunyu mwinshi n'ibirezi byavaga ku nkengero z'icyo kiyaga byatakaga ingoro nyinshi z'ibwami. U Rwanda rero rwari rufite uruhare mu mirimo y'ubucuruzi yo muri aka karere k'ibiyaga bigari, ntabwo Abanyarwanda babagaho ku buryo bwihagije kandi bufungiranye.

⁷⁰ Lugan B., *L'économie d'échange au Rwanda de 1850 à 1914*, Thèse, Université de Provence, 1976, p.106

⁷¹ *Les Tombes du Roi Cyirima Rujugira et de la Reine Mère Nyirayuhi*, INRS, Butare, 1972, pp.34; 55-56

⁷² Kagame A., "Premiers contacts du Rwanda et de l'Occident" in *Grands Lacs*, 35, 1950, p.7

⁷³ Czekanowski J., 1917, *op.cit.*, pp.162-169

Imihahiranire y'imbere mu gihugu yabaga buri gihe mu turere tunyuranye tw'igihugu bikurikije uko imyaka yeraga. Ubwo bucuruzi bw'imbere mu gihugu bwari bushingiye ku mihahiranire y'ibintu biboneka imbere mu gihugu (ibiva mu bukorikori, ibiva mu bworozi n'ibihingwa) hagati y'ababifite n'ababyifuza. Imiterere y'igihugu yafashaga abaturage gakondo bava ahantu bajya ahandi mu masoko yabaga ku mipaka y'uturere dufite imyaka inyuranye biturutse ku miterere yatwo. Hari n'uturere twezaga ibintu bimwe ariko mu bihe by'ubuhinzi binyuranye. Iyo mitandukanire yatumaga uturere twuzuzanya ku buryo bunyuranye⁷⁴. Guhahirana ku birebana n'imyaka ihingwa byashingiraga ku ihame ry'ubwuzuzanye hagati y'intara, hakurikijwe ibyera mu bihe binyuranye. Ntabwo bwari ubucuruzi bw'ababigize umwuga, bushingiye ku guharanira inyungu.

U Rwanda rwa kera rwari rufite amasoko menshi cyangwa aho baguraniraga ibintu henshi, ibyo byemezwa n'imvugo za kera no mu nyandiko z'abazungu ba mbere⁷⁵. Habaruwe amaguriro 40 ahoraho n'ahantu baguraniraga ibintu mu wa 1916, kandi 38 muri ho hariho mbere y'umwaduko w'Abadage⁷⁶. Ayo maguriro yabaga akenshi mu masangano y'imbibi z'uturere duteye ku buryo bunyuranye. Amaguriro menshi yabaga cyanecyane hagati mu gihugu (Kibari, Kingogo, Buriza, Nduga habaruwe amasoko ikenda), andi yabaga mu nkengeri z'isunzu rya Kongo-Nil ryari umupaka ku miterere y'uturere n'ibihahingwa, mu majyaruguru (u Murera, u Bushiru, u Buberuka n'u Bugoyi : habaruwe amahahiro cumi na rimwe) no mu gice cy'amagepfo y'ikiyaga cya Kivu, mu Kinyaga⁷⁷. I Burasirazuba nta soko na

⁷⁴ Lugan b.,1976,*op.cit.*, p.99

⁷⁵ Kandt R., Caput Nil, pp.294-307 aravuga isoko ryari risanzwe rirema mu Murera (mu kibaya cya Mukungwa) n'akamaro kanini akarere ka Kivu kari gafite n'ubucuruzi byakorerwaga mu Bugoyi. Czekanowski J., *op.cit.* pp.159-169 agaruka kuri ayo magambo ya Kandt akayuzuzanya; yabaye uwa mbere wavuze ko habaga isoko mu Nduga. Ibitabo bya Diaires bya misiyoni bivugaga rimwe na rimwe ayo masoko bikanayatangaho amakuru yemeza ibyavugwaga n'abaturage; Diaire y'i Rwaza (1903-1906, 26 Kanama 1903) ivugaga isoko riri hafi ya misiyoni; Diaire y'i Mibirizi ivugaga kenshi ko isoko iri n'iri ryaremye (urugero ni Diaire y'i Mibirizi, 1903-1912) 13 Nyakanga 1907: Diaire y'i Save (25 Kanama 1912) yemeza isoko ryariho mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu ryitwaga Rwanda, ayo mu Kinyaga n'amajyaruguru y'igihugu.

⁷⁶ Lugan B., *op.cit.* , p19

⁷⁷ Amasoko yo mu majyaruguru (11 yabaruwe) ni aya : mu Bugoyi yari Mushwiza, Ryabizige (Rwerere), Kibari, yari amasoko yo ku nkengeri agizwe cyanecyane n'imyaka n'ibiribwa. Mu Murera hari: Teru, Mahenge, Kiryi, Rwankeri, Agasakuza; Mu Buberuka hari: Base (Mugobore), Miyove: hari hafite umwihariko w'amasuka meza kurusha amashikazi; mu Bushiru hari : Vunga (hahahirwaga na Kingogo na Nduga ibintu byo kuribwa bisanzwe). Amasoko yo mu Rwanda rwo hagati (9 yabaruwe mu Nduga) yari aya: mu Kingogo:

rimwe hagiraga: abaturage baho mu gihe cy'amapfa, kugira ngo babone ibibatunga cyangwa bagire amasuka, bagombaga guhaha mu zindi ntara. Hari amasoko yaremaga buri muni n'ayaremaga mu bihe binyuranye cyangwa ahantu hazwi bahuriraga igihe k'inzara n'amapfa. Nubwo amahahiro ya Kivu yateye imbere kubera kuba hafi y'u Bushi, u Buhunde na Bukavu, kuba haboneka amahahiro mu Rwanda rwo hagati byerekana ko afite inkomoko mu gihugu ubwacyo.

Hari abagerageje gusobanura impamvu amasoko aboneka cyangwa akibanda mu ntara zimwe na zimwe, bavuga ko hari isano hagati yo kubaho kw'amahahiro n'inzego za poritiki: bakavuga ko inzego z'ubutegetsi zashyizweho n'agaco k'Abatutsi kayoboraga ari zo zabujije cyangwa zikabangamira kujyaho kwa bene ayo mahahiro⁷⁸. Biragaragara ko nta mahahiro yari mu turere twari twarayobotse ingoma nyiginya kuva kera. Ahubwo aboneka ari menshi mu turere twayobotse iyo ngoma dutinze cyangwa utwigengaga. I Burasirazuba n'igice kinini cyo hagati n'icy'amagepfo nta masoko bagiraga.

Mu bisobanura byerekana aho amahahiro yari ari, impamvu zitangwa ku nzego z'ubuyobozi zigomba kuvanwamo: byose ntibigomba kwitirirwa Abatutsi. Uturere twari twarayobotse nka Nduga n'u Buriza twari dufite amahahiro. Abatutsi bakomeye na bo bajyaga mu mahahiro gushakayo ibyo babaga bakeneye (amasuka, imiringa n'ibindi) ndetse umuntu yavugaga ko ingoma nyiginya imaze kwigarurira uduhugu duto, yahashyize umutekano wafashaga mu mihahiranire. Impamvu yaho ayo masoko yari yibanze igomba gushakirwa mu miterere y'ibyo uturere twezaga cyangwa twakuraga ibihahwa by'ubukorikori cyangwa by'inyaka (Kinyaga-Bugoyi), mu ntara zihana imbibi ariko zivamo ibintu bitari bimwe ahubwo bwuzuzanya (amasoko yo mu misozi y'imirambi yo hagati), mu turere twambukiranywa (nk'ikibaya cya Mukungwa) cyangwa mu turere twavagamo ibintu byuzuzanya ariko tutegeranye (amasoko yahuzaga u Murera n'i Nduga).

Inzara zatumye abantu n'ibintu birushaho gukwira hirya no hino ariko imihahiranire y'inyaka hagati y'uturere yanabaga hatari

Mirinzi, Kizirabageni (Mugorogonza); mu Kibari: Mubuga; mu Buriza: Mburamazi; mu Nduga: Nyabitare (hafi ya Mushishiro), Bitare (Mashyiga), Migeri (Ntendezi), Itegero (Mforera, hacuruzwaga intwari). Amasoko y'amagepfo ni aya: mu Kinyaga: Iyinga, Mururu, Nyagahinga, Bitare; mu Bwanamukari hari: Rwanza (hafi ya Save).

⁷⁸ Czekanowski J, 1917, *op.cit.*, p.164

mu mapfa⁷⁹. Hari ibintu byikoraga ubwabyo yenda bidakomeye ariko byatumaga haba imihahirane yuzuzanya hagati y'intara ziganje mu kwera imyaka n'iziganje mu bworozi n'izabikoraga byombi. U Buganza, i Gisaka, u Bwanacyambwe n'i Nduga zoherezaga amatungo mu majyaruguru nk'u Rukiga, u Bubereka, u Murera n'u Bugoyi zikahagura na zo ibikorano nk'amasuka cyangwa ubutega. Mu ntara z'ubworozi, inka zaguranwaga imyaka. I Nduga n'u Rwanda rwo hagati byahahaga buri mwaka mu Bugoyi, u Bushiru n'u Murera mu gihe k'itumba imyaka itarera.

Ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwakuyeho menshi mu masoko ya kera, bugamije kugenzura ibikorwa by'ubucuruzi, burema andi masoko mashya, hafi y'amazu y'ubutegetsu, bunashyiraho za santere z'ubucuruzi. Mu wa 1921 ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi⁸⁰ bwanditse buvuga ko amasoko bwashyizeho mu migi no ku byicaro by'ubuyobozi akura neza ariko bunavuga ko amaguriro ya gakondo na yo agifite akamaro kanini kandi ko akigibwamo n'abantu cyane⁸¹.

➤ **Guhindura inzira karande z'ubucuruzi**

Mu myaka cumi ya nyuma y'ikinyejana cya 19, nyuma gato yaho abazungu bagereye mu Rwanda ni ho u Rwanda rwavuye mu bwigunge, maze rwagura amarembo y'uburasirazuba. Rwabugiri yemereye abacuruzi bake baturuka mu magepfo y'ikiyaga cya Victoria gucuruza imyenda mu Rwanda. Abanyamahanga bamwe bajya mu bucuruzi bw'abacakara, babikorana n'Abarabu. Ahagana mu wa 1895, umubano hagati y'impande zombi za Kagera wari umaze gufata. Ariko ni ku ngoma y'Abadage u Rwanda rwaguye ubuhahirane bwarwo bugana mu burasirazuba. Impamvu zo kugana mu burasirazuba ni izi: Abazungu ba mbere baje ari ho baturuka, ubutegetsu bw'Abadage bwigaruriye u Rwanda bwari bwashingiye ibirindiro by'ubukoroni bwose mu

⁷⁹ Amapfa n'inzara byabaye mu Rwanda kuva mu wa 1897 kugeza intambara ya mbere y'isi iraye iri butere ni izi : mu wa 1897, hateye inzige mu Kinyaga zonona imyaka, hapfa abantu benshi; mu wa 1900 hateye izuba ridasanze rimara imyaka mu Bugoyi, mu Mutara, mu Gisaka n'i Nduga ; hagati ya Kamena 1902 na Gashyantare 1903 mu Bwanamukari (cyane i Save) habaye inzara ikomeye itewe n'izuba ; mu wa 1905 intara z'majyaruguru (uretse u Bugoyi) zagize inzara itewe n'imvura nyinshi; mu wa 1906 izuba ryateje inzara mu magepfo (hagati y'ishyamba n'Akanyaru)

⁸⁰ Rapport annuel sur l'Administration belge, 1921, p.83

⁸¹ Mu Kinyarwanda gisanze isoko ryitwaga «iguriro/amaguriro», Ababirigi ni bo bashyirishijeho ijamba ry'igiswahiri «soko/masoko»

cyo bitaga “Deutsche Ostafrika” ngo babone aho bahera bagura ingoma y’ubukoroni bagana mu burengerazuba, banashyigikiye abacuruzi b’Abayisiramu bakoranaga hafi na Tabora na Bukoba, ndetse n’abamisiyoneri bagize uruhare rukomeye muri ubwo buryo bwo kwagura amarembo areba i Burasirazuba. Misiyoni zabo zari zubatse zikurikiranye kandi zireba i Burasirazuba, ndetse na Vikariyati zarimo u Rwanda zari ziri mu Burasirazuba.

Kuva ubwo uruhare rw’abacuruzi rwaje gukomera: bahuje inzira z’ubucuruzi ebyiri, ubundi zitakoranaga, inzira yibanda ku kiyaga cya Kivu n’inzira y’ibiyaga bigari. U Rwanda ruhuza igice cy’uburazirazuba cya Kongo n’inzira z’ubucuruzi za Bukoba. Abarabu bagakura muri Kongo y’u Burasirazuba ipamba n’amahembe y’inzovu, bakahagurisha imyenda n’amasaro.

Guhindukira burundu by’u Rwanda byabaye guhera mu wa 1905 ubwo u Rwanda rwatangiraga kugira umwihariko mu gucuruza impu z’inka n’ihene zikoherezwa ku Nyanja y’Abahinde, zinyuze muri Bukoba no mu kiyaga cya Victoria.

Mu ntangiriro z’ikinyejana cya XX kwiyongera cyane kw’indwara ya *tsetse* mu matungo mu nkengero z’ikiyaga cya Victoria byahagabanyije ubucuruzi bw’impu z’inka. Abacuruzi bazo batangira kuzishakira mu Rwanda, kuko cyari igihugu cy’ubworozi, abacuruzi b’Abayisiramu bakaba barakekaga ko hashobora gukorerwa ubucuruzi bukomeye bw’impu. Mu wa 1902-1903 igiciro k’impu cyarazamutse, abacuruzi bazo batangira kuzishakira hose muri Afurika y’uburasizuba. Bukoba yari ikiri intebe y’ubutegetsi n’igisirikare itangira gutera imbere mu bucuruzi bitewe n’uko abacuruzi b’Abarabu, b’abanyaziya n’abanyaburayi batangiye kuhatura guhera mu wa 1902-1903. Kubera aho u Rwanda ruherereye, na rwo rwatangiye kunyuzwamo ibicuruzwa bivuye muri Kongo (amahembe y’inzovu n’ipamba) nk’uko byavuzwe.

Amazu ya mbere y’abacuruzi b’Abahinde yubatswe i Nyanza mu wa 1901, hanyuma yubakwa i Shangi n’i Gisenyi. Abacuruzi b’abanyamahanga batinyaga gusa ibice by’amajyaruguru y’u Rwanda kuko ubutegetsi bw’umwami butari buhafite ingufu. Kubaka Kigali byahaye ingufu ku buryo budasubirwaho ubwo bucuruzi. Kubera ko Kigali yari hagati mu gihugu kandi ikaba isangano ry’amayira gakondo, ni yo yahindutse iguriri ry’impu, zahahurizwaga, zikajonjorwa, zikoherezwa muri

Bukoba. Abacuruzi b'Abahinde n'Abarabu bubaka amaduka muri izo santere zikomeye zose⁸². Akenshi ubucuruzi bw'impu bwakorwaga n'Abayisiramu, abazungu bo bakagura amahembe y'inzovu n'inka. Abacuruzi b'Abayisiramu batangiye gutura, abazungu bakomeza kubunga mu gihugu, bagasubira aho bafite ibyicarwo by'ubucuruzi bwabo muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba.

Mu wa 1916, amazu y'ubucuruzi y'abazungu yari ageze kuri 5 : inzu y'ubucuruzi ya Max Klein w'i Marseille, inzu yitwa "Internationale Handelsgesellschaft" y'i Hamburg, East Africa Trading Co, Societa Italiana Coloniale n'inzu y'Abagereki Papazaglakis na Angelopoulos. Ikomeye yari Internationale Handelsgesellschaft. Ayo mazu yatumizaga hanze imyenda n'ibindi bicuruzwa by'ibinyaburayi, yo akohereza hanze cyanecyane impu.

Mu wa 1910, mu Rwanda hari abantu bacuruzaga bageze kuri 63 harimo Abahinde, Ababerushisitani n'Abarabu. Bose babaga bahagarariye amazu y'ubucuruzi y'Abarabu cyangwa abanyaziya yo muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba. Inzu ya mbere y'ubucuruzi yari ikomeye yitwaga Abdalla Kimji yo muri Bukoba, iya kabiri yari Juma Osman na yo yo muri Bukoba. Zacuruzaga imyenda n'impu. Ntizatinyaga gukorana ubucuruzi n'abaturage ku misozi, ibi bikaba bitakorwaga n'inzu z'ubucuruzi z'abazungu. Ubwo bucuruzi bwombi bw'abanyaziya n'abazungu bwari butandukanije imikorere n'imiterere. Amazu y'ubucuruzi y'abanyaburayi yakeneraga ko habanza kubaho ay'Abahinde baguraga impu kuko bo batacuruzanyaga n'abaturage imbonankubone, ahubwo baguraga ibyakusanyijwe n'Abahinde⁸³. Abacuruzi bato bigenga bari bagizwe cyanecyane n'abacuruzi babungaga, abagenda bashakisha cyangwa bagurisha ibicuruzwa bahawe n'amazu y'ubucuruzi avana cyangwa yohereza ibintu hanze yari afite ikicaro i Kigali. Babungaga ku misozi, babunza imyenda, amasaro, imiringa bakabigurana impu. Hari ikindi gice cy'abacuruzi bigenga cyari kigizwe n'abaswahiri ni ukuvuga Abanyarwanda bari bamaze kujya mu idini ya kiyisiramu.

Hari Abanyarwanda bacururizaga ayo mazu y'ubucuruzi bagakora rimwe na rimwe ingendo ndende bashakira igicuruzwa runaka gishakwa by'umwihariko bakagurana ikintu n'ikindi (amasaka akaguranwa ibishyimbo, imyaka ikaguranwa amatungo). Hari n'igice cy'ababaga batumwe n'abandi bantu

⁸² Myr Hirth avugaga "igitero nyagitero cy'abacuruzi cyateye u Rwanda" (Ibaruwa ya Myr Hirth ku muvandimwe we, Werurwe 1905.

⁸³ A.K.R. Jahresbericht, 1911/1912

b'abakungu cyangwa n'abayobozi. Abacuruzi b'umwuga bari bafite ibyicarwo ku nkengerwo z'u Rwanda cyangwa bari mu gihugu hagati mu ntara. Hari n'abatunzi cyangwa abacuruzi babungu mu mirenge bakagurisha ahantu kure ibicuruzwa by'abo bahagarariye, bakabazanira amatungo bakuyeyo.

Mu masoko y'ingenzi mu gihugu, amasuka, ubutega n'ihene ni byo byafatwagaho ingero zo guhahirana, kandi bigafatwaho ingero zemewe na bose nubwo buri karere kagiraga iz'ako. Ntawavuga ko hari ingeri zimwe hose mu Rwanda mbere y'umwaduko w'Abadage n'Abayisiramu. Amasaro yaje vuba kandi yafatwaga nk'umurimbo. Urugero: inka mu Kinyaga yaguranwaga ubutega 4000 mu Nduga. Mu Buganza, ikimasa cyagurwaga ubutega buri hagati ya 1500 na 2000. Ababicuruzaga b'umwuga bashoboraga kubyungukaho inshuro ebyeri.

Ubucuruzi bw'amahembe y'inzovu bwagiye bugabanuka buhorobuhoro (hoherejwe hanze ibiro biri hagati ya 4 na 500 mu 1909) ahubwo ibicuruzwa by'ipamba bigenda byiyongera mbere gato y'intambara ya mbere y'isi yose (ibicuruzwa byavaga i Kongo binyuze i Shangi, Bugarama na Gisenyi bizanywe n'abacuruzi b'abazungu, Abahinde n'abaswahili) byo n'impu ni byo cyanecyane byari bisigaye byoherezwa mu mahanga. Mu 1908, ibyoherezwaga hanze bivuye mu Rwanda byanganaga n'amarupiya 235.917: u Rwanda rwari rufitemo 0,78%, ariko urwo ruhare rwakomeje kwiyongera. Mu wa 1911, 75% y'impu z'inka zapakiriwe i Bukoba zavaga mu Rwanda honyine (ariko u Rwanda rwoherezaga impu nke z'ihene).

Imyenda yaguranwaga impu. Ubwo bucuruzi bw'impu bwatumye haduka igipimo gishya mu gihugu. Irupiya, cyashingiraga ku myenda yera bitaga "Amerikani" cyareshyaga inshuro ebyeri n'uburebure bw'ukuboko. Amasaro 1000 kugeza ku 1200 yaguraga "idoti" imwe. Ariko ibiciro byarahindukaga cyane mu gihugu kandi Abanyarwanda ntibakundaga imyenda y'amabara menshi cyangwa avuna amaso, bikundiraga "akaniga" kari kagizwe n'umweru n'umukara. Amasaro y'ibara ry'ijuru, yera cyangwa ya roza angana n'ishaza ni yo bakundaga kwambara. Amasaro yakoreshwaga mu mitako, ntabwo yakoreshwaga nk'igipimo cyo guhahirana nk'uko byari bimeze mu Burundi no muri Kongo, ariko misiyoni gatorika zarayakoreshaga mu kwishyura abakozi. Ubutega n'imiringa byazanwaga mu Rwanda ari na byo byakoreshwaga nk'umutako.

Ubucuruzi bw'abacakara bwagenze buhoro hanyuma buza gushira rwose, Abarabu babukoraga n'ababacuruzaga b'Abajinja bagenzurwaga n'abamisiyoneri, bakabarega ku Badage. N'abo bacuruzi ubwabo ntibifuzaga kugira icyabangamira ubucuruzi bwabo busanzwe mu Rwanda. Bayobotse ubucuruzi bwemewe bw'amahembe y'inzovu n'ipamba byavaga i Kongo n'ubw'impu z'inka n'ihene. Mu wa 1903, Von Beringe yabwiraga abacuruzi yahuraga na bo mu ngendo yakoraga mu majyaruguru y'igihugu ko "ubucuruzi bw'abacakara bubujijwe kandi ko buhanwa bikomeye"⁸⁴.

➤ **Ibyakurikiye kwaguka kw'amayira y'ubucuruzi.**

Impinduka zakurikiye gufungura amarembo y'ubucuruzi zabaye nini cyane. Inzira nshya z'ubucuruzi zari zifunguwe hagati ya Kigali na Bukoba zavanye u Rwanda mu bwigunge. Kigali isigara ari yo ihurizwamo ibicuruzwa byo mu Rwanda, ikanaba ari yo itangirwamo ibicuruzwa byavaga mu burasirazuba. Ni ho kandi hanyuzwaga ibivuye muri Kongo, bigitegereje koherezwa i Mombasa, binyujijwe i Bukoba n'impu zavaga i Burundi na Bukoba.

Haje kwaduka imitekerereze mishya n'ibikenerwa bishya. Ibicuruzwa ubundi byari bisanzwe ari iby'abakire gusa, biba ibya rubanda rukora uko rushoboye ngo babibone ; ni byo Padiri Classe yise "ikibatsi k'inyungu"⁸⁵. Abantu benshi bajya mu bucuruzi. Abacuruzi bafite ubukungu batangira gushyiraho ababahagarariye n'abikorezi batoranywaga cyanecyane mu bakirisitu bari bafite umubano woroshye n'abanyamahanga. Havuka imyuga mishya, ihinduka uburyo bwo gukira vuba birenze uburyo bwari busanzwe (ugereranije n'igihe cyari icyo guhakirwa inka mu rwego rw'ubuhake). Mu wa 1913, abikorezi 20.000 bahoraga Bukoba-Kigali, 25.241 bahoraga Kigali-Bukoba. Abageze ku 25.521 bakuraga ibicuruzwa muri Kongo n'u Burundi bakabizana i Kigali. Hari n'ubucuruzi bwa rwihishwa bwakorerwaga mu Rukiga butagombye kunyura i Kigali.

Indi ngaruka nuko uguhinduka kw'inzira kwatewe n'uko u Rwanda ruganyye mu burasirazuba, iryo funguka ry'amayira ryahuje inzira z'ubuhahirane zahozeho mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu ariko zitakoranaga ; inzira y'i Kivu mu Burengerazuba n'inzira y'i Karagwe mu Burasirazuba. Kuva ubwo u Rwanda rwagize inshingano ebyiri; u Rwanda rwahindutse santere mu birebana no gukora no gucuruza impu, ruba kandi n'akarere gahuza Kongo yavagamo amahembe y'inzovu n'ipamba na Bukoba, yari icyambu gipakirirwamo ibyo bicuruzwa.

⁸⁴ A.K.R.Jahresbericht, 1911/1912, p123

⁸⁵ Classe P., *Lettre au supérieur général*, 30 janvier 1910

Byatumye ruzamo indwara nshya, nka marariya yari isanzwe ibaho ariko itamara abantu kubera ko Abanyarwanda basaga n'abakingiwe iyo ndwara kubera kuyimenyera kandi hatari ubundi bwoko butamenyerewe. Ubucuruzi butangiye gufata indi ntera, abategetsi gakondo babanje mbere na mbere gushaka imyenda, bihanganiye abacuruzi b'Abayisiramu, babahaga amaturo. Ndetse abo bacuruzi baza no gushyira ikicarwo cyabo ibwami. Nyuma ariko ibwami baje kwinubira gushimutwa kw'inka byakorwaga n'abanyamahanga, ariko ntibababuze gukomeza imirimo yabo. Byaje gukorwa n'Abadage n'abamisiyoneri mu kigwi k'ibwami.

Mu kurwanya akarengane kenshi kabonekaga no gushaka gukora ibyasabwaga n'ibwami n'abamisiyoneri, hasohotse itegeko ryo ku wa 10 Werurwe 1905 ryabuzaga abacuruzi kwinjira mu Rwanda uretse ababifitiye uruhushya bahawe n'ubuyobozi bukuru bw'i Bujumbura. Iryo tegeko teka ryasaga n'irigiye kubangamira umuvuduko w'ubucuruzi. Tariki ya 7 Werurwe 1906, hasohotse irindi Tegeko teka ryemereraga Abarabu n'Abahinde kwinjira mu Rwanda babifitiye uruhushya rwanditse ariko batagombye kujya i Bujumbura. Cyari ikemezo kiruhije gushyira mu bikorwa. Kandt yagiciyeho atumiza abacuruzi b'Abanyaziya. Muri Kanama 1913, Leta itangaza ko ubucuruzi bufunguwe mu Rwanda n'u Burundi. Nubwo Abadage bumvaga akamaro ko kureka ubucuzi bugakura mu Rwanda, bitewe no kwemera bene bwo bakagira ibyicaro mu Rwanda, ubuyobozi bw'Abadage bwashakaga kugira uko bugenzura abo banyamahanga n'iby'o bakora.

Abamisiyoneri gatorika n'Abaporoso babonaga ubwo bucuruzi atari bwiza ahubwo butera ibibazo kuko bwari mu maboko y'Abayisiramu; ku bwabo hari ikibazo cy'uko ubwo bucuruzi bushobora gutuma u Rwanda ruzitabira idini y'Abayisiramu⁸⁶. Abapadiri bera bafataga u Rwanda "nk'akarima kabo". Ahantu bibera batekereza kuzakorera igeragezwa ry'ibijyanye n'iyobokamana n'imyitwarire myiza. Abanyamahanga bashoboraga kuhazana ingeso mbi: byari ngombwa kwirukanisha idini ryose rihanganye n'iryabo. Abapadiri bera bagerageje kurwanya "ingeso yo gushaka amafaranga" no kwinjira kwa isiramu babigirira gushaka kutagira icyabavangira⁸⁷.

⁸⁶ Rutayisire P., *La Christianisation du Rwanda (1900-1945). Méthode missionnaire et politique selon Mgr Léon Classe*, Fribourg, 1987

⁸⁷ Kureba amagambo yakabyaga y'abapadiri bera ajyanye n'ukuntu amadini yari ahanganye kandi mu by'ukuri bitari byo, n'ibirego barega abacuruzi bagirira nabi abaturage ariko ntibavuge bo ubwabo amakosa bakorerera abaturage.

Abamisiyoneri b'Abaporoso bagerageje kurwanya Abayisiramu mu murimo wabo w'ubucuruzi. Bashinze na bo ubwabo amaduka y'ubucuruzi i Nyanza, Kigali na Cyangugu: ayo maduka yagombaga kugura akanacuruza ibintu by'abakirisito⁸⁸. Aho hantu haguranirwaga imyaka hayoborwaga n'abakirisito. Abakirisito bagombaga kuhaguranira impu n'imyenda, amasaro n'ibindi; hagomba kuba intango z'inganda z'abakirisito zagombaga kuzajyaho. Uwo mushinga w'ubucuruzi bwa za misiyoni waje gupfuba. Abanyarwanda bahitagamo ibicuruzwa n'ubwoko bunyuranye byatangwaga n'abacuruzi b'Abayisiramu; ikindi nuko abakuru b'imiryango bari bakeneye kugira impiya ngo babone uko batanga imisoro yatangiye kwakwa intambara ya mbere y'isi yose iraye iri bube.

Bitewe n'ibyo bintu byose byahindutse, ntibikwiye kugabanya uruhare Abadage bagize hitwajwe umubare wabo muke n'igihe gito bamaze. Inshingano ya rezidansi yari iyo kubyaza umusaruro imisozi y'u Rwanda no kubihuza n'ubukungu n'ubutegetsu byari muri Afurika y'Abadage y'u Burasirazuba. Iyo nshingano yagezweho ku gice kimwe.

4.1.4. Abamisiyoneri mu Rwanda

Abamisiyoneri ba mbere Gatorika n'Abaporotesitanti, bageze muri Afurika no mu Rwanda bafite mu mutwe wabo gushaka kwigarurira no gutegeka ibyo bihugu. Ibyo bigaragarira mu buryo bafashe aho bashakaga gutura n'agasuzuguro beretse abo bategekaga, mu gukoresha ingufu n'agahato no kurengera mbere na mbere inyungu z'abakoronu bari bigaruriye ibyo bihugu.

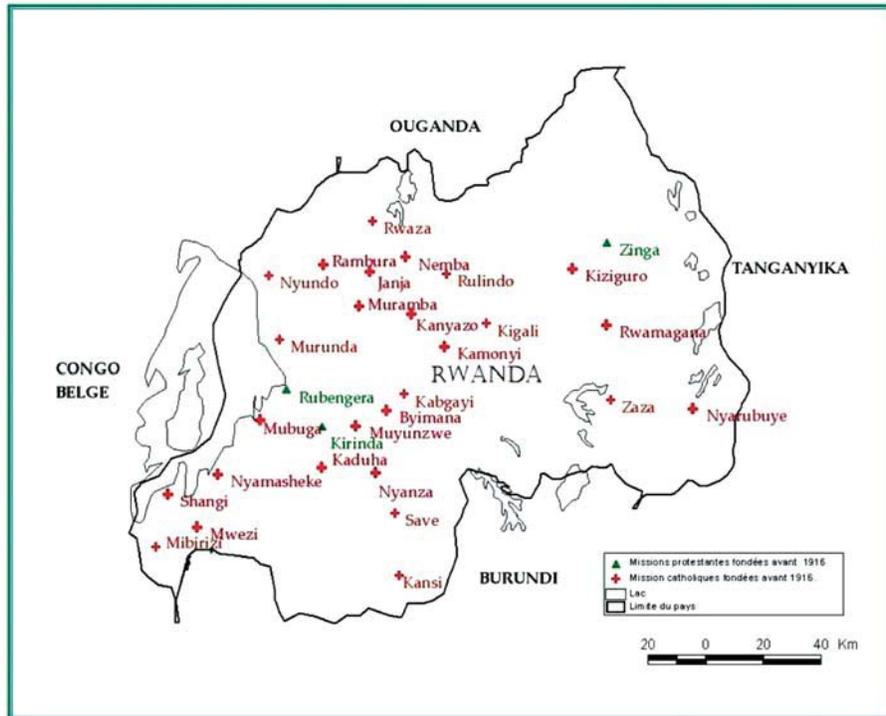
Abapadiri bera ba Karidinari Lavigerie, umuryango w'Abamisiyoneri wavutse mu wa 1868, bageze mu Rwanda muri Gashyantare 1900. Myr J.Hirth, washinze misiyoni ya mbere gatorika mu Rwanda, i Save mu Bwanamukari, yatangiye icyo gikorwa kuko inkubiri yo kwigisha Ivanjiri, ijyana n'iyu gukoroniza, yari ikomeye cyane kandi akaba yarashakaga kuhatanga Abaporoso n'Abayisiramu⁸⁹. Musenyeri yari azi

⁸⁸ Lager L (de), *Ruanda*, Kabgayi, 1961, p.382

⁸⁹ Igitabo cya padiri Minnaert Stefaan twavuze kireba urugendo rwa Musenyeri Hirth ajya gushinga misiyoni ya mbere mu Rwanda. Hari n'izindi nyandiko ebyiri yakoze: «Un regard neuf sur la première fondation des Missionnaires d'Afrique au Rwanda en février 1900», in *Histoire et Missions chrétiennes*, no 8,2008, pp.39-66; «Les Pères blancs et la société rwandaise durant l'époque coloniale allemande (1900-1916): Une rencontre entre cultures et religions», in Rutayisire P. et al, *Les Religions au*

ibyanditswe byose ku Rwanda n'abagenzi bazengurukaga muri utu turere, abacuruzaga abacakara, abasirikare n'abakozi baza koroni. Yari azi ko bose bashakaga cyane aho hantu. (Reba ikarita ikurikira)

**Ikarita ya 11 : Misiyoni gatorika (1900-1945)
n'izabapotesitanti 1900-1916**



Aho byavuye: Rapports annuels des Missionnaires d'Afrique

Kugira ngo abamisiyoneri bafate ahantu, bashingiraga cyane cyane kuri izi ngingo zikurikira: kwibanda ahantu hatuwe cyane mbere y'Abaporoso, kureba ahafite akamaro gakomeye mu birebana n'ubutegetsi n'ubukungu, ahahuzaga za misiyoni z'u Rwanda ubwazo n'ahazihuzaga n'ikicaro gikuru cya Vikariyati cyari ku nkombe z'ikiyaga cya Victoria, no gusubiza ibyifuzo bya za misiyoni zari zifite ahantu hanini zikifuza ko hagabanywamo ibindi bice hubakwa izindi. Binyuranyije n'ibyo Abanyarwanda n'abanditsi bamwe bavuga, nta hantu na hamwe abamisiyoneri bagiye ku ngufu, zaba iz'ubwami cyangwa iza gikoroni. Misiyoni zose zashinzwe aho abamisiyoneri ubwabo bahisemo, bamaze kubyiga neza no kwitegura. Ahubwo hari ahantu hamwe

Rwanda: défis, convergences et compétitions, Ed. de l'UNR, septembre 2009, pp.53-101

na hamwe batabyemerewe n'ibwami ariko babifashwamo n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni.

Ku rwabo ruhande, abamisiyoneri ba Sosiyete y'Abadage ba Bethel, bayobowe na Pasitori Ernest Johanssen aherekejwe na Recius, bageze mu Rwanda mu wa 1907. Babanje kubaka i Zinga mu Burasirazuba n'i Kirinda mu Burengerazuba bwo hagati, i Rubengera mu wa 1909, i Kiteme ku kirwa k'Ijwi mu wa 1910 n'i Remera-Rukoma mu wa 1912. Igihe Abadage, abasirikare n'abakozi ba Leta bahungaga mu wa 1916, bajyanye n'abamisiyoneri b'Abaruteriyani babaga mu Rwanda. Bagiyeye batarashobora kwerekana ubushobozi bwabo bwose mu Rwanda. Ariko basize bubatse ibigo bitatu bikomeye ari byo Kirinda, Rubengera na Remera-Rukoma.

➤ **Uburyo bwo kwigisha Ivanjiri**

Uburyo bwakoreshejwe n'abamisiyoneri mu guhindura Abanyarwanda bufitanye isano ikomeye n'uko biyumvishaga Abanyarwanda bateye. Bari babafiteho cyanecyane imyumvire itari myiza. Padiri Brard (Terebura) yavugaga ko atari ngombwa gushaka mu birabura imigenzo ndangamutima myiza. Ku bwe ndetse no kuri benshi, Umunyarwanda yari nk'umwana utazi ubwenge, w'ubwenge buke, bikaba bigaragaza icyaha afite cy'umwihariko, umuntu waheranwe n'imico ya gipagani ye kandi akaba n'umuntu w'umunebwe kamere⁹⁰. Iyobokamana ry'Umunyarwanda na ryo ryafatwaga "nk'iryoroshye, rishingiye ku muco wo gukunda ibintu no gutinya abazimu (yabonaga abazimu babi hose). Byose bisa n'ibya cyana, bemera badashishoje. Kandi bakayoborwa n'ubwoba gusa"⁹¹. Nta kiza umumisiyoneri yari ategereje ku kiremwa nk'icyo. Ni yo mpamvu yakoze ibishoboka byose ngo akureho burundu imikorere n'imyemerere y'Umunyarwanda maze amuremere imyemerere mishya.

Teworojija y'abamisiyoneri ntiyarenze iyo myumvire y'ironwabwoko. Ibyo bigaragarira mu bisobanuro baha ibyanditswe muri Bibiriya bishingirwaho bavuga ko abirabura bavumwe. Ku bamisiyoneri bamwe, imibereho y'abirabura yari ingaruka y'icyaha cya Cham, umuhungu wa Noé wari warakoze

⁹⁰ Brard P., Notes, 1902, pp.26-27 ; P. Classe, «A travers l'Afrique Equatoriale», in *Les missions Catholiques*, 1902, pp.437-438

⁹¹ Brard P. Notes, p.23

ishyano ryo kureba se yambaye ubusa (Intg 9,11- 12). Kuva icyo gihe umuvumo wikomye abamukomokaho. Kuba abirabura bari inyuma byaba biterwa n'imiterere kavukire yabo ubwayo.

Inyigisho z'imiterere y'abantu abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri bashingiragaho zemezaga ko imiterere y'abantu n'amoko yabo n'imico yabo birutana rwose muri kamere yabyo. Ni iryo shingiro ry'imirutanire kamere y'amoko ryahereweho n'abiga amoko bibanzeho biga urubumbambaga rw'Abanyarwanda, kandi abenshi muri bo bari abamisiyoneri. Mu myumvire yabo bakoze ku buryo Abanyarwanda bose bitwa abanyamahanga mu gihugu cyabo: bavuze ko Abahutu bava muri Tchad, Abatutsi bakava mu majyaruguru y'u Burasirazuba bw'Afurika naho Abatwa bafatwaga nk'abaturage gakondo ariko nta bimenyetso bishingirwaho ngo babyemeze. Ayo mateka y'uko u Rwanda rwaba rwaratuwe, yemewe n'abize mu mashuri y'abazungu, basigara na bo ari byo bemeza⁹². Iyo myumvire ishingiye ku ngirwabuhanga ni yo abamisiyoneri bagize urufunguzo rw'amateka y'Abanyarwanda. Nyamara yavugurujwe n'ubushakashatsi bw'ubuhanga bwakozwe vuba aha.

Iyo mvugo migani mishya yaremwe n'abazungu n'abamisiyoneri (bantu na hamite) yari ibafitiye akamaro kuko bari bakeneye kugira igice cy'Abanyarwanda bakomeye kandi bemewe bifashisha mu gutegeka no guhindura Abanyarwanda ku buryo buboroheye. Ni iyo ngirwamigani bashingiyeho bigaranzura igice bari bashyigikiye bagashyigikira ikindi kuva mu wa 1957.

➤ **Gukoresha ingufu n'agahato**

Abamisiyoneri baranzwe no gukoresha agahato. Gushaka abayoboke biga gatigisimu byagaragariye Abanyarwanda benshi nko kugandisha abagaragu, babaca kuri ba shebuja. Abamisiyoneri bihaye uburenganzira bwo kwaka ku gahato ibyo bakeneraga hafi ya za misiyoni, ibibatunga, amasuka, amatungo mato, ibikoresho byo kubaka n'ibindi. Abaturage bakoreshejwe imirimo y'agahato mu kubaka za kiriziya (babyitaga "ubunetsi" mu Bugoyi). Ikibazo k'ibiti bikoreshwa cyabaye by'umwihariko ingorabahizi. Abapadiri b'i Zaza bageze aho bavuga ko ibiti byose byo mu Gisaka bibaye ibyabo (1907-1912). Hari amakosa menshi yakozwe n'abamisiyoneri, abafasha babo b'abanyamahanga n'abakirisitu muri uko gushaka abayoboke.

⁹² Urugero : Bushayija S., in *Revue Nouvelle*, XXVIII, 12, 1958

Uburemere bw'akazi bwarutaga kure ubw'imirimo yakorerwaga abategetsi gakondo. Ndetse muri Nyaruguru, abatware banze kuyikoresha kandi yanzwe n'abaturage. Ibyo byanabayeye mu Gisaka aho abatware bahitagamo kwibera igihe kirekire i Nyanza.

Abamisiyoneri bireguraga kuri iyo mirimo y'agahato bakoreshaga bavuga ko biterwa no gushaka kwihuta biranga abatangizi bose. Bemeraga ko ubwo buryo ari urukozasoni nk'uko bisobanurwa mu nyandiko bita "Diaire" y'i Save, ariko babonaga nta kundi byagenda badakoresheje iyo mirimo y'agahato⁹³. Umutungo muke watumaga bakoresha imirimo y'agahato. Hari ubwo abamisiyoneri bakoreshaga imirimo ihemberwa ariko bakishyura imishahara mito. Bigitangira bishyuraga mu masaro n'imyenda ngo bahembe ababaga bikoreye amatafari, ibiti n'ibindi. Iyo mikorere yarakomeje kugeza mu wa 1910.

Iyobokamana ry'abamisiyoneri ryaje ari nk'ikintu gikoresha igitugu, kigomba kuyobokwa kandi nticyanduzwe no kukivanga n'imyemerere yari isanzwe mu gihugu. Abahindura imyemerere bagombaga kuva burundu ku muco wabo gakondo maze bakerekana umwete udasanzwe wo kwirukana ibijyanye n'"ubupagani" byose. Kuri bo inzira zose zari nziza, ndetse n'izidakwiye n'izitesha agaciro ngo barandure imizi y'iyobokamana n'indangagaciro bya Kinyarwanda, ni byo byavuyemo guhiga abapfumu n'abavuzi ba gihanga, guca impigi n'ibyarebanaga byose n'imihango y'abapfuye (kuraguza, guterekera no kubandwa) n'ibindi. Abigisha ba gatigisimu, abakuru b'inama n'abatware b'abakirisitu bagize uruhare runini muri urwo rugamba.

Ijambo "Imana" ryafashwe nk'iridakwiye kwitirirwa Imana yo muri Bibiriya kubera ko bivuga ibintu byinshi. Mu Banyarwanda Imana byashoboraga kuvuga umugisha (kugira Imana), inyamaswa yakoreshejwe baraguza (umushwi, imfizi y'intama, akana k'intama, n'ibindi), igiti n'umuntu kubera imico ye myiza (ni Imana y'i Rwanda). Abamisiyoneri gatorika bashyirishijeho ku ngufu ijambo ry'igiswayire, bumvaga ko ridafite ubwandu, ari ryo rya "Mungu" (mu nyandiko za mbere bavugaga Mulungu). Ariko Abanyarwanda (n'Abarundi) bakomeje gukoresha ijambo Imana bashaka kuvuga ikintu rudasumbwa (kiri hejuru ya byose). Kubera iyo mivugire y'abaturage itahindutse hakurikiyeho

⁹³ Diaire de Save, 7 juillet 1905

n'imirimu y'ubushashakatsi yakozwe n'Abanyarwanda⁹⁴, ijamba Imana ryongeye guhabwa agaciro ryongera gukoreshwa mu nyandiko z'idini.

Abamisiyoneri bari icya rimwe abihayimana, abakirisitu, abasangiragihugu n'ibitso by'abakoroni. Hagati y'abapadiri bera na Karidinari Lavigerie n'Abadage habaye ukutizerana guhoraho, kwatewe n'impamvu nyinshi : kuba mu madini atandukanye (abapadiri bera bafataga Abadage nkaho ari Abaporoso), kugira ubwenegihugu bunyuranye (abamisiyoneri ba mbere benshi bari Abafaransa) n'imyumvire ya poritiki y'abamisiyoneri ba mbere Abadage babonaga itandukanye n'iy'ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni.

Nubwo ariko bari bafite ibibatandukanya, Abadage n'abapadiri bera ntibigeze batongana mu myaka 16 bamaranye. Bakomeje kubahana mu nyungu zabo bombi maze baboneraho gushinga imizi y'ubutegetsi bwabo mu Rwanda no kurudahamo ubukungu bashatse. Ababirigi bo, abapadiri bera babafashe nk'abanywanyi babo gakondo kuko bavaga mu gihugu "k'igikirisitu", kujya inama byahindutse kugambana mu micungire y'igihugu. Hari imirimu imwe n'imwe ireba ubuzima bw'igihugu, nk'uburezi n'igice cy'ubuvuzi, byabeguriwe byose cyangwa igice cyabyo, bo ubwabo babisabye cyangwa bitewe no kuzuza umubare muke w'abayobozi ba za koroni.

Disikuru y'abamisiyoneri ni irengera u Burayi n'iyoy gushyigikira poritiki y'ubukoroni. Abamisiyoneri ntibari bashyigikiye gusa ubukoroni, nk'uko bikunze kuvugwa, ahubwo igikorwa cyabo cyose cyari neza muri gahunda nkuru y'ubukoroni uko yashyizweho n'imirwa mikuru y'ubukoroni mu izina ry'amajyambere. Amahame yashingiweho mu kwigisha Ivanjiri ntiyigeze avanaho impamvu nyamukuru zo gushyigikira ibihugu byabo.

➤ **Isiramu ifatwa ko ibangamiye iyamamazwa ry'Ivanjiri.**

Mu Rwanda, isiramu yazanye n'ubucuruzi mu gihugu. Abarabu bacuruzaga abacakara bakikiye u Rwanda, ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri, ariko ntibashobora kurwinjiramo. Intumwa n'amaturu ya Hamed Ibrahim wacuruzaga abacakara n'ibya Said na Saif w'i Mascale,

⁹⁴ Inyandiko za Muzungu B., Bigirumwami A. na Kagame A. zivugwa muri iki gitabo

ibwami barabyanze byose. Mohammed ben Khalfan, bitaga Rumaliza, na we yasabye kugirana umubano n'umwami w'i Rwanda: yanamwoherereje na we amaturo (amasaro, imyenda, ibyuma) ariko biba iby'ubusa. Amaze kwirukanwa i Burundi yashatse kuza mu Rwanda ku ngufu, asanga habambiye.

Ni ingoma ndage yatumye isiramu ishobora gukwira mu Rwanda no kuhashinga imizi. Uretse kureka abacuruzi b'Abayisiramu baza mu Rwanda, ubutegetsu bw'Abadage bwanaborohereje kuhashinga; babahaga imirimo nk'abakozi babo (abasoda, abakarani, abasemuzi n'abakozi bo mu rugo..) banaboroherezaga kuhashinga za butiki z'ubucuruzi bwabo muri santere z'ubutegetsu (Shangi, Kigali, Gisenyi, Bugarama). Bakuraga ibicuruzwa i Tabora n'i Bukoba. Ikindi cyabufashije ni ugukoresha ururimi rw'igiswayire mu kazi k'ubuyobozi, ururimi rwavugwaga n'abantu bavuye ku nkengero z'inyanja y'u Buhinde (barimo Abayisiramu).

Abacuruzi ba mbere (Abarabu, Abahinde, abazungu n'abaswayire) babungira impu bavuzwe i Nyanza kuva mu wa 1901. Kubera kujujubya abaturage kenshi, aba na bo bageze aho barabikoma cyanecyane mu wa 1904, benshi muri bo barishwe. Ubuyobozi bwa gisirakare bwagombye kugabanya umubare w'abanyamahanga binjira mu Rwanda. Byamaze igihe (Itegeko teka ryo kuri 7 Werurwe 1906).

Abamisiyoneri gatorika n'Abaporoso, babonaga isiramu ari umwanzi ubabangamiye bikomeye, bagomba kurwanya bivuye inyuma. Bitandukanye n'iby'Abaporoso, Abagatorika bo banarwanyaga ubucuruzi bwatumaga abantu bajya hirya no hino bashaka amafaranga bigatuma batagerwaho. Ku bw'abamisiyoneri, Abayisiramu bari ikimenyetso k'iburagaciro; idini ryabo ryafatwaga nk'irya shitani n'iry'ubucuruzi bw'ubucakara. Ni yo mpamvu abapadiri bera bamaze igihe kirerekire bashidikanya gutura mu mugi wa Kigali, bahafataga nk'ahantu h'ingeso mbi ku bakirisitu. Bahategetswe na rezida⁹⁵.

Isiramu n'ubucuruzi byagendanaga byerekanwaga n'abamisiyoneri nk'imbogamizi ikomeye ku kazi kabo ko guhindura abantu. Ariko bitewe n'umubare muto cyane w'abayisiramu n'uko bari barashyizwe mu kato cyanecyane mu bukoroni bw'Ababirigi, byaragaragaraga ko ububi bwabo

⁹⁵ Rutayisire P., 2009, *op.cit.*, p.24.

bwari bwarakabirijwe ku mpamvu z'icengezamyumvire no gushaka abayoboke. Abacuruzi b'Abayisiramu bagumye mu gihugu babonekaga muri za santere z'imigi. Ni yo mpamvu isiramu yabaye cyanecyane idini y'umugi. Igihe cy'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi (Igihe cya manda n'igihe k'indagizo), igiswayire cyataye agaciro, binezeza abamisiyoneri gatorika. Ababirigi bavugaga ko igiswayire kitavugwa n'Abaturarwanda, ni yo mpamvu Abayisiramu bahejewe mu kato igihe kirekire.

4.1.5. Imyivumbagatanyo no kwanga ubuyobozi

Mu gusesengura ibyakozwe n'abaturage abakoronu bamaze kubitura imbere, hitawe cyanecyane ku byakozwe n'abazungu; ni ukuvuga impinduka bazanye n'ukuntu bisa n'ibyaboroheye. Abavuga uruhare runini abakoronijwe bagize, ahanini bibanda cyanecyane ku nsinzi y'abakoronu n'imyivumbagatanyo yo kubarwanya bumvikanisha ko urubumbambaga rutafashe intwari ngo rubarwanye ari urubumbambaga rworoheye abanyamahanga mu kurwigarurira. Ni muri urwo rwego padiri Arnoux ashira urubumbambaga rw'Abanyarwanda avuga ko umwaduko w'abazungu utigeze ugira ikiwukoma imbere⁹⁶.

Ikigaragara nuko abashatse kurwanya abazungu batsinzwe rugikubita, igihe k'ibyabereye i Shangi kiraza kuvugwa nyuma. Ariko muri iki gihe ntawagarukira ku kuvuga ko guhangana n'abazungu ari ugushoza urugamba rw'intwari rubarwanya gusa. Ntabwo intambara ari yo yabaye uburyo bwo kurwanya ibyaduka by'abazungu gusa. Habaye indi myitwarire n'ibikorwa binyuranye byari bigamije kwerekana ko batanze gusa gutegekwa no guhakwa n'abazungu, ahubwo banga n'abategetsu gakondo ubwabo.

Mu gushaka kumenya uko abaturage barwanyije abakoronu ni ngombwa guhuza ibijyanye n'umwaduko w'abazungu n'ibyari bisanzwe biriho (amakimbirane yariho cyangwa ayayabanjirije). Uburyo Abanyarwanda bitwaye imbere y'abanyamahanga byashingiye ku byari bisanzwe mu gihugu, ahubwo babikuruyemo abazungu⁹⁷.

⁹⁶ Arnoux A, *Les Pères Blancs aux sources du Nil*, Paris, 1953, p.54

⁹⁷ Actes du Colloque, Kigali, 1985. Ku bireba u Rwanda, soma ibyanditwe na Ntezimana E., pp. 59-94; Mbonimana G., 111 - 124 na Rumiya J. p. 463, Des Forges A, *Defeat is the only bad news; Rwanda under Musinga, 1896-1931*, Yale University, Ph. D, 1972.

➤ **Kwigomeka ku ngoma ya Musinga**

Kigeri Rwabugiri waje guteza ubwigomeke bwabaye ibwami mu Rwanda mu gihe kirekire k'ingoma ya Musinga, yari umwami utsinda amahanga akaba n'umuyobozi w'igihangange. Ariko uburyo yakoresheye bwanzwe cyane n'iterabwoba, guteranya imiryango ikomeye, kunyaga ibihangage by'imfura byashoboraga kumubangamira no kugabira ibikingi hirya no hino abatoni be.

Mu marembera y'ingoma ye, Rwabugiri yari ahugiye mu kurinda ibyo yari yaragezeho bikomeye. Yimitse umuhungu we Rutarindwa kugira ngo azamusimbure ku ngoma, bategekana igihugu kuva mu wa 1889 (yari afite imyaka 20). Kubera ko nyina wa Rutarindwa yari yarapfuye, Rwabugiri amuha Kanjogera ho umugabekazi, wari umugore we w'inkundwakazi. Ariko mu mucu, abagabekazi b'abatsindirano bagombaga kuba abo mu bwoko bumwe n'ubwa nyina w'umwami kandi badafite abahungu bashobora kwima ingoma. Hari umuco wa vuba kandi wabuzaga ko umugabekazi ava mu bwoko bw'Abega b'Abakagara, kuko bamwe muri uwo muryango bari abiru, bivuga ko bari bazi amabanga y'ibwami. Nyina wa Rutarindwa yari umukonokazi; Kanjogera yari umwakagara kandi afite umuhungu bwite, Musinga, washoboraga na we kwima ingoma. Birashoboka ko Rwabugiri yaba yarahumwe amaso no gukundwakaza Kanjogera, ariko ntiyitaye kuri iyo miziro. Ariko biranashoboka ko yashakaga ko Abega na bo bagira uruhare mu migenzurire y'ubutegetsu.

Rwabugiri yatanze muri wa 1895, mu gihe k'igitero cyo kurwanya Abashi, kwima ingoma kwa Rutarindwa na Kanjogera byaroroshye kuko byari byarateguwe kuva kera. Nyuma y'amezi make amaze kwimikwa, ibwami bahuye n'ikibazo cyaje kugira ingaruka mu mibanire n'abazungu. Umuriyetona w'Umubirigi wari ukurikiranye abasikare ba Leta yigenga ya Kongo bigometse ku butegetsu, yafashe Shanghi ari kumwe n'abasoda b'Abanyekongo benshi. Ibwami boherezayo ingabo zabo zikomeye ziyobowe na Bisangwa na Muhigirwa kwirukana abo banyamahanga bavogereye teritwari y'u Rwanda. Ku bw'ibyago Abanyarwanda baratsindwa bikomeye kubera intwari z'umwanzi zari zikomeye (amacumu arwana n'imbunda), ingabo nyinshi zirahapfira, harimo na Bisangwa. Ibwami bashakaga kwirukana abo bateye u Rwanda ntibabishobora. Imvugo ngo "u Rwanda ruratera ntiruterwa" irangirira aho. Amakuba y'i Shanghi yerekanye

ubushobozi buke bw'ubwami bw'u Rwanda bwo guhangana n'ingufu z'abazungu. Ibwami bagombaga kumvikana na bo igihe cyose bari bagishaka kuguma ku butegetsu. Ikindi nuko ingufu nke z'ibwami n'ingabo zabwo byatumye abavandimwe ba Kanjogera, Kabare na Ruhinankiko, bashobora kugeza ku ndunduro ubugambanyi bari bafitiye Rutarindwa.

Umunsi umwe ku gicamunsi, mu Kuboza 1896, igihe ibwami bariho bimurira ikicaro ku Rucunshu, Kabare atanga ikimenyetso cyo gushoza igitero. Abagambanyi banesha Rutarindwa n'abe bahisemo kwiyahura babonye ko ingufu zabo zaganjwe. Musinga na Kanjogera bimikwa ku mugaragaro n'abiru bagiye ku ruhande rw'abagambanyi mu Gushyingo 1896, abanze kubashyigikira baricwa.

Nyuma y'iminsi mike ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsu ribereye ku Rucunshu, mu magepfo y'u Rwanda ubwigomeke bwa mbere bwaje gukurikirwa n'ubundi, bwarwanyaga ubwami bwa Musinga. Ubwo ubwigomeke bwari buyobowe na Muhigirwa wa Rwabugiri. Yari yaravanye ingabo ze ibwami mbere gato y'ihirikwa ry'ubutegetsu bwa Rutarindwa. Yabanje kuyoboka umwami mushya, hanyuma yisubiraho kubera abantu bamwemeje ko agomba kwicwa byanze bikunze. Kandi koko abagambanyi bakuru uko ari batatu bicishaga abantu benshi bitwaga ko ari abanzi babo. Muhigirwa agira ubwoba, yigira umwami kugira ngo ashobore kubona abamushyigikira benshi bamufasha kurwanya abagambanyi. Ni we wari ufite ingabo zikomeye kurusha izindi zose zo mu gihugu, ibwami batinya kumurwanya imbonankubone. icyo kibazo, ibwami bagishakira inzira ya poritiki bigarurira abantu bakomeye kwa Muhigirwa, bagambanyeho babasezeranya ibintu bikomeye. Bigeze igihe bumva ko Muhigirwa bamumazeho ingufu, bivuye kuri ubwo bugambanyi, bamugabaho igitero. Muhigirwa aratsindwa ariyahura.

Ubwigomeke bwa Muhigirwa bwahise bukurikirwa n'imyivumbagatanyo mu majyaruguru y'u Burasirazuba bw'igihugu. Umugaragu wa Muhigirwa witwaga Mutwewingabo yiyegereje abamushyigikiye batoteza abashyigikiye Musinga. Ariko ntiyashobora kugira ingufu z'abana babiri ba Rwabugiri nk'uko yabyifuzaga : Baryinyonza na Burabyo baje kwicwa nyuma y'itotezwa ryakurikiye iyo myivumbagatanyo, ariko yashoboye kubona ingufu z'umuryango w'Abateke bari batuye

banyanyagiye mu Buganza, mu Rukiga no mu Buyaga. Bivugwa ko Abateke bashoboye gukiza umwe mu bagore ba Rwabugiri witwaga Muserakande n'umuhungu we Biregeya. Yari yarakomotse mu Buha, aba mu Bwanacyambwe. Ibwami bakeka ko bashakaga kwimika Biregeya.

Ni muri icyo gihe umuyoboze wa Rutarindwa witwaga Sebikara, wari warahungiyeye mu majyaruguru y'u Burengerazuba, mu Bugoyi, yagumuye abaturage baho banga Musinga, agenda ahanura ko Biregeya agiye kwimikwa. Ubuhanuzi bwe nta cyo bwafashe.

Mu kurwanya iyo myivumbagatanyo, ibwami bohereje ingabo zo guhana Abateke. Uwo muryango hafi ya wose warazimye. Ingabo zerekeza mu majyaruguru zishaka Muserekande na Biregeya. Zigumya no guhana abatari ku ruhande rw'ibwami bo mu Burengerazuba : mu Buberuka, mu Burera, mu Bugarura, mu Bushiru, mu Buhoma, mu Kingogo no mu Bugoyi.

Bitwaje kubahiriza ubutegetsu bw'umwami, ingabo zagendaga zica, zisahura, zitwika amazu aho zanyuraga hose zidatandukanya uwigometse n'utari we. Nyuma yaho ako karere kagira inzara. Ariko ibyo icyo gice cyavugaga ko gishyigikiye Biregeya ntikigeze kireka gutera ubwoba ibwami ku ngoma ya Musinga yose. Izi ngero zavuzwe zabaye ibimenyetso byabanjirije ibindi bibazo byaje gukomera mu myaka yakurikiyeho.

Ukuri ko Biregeya yaba akomoka kuri Rwabugiri na Muserekande biracyameze nk'umugani. Nubwo Muserekande yabayeho koko, haracyari ibibazo byinshi bimureba bitarabonerwa ibisubizo. Yaba koko yarabyaranye umuhungu na Rwabugiri? Bibaye ari byo koko, uwo muhungu yaba yari akiriho igihe k'itanga rya Rwabugiri? Kuki ibwami nta muntu wibuka ibihembo n'impundu byaba byarahawe ibwami uwo mwana witwa iryo zina amaze kuvuka? Kuki ibwami nta kimenyetso cya Biregeya na kimwe kiharangwa? Bamwe bavuga ko Biregeya na nyina bahungishijwe n'Abateke. Abandi bavuga ko baba baraguye mu mirwano. Hari n'abavuga ko bahungiyeye mu Nkore.

Kubaho kwa Biregeya nta cyo bimaze. Ibituruka mu bitekerezo by'imibereho ya Biregeya na Muserakande nuko ari ikimenyetso kerekana ubwoba agace k'Abega bari bafitiye abaturage

b'amajyaruguru, nk'Abateke, babonaga ko ik'ingenzi atari cyanecyanekwimika Biregeya, ahubwo ari ukudategekwan'ibwami muri utwo turere. Ubwigomeke bwabo bwakurikiwe n'ubundi bwinshi muri icyo gice k'igihugu Rwabugiri yari yarashatse ko kiyoboka ibwami bakagitegeka. Ubwigomeke bwabo, ahantu hamwe mu gihe gito, buyobowe n'abakuru bimiryango, bwari bugamije kwirukana abari bahagarariye ibwami muri utwo turere, bashingira ku ikoro ngo babakandamize.

Na nyuma y'insinzi, Kanjogera na basaza be bari bafite impamvu zabateraga ubwoba bwo guhora bikanga gutakaza ubutegetsi bwabo. Bari bugarijwe n'ibabazo bikomeye kandi bihoraho. Bakoze ibishoboka byose ngo bumvishe abantu ko Musinga ari umwana ukwiye ingoma koko, berekana ko ari Rwabugiri wajambije ibintu, ko ahubwo umwami w'ukuri ari Musinga. Ariko ntawabyemeraga. Rwabugiri yari yarimitse uwo bafatanyaga ingoma akiriho ubwe kandi Kanjogera yari yaragizwe umugabekazi wa Rutarindwa. Musinga yiswe Yuhi, bivuga ko mbere ye habaye Mibamwe, wasimbuye Kigeri nk'uko ubwiru bwabiteganyaga.

Kugira ngo bahangane n'ingorane nyazo cyangwa iza Baringa, abari bahanganye bapfa ibyo ku Rucunshu bahisemo gukoresha iterabwoba ngo bemerwe. Abantu benshi barishwe, abandi barahunga. Ubwo butegetsi bw'iterabwoba ni bwo bwazanye imvugo mpimbano yitiriraga Kanjogera ubugome bwinshi. Ingabo z'Abashakamba zari ziyobowe na Sebuharara na Cyaka zimaze kurimbukira ku musozi wa Rwata, kwica ababarwanya byashushe n'ibigabanije umurego. Byari bitewe n'uko ibwami batashakaga kwiteranya n'abazungu bitabazaga rimwe na rimwe, ntibashoboraga gukomeza kwikorera ibyo bashatse byose.

Kurwanya ubwigomeke bwa Muhigirwa n'ubwo mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, byatumye hari abantu bamwe mu bakomeye no muri rubanda batakomeje kurwanya ibyavugwaga ku ihirikabutegetsi ryo ku Rucunshu. Ariko mu ibanga Abanyarwanda benshi bakomeje gushyigikira ababonaga ko Musinga yibye ingoma kubera impamvu nyinshi : kudatitira igihango k'ibyasize bikozwe na Rwabugiri, kurwanya akarengane gakorerwa ibwami cyangwa gushaka kongera kwitegeka cyanecyane nko mu Gisaka.

➤ **Ubwigomeke bw’i Gisaka**

I Gisaka ni igihugu cya kera cyatsinzwe mu kinyejana cya 19. Ingoma yabo imaze gutsindwa, i Gisaka gikomeza kuyoborwa n’abategetsibaho. Ariko nyuma Rwabugiri yashatse kubasimbuzabatonibebavuye mu Rwanda rwo hagati. Abanyagisaka banga ubutegetsibushya bahawe ku gahato.

Igihe Von Götzen yanyuraga mu Gisaka mu wa 1894, yakiranywe ibyishimo byinshi n’abaturage baho bizeraga ko azabafasha kwikiza umwami ukomeye wo mu Rwanda. Na Ramsay byamugendekeye bityo. Na Myr Hirth amaze kunyura muri ako karere mu Kwakira 1900, yavuze ko abaturage batari bishimye ngo kuko bari bakandamijwe n’abayobozi b’Abanyarwanda. “Abakuru bo mu Gisaka barasaba ubwigenge bwabo ariko biragaragara nta kwibeshya ko bwatakaye burundu kuko abazungu baza muri ibyo bihugu bategetswe kubirekera imbibi zabyo uko zimeze ubu, kuko bigabanya ingorane nyinshi”⁹⁸. Iyo mvugo irerekana uko ibintu byari bimeze, ko Abanyagisaka bagerageje gukoresha abazungu bari aho kugira ngo bongere babone ubwigenge bw’igihugu cyabo.

Umutware wa mbere, ukomoka mu Gisaka, washatse gukoresha abazungu (Abadage n’abamisiyoneri) ni Rukura. Kugira ngo abatishimye bose baze ku ruhande rwe, yiyise ko akomoka kuri Kimenyi IV Getura, umwami wa nyuma w’i Gisaka. Nubwo wenda atari byo, ariko Abanyagisaka bamufashe nk’umwami wabo. Rukura yari ashyigikiwe n’umurundi witwa Cyoya wateraga ibitero mu Bugesera. Yari ashyigikiwe kandi n’umuzungu w’umunyamerika witwa Spears, wakoraga muri ako karere imirimo y’ubucuruzi itemewe ibwami.

Uwo mucuruzi yizeraga ko mu Gisaka kigenga yari kuhabona ubwisanzure mu bucuruzi bwe. Ndetse Rukura yageze aho yemeza umusirikare (ofisiye w’Umudage mu wa 1897) ko ibyo yifuza bifite ishingiro. Uwo musirikare amuha ibaruwa imuha uburenganzira bwo gutwara aho hantu, ariko ayoborera Musinga.

Kubera ko ibwami batinyaga ko Rukura yashyigikirwa n’Abadage, bahamagaje Kantt bamusaba kubuza ibyo ngo bitaba. Kandi na we ubwe yari ashyigikiye ko i Gisaka kitakwitanyura ku Rwanda. Kantt agira inama ibwami ko banakwitabaza abamisiyoneri

⁹⁸ Lugan B., 1980, *loc.cit.* p.86

b'i Save. Mu wa 1900, Ruhinankiko na Rwidegembya bajya i Save gusaba abapadiri ko bafasha ibwami. Ruhinankiko ni we byarebaga cyane kuko ari we wari waragabanye ubuyobozi bwa Gihunya. Byabaye nyuma y'isahurwa ry'abikorezi b'abamisiyoneri mu Gisaka. Abapadiri ntibemera gushyigikira ibwami kuko bakekaga ko ari bo bari bategetse ubwo bwambuzi. Iyo myifatire y'abapadiri irakaza ibwami, inasiga Kandt mu gihirahiro.

Mu mpera za 1900, ubwigomeke bwari bwagabanije ubukana. Bwongeye gutangira mu wa 1901. Rukura afashijwe n'abamushyigikiye bagera ku ijana (abenshi ari Abaganda), ashora Abanyagisaka mu bwigomeke ku ngoma y'i Rwanda. Abari mu mutwe w'ingabo z'Abarasa, bavuka mu Gihunya bashyigikira Rukura. Anasaba inkunga abamisiyoneri b'i Zaza, abereka ibaruwa yandikiwe n'umuwofisiye w'Umudage yamugiraga umutware w'i Gisaka. Rukura yavugaga ko iyo baruwa yamuhaga uburenganzira bwo kurema intara yigenga no kudategekwa na Musinga. Umukuru wa misiyoni yanga kwemera ubwo burenganzira ahubwo agira inama Rukura yo kuva muri ako karere kuko yari agiye guterwa n'ingabo z'umwami.

Uko kutemerwa bya Rukura wanatinyaga gukurikiranwa n'ibwami bimuca intege ahungira mu Bushubi. Ingabo nyinshi z'Abarasa zihungira i Burundi n'inka nyinshi. Mu kwezi kwa 5 Von Grawert aza muri ako karere kuherekanira ingufu za gisirikare ahazenguruka abwira abaturage kuyoboka ubwami bw'u Rwanda anagaba igitero cyo guhana Cyoya. Ategekwa kwishyura inka zigera ku gihumbi : kimwe cya gatatu gihabwa Leta, bibiri bya gatatu bihabwa Musinga.

Ibwami bishimira imyitwarire y'abamisiyoneri b'i Zaza bari banyuranije na bagenzi babo b'i Save bari baranze bo, muri Nzeri, gushyigikira ibwami. Ab'i Zaza bari babushyigikiye muri Werurwe. Ibwami kandi bari bishimiye poritiki n'inkunga y'Abadage.

Undi mutware waho witwa Muhumbika ukomoka mu Gisaka, wasuraga misiyoni cyane yari yarageze aho akundwa n'abapadiri b'i Zaza. Yari yaragize uruhare mu bwigomeke twavuze, kandi yari afite abamushyigikiye mu ntara ya Mirenge. Abatware b'Abanyarwanda batangira kugira ubwoba kuko yagendaga agira ingufu nyinshi. Ruhinankiko atangira kubona ko ari ikibazo gikomereye ibwami. Muri Werurwe 1902, ibwami bicisha

abantu benshi kandi banyagisha ibintu by'abakekwaga kuba bamushyigikiye. Muriyo midugararo ibwami batumiza Muhumbika yanga kujyayo yitwaje ko ibwami bashaka kumwica. Abapadiri b'i Zaza bemera ibyo avuga, bamuha ubuhungiro. Bandikira ibwami bamuvuganira. Ibwami banga kwemera ibyo abapadiri b'i Zaza bavuga; kuva ubwo Muhumbika afatwa nk'umugome. Ibwami banategeka abaturage kutongera kujya ku misiyoni.

Ibintu bitangira gukomera ku buryo umukuru w'i Zaza yandikiye umuyobozi mukuru w'intara y'i Rwanda na Myr Hirth abasaba kumufasha. Hashyirwaho umukuru wa misiyoni mushya, ariko ahageze ntiyashobora guhakana ko uwo asimbuye yari ashigikiye Muhumbika. Asaba ibwami ko uwo mutware atanyagwa, kandi akomeza kwakira ibyifuzo by'Abanyagisaka bazaga ubutitsa kuri misiyoni. Umukuru wa Zaza yohereza Muhumbika i Bujumbura kubwira umukuru w'intara ya Ruanda-Urundi, Von Beringe bibazo bye. Muhumbika avayo azanye ibaruwa ya Von Beringe, yohereje ibwami, ihagarika inyagwa rye. Von Beringe aza mu Rwanda muri Nzeri 1902, bivugwa ko azwanywe no kumva ibyo ibwami barega Muhumbika n'icyo abapadiri bera babivugaho, ariko mu by'ukuri azanywe no gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza y'umukuriye. Kuko, hagati aho, yari yabonye amabwiriza ya guverineri amusaba gukorana n'ibwami ku buryo bwuzuye no kutajya yivanga mu bibazo by'imbere mu gihugu atabisabwe na guverineri ubwe.

Von Beringe nubwo yari azwi kuba inshuti y'abamisiyoneri, ashigikira ibyifuzo by'ibwami ku bireba Muhumbika. Yagombaga kujya ibwami nk'uko umuco wabitegekaga. Ni cyo cyatumye yohereza abasirikare batatu kumuzana. Bagejeje ibwami abagaragu 14 ba Muhumbika baricwa, bitegetswe na Ruhinankiko naho Muhumbika we arafungwa. Bigeze mu Gushyingo Von Beringe yohereje ibitero mu Gisaka byo guhana abatware baho : abantu benshi baricwa, amatungo aranyagwa, imyaka irononwa n'ibindi. Mu kwishyura abapadiri bagaragazaga ko bahangayikishijwe n'ibyakorewe abantu ba Muhumbika kurusha ingaruka z'ibihano, Von Beringe ategeka Riyetona Von Parish, wayoboraga ikicaró k'i Shangí, guperereza kuri ubwo bwicanyi. Iperereza, rigendeye cyane ku byo abapadiri b'i Save bavugaga, ryatanze umwanzuro muri Mutarama 1903 ugaragaza uruhare rw'ibwami. Umwami bamuca amandeyo gutanga inka 40. Umwami ahakana uwo mwanzuro avuga ko atigeze amenyeshwa iby'ubwo bwicanyi. Muhumbika ashigikira umwami avuga ko

ayo mande atatangwa. Ariko uwo musirikare aratsimbarara, bituma umwami yishyura ibyakozwe na Ruhinankiko. Ni muri icyo gihe, muri Werurwe 1903, uyu Ruhinankiko yarekeye aho kuba umutoni ku mugabekazi, agasimburwa na Kabare wari warigijweyo kugeza muri icyo gihe.

Kuva abazungu baza mu Rwanda, ibwami bagiye bashaka uburyo babifashisha mu gukemura ibibazo bari basanganywe. Ibyabereye i Shangi byagaragazaga ko umwami atari afite ingabo zashoboraga guhangana n'abo banyamahanga. Iki kibazo cya Muhumbika kiragaragaza cyane uburyo umwami atigengaga: ntiyari agifite ubushobozi bwo gutegeka igihugu nk'uko abyifuza. Hari hasigaye hari ubuyobozi buri hejuru y'umwami, nubwo kugeza ubwo bwashyigikiraga ibyemezo by'ibwami ariko bwashoboraga guhindura ibyemezo.

➤ **Iyirukanwa ry'abanyamahanga mu wa 1904**

Aho Kabare asubiraniye ubuyobozi (mu ntangiriro za 1903), ibwami batangiye gukwirakwiza ibikorwa byo kwanga abanyamahanga, ariko cyanecyane abacuruzi (Abazungu, Abarabu, Abahinde, Abanyafurika b'i Burasirazuba) ni bo byagizeho ingaruka.

Twabonye haruguru ukuntu abacuruzi binjiye mu gihugu ku bwinshi nyuma yaho Abadage bagereye mu Rwanda. Aba barabihoreye batangira gukorera mu Rwanda nta ruhushya bakuye ibwami, nta n'amategeko bafite abagenga. Mu wa 1904 abacuruzi bari mu gihugu, hejuru y'ijana, bakoreshaga iterabwoba n'ingufu kugira ngo bagere ku byo bifuzaga. Abacuruzi b'abakirisitu baturukaga mu karere k'i Burasirazuba bw' Afurika, bagenderaga ku mubano bari bafitanye n'abamisiyoneri mu kwaka abaturage impu z'amatungo magufi n'amaremare, imyaka, abikorezi, n'ibindi.

Ibwami barakajwe n'iyi mikorere y'abanyamahanga maze bohereza ingabo zitangira abo banyamahanga, maze bakabasahura guhera muri Gicurasi 1904. Muri Nzeri, abacuruzi bagera hafi kuri 200 bari bamaze kwicwa. Von Grawert yabanje kwamagana ibyo bikorwa ariko nyuma ashigikira ibwami. Iyo migenzereze yateye abaturage gukeka ibintu bitandukanye. Kuri bamwe Von Grawert yari yahindutse umugaragu wa Musinga ku bandi, ibwami bari bamwishe.

Von Grawert ntiyitaye cyane ku ruhare ibwami bari bafite mu kugaba ibitero ku bacuruzi. Yaciye ibwami gusa ikiru k'inka 500 ku bacuruzi bari babuze ibyabo. Ntiyashakaga guteza intambara hagati ye n'umwami kuko byashoboraga kumugabanyiriza imbaraga mu makimbirane yagaragaraga icyo gihe ibwami.

Mu gihe kimwe k'icyo gitero cyo muri Gicurasi, abapadiri b'i Rwaza batangiye guhura n'imbogamizi batewe n'abaturanyi babo b'Abarera. Abamisiyoneri bakihagera bagombaga guhitamo hagati y'ibintu bibiri: kubogamira ku ruhande rw'amoko yaho karande cyangwa gushyigikira umwami n'abatware bamuhagarariye. Musenyeri Hirth yategetse ko bajya ku ruhande rw'ibwami nubwo bishobora kubakururira urwango rwa ba kavukire. Urwango rw'Abarera rwatewe n'uko abapadiri batwaye ubutaka bw'abaturage aho bashakaga maze bakahirukana ba nyirabwo.

Kandi abamisiyoneri bitwaye nk'abategetsi basaba abaturage byinshi nk'uko ibwami babigenzaga. Bategetse imirimo y'agahato, kugeza aho basabaga abatware baho gutanga abantu bari hagati ya 800 na 1000 buri munsu. Abaturage bacikaga umugogoro bashyirwagaho n'abatware, ntibacikaga agahato bashyirwagaho n'abamisiyoneri. Abaturage bo muri ako karere, kubera gutegekwa gukorera abo banyamahanga batinyaga kandi banabanga, bagaragaje inshuro nyinshi akababaro kabo, banga kujya gukora, batera ubwoba abakozi ba misiyoni ko bazabica, n'ibindi. Mu guhangana n'ubwo bwigomeke abapadiri batanze ibihano bikomeye bifashishije ingabo zabo. Muri Nyakanga 1904, abapadiri bagabye igitero cyo guhorera abakozi babo bari batewe igihe batemaga ibiti mu ishyamba: bishe abantu banatwika amazu. Rimwe na rimwe ibyo bitero bihora, byagabwaga bihereye ku makuru y'ibinyoma bahabwaga n'abakozi babo bashaka gusibanganya ibimenyetso by'amakosa babaga bakoze.

Muri uko kwezi kandi, abaturage barisuganyije maze bashaka gutsimbura burundu abamisiyoneri mu karere kabo. Mu gihe k'ibyumweru bibiri bagose misiyoni maze babuza ingabo za misiyoni ndetse n'abapadiri gusohoka. Abo baturage batewe akanyabugabo n'ibihuha byavugwaga ku rupfu rwa Von Grawert. Mu kwikura muri icyo kibazo, abamisiyoneri b'i Rwaza batabaje bene wabo bo muri misiyoni yo ku Nyundo, bohereje ingabo 200 ziyobowe n'umwofisiye w'Umubirigi. Izo ngabo ni zo zabashije zonyine gutsimbura abo bigometse. Nk'ibisanzwe abo bapadiri

b'i Rwaza bahise bagaba ibitero byo guhana abaturage, batwika amazu, bananyaga umubare munini w'inka: igice kimwe kiguma i Rwaza nk'indishyi, ikindi cyoherezwa ku Nyundo. Iki ni kimwe mu bihe bibi by'amateka ya za misiyoni gatorika mu Rwanda, aho Padiri Classe yagize uruhare rugaragara⁹⁹.

Abapadiri b'i Rwaza bashyize uruhare rw'icyo gitero ku batware bahagarariye ibwami, bashingiye ku rwikekwe aba batware bari babafitiye. Ariko nk'uko Von Grawert abyivugira, igitero kuri misiyoni cyateguwe n'abakuru b'amoko karande, bari bahohotewe n'abamisiyoneri.

Ibyabereye i Rwaza byatumye abantu batekereza ko abazungu bashobora kwirukanwa mu Rwanda. Habaye kuraguza inshuro nyinshi batura ibitambo ibwami bareba ko ibyo bishoboka. Ariko abazungu ntibakanzwe n'ubushotoranyi, iterabwoba, n'ibihuha byabarebaga. Amaherezo ibikorwa birwanya abanyamahanga byirukanye abacuruzi bose uretse babiri muri bo (Umunyawositarariya, Schindelar, n'umuboweri, Pretorius, baje kwirukanwa nyuma n'Abadage); ibwami hamwe na bamwe mu batware bigaruriye ibyasahuwe abacuruzi.

d. Ukwigomeka kw'Amajyaruguru

Mbere yo kubura bimwe mu bice byari bigize u Rwanda, ibwami bashatse uburyo bakomeza imbaraga zabo bohereza abatware bahagarariye mu turere twegeraye imbibi z'u Rwanda. Kabare yanyaze benshi mu batware b'Abanyiginya maze abasimbuza abatoni be. Ibi byagaragazaga ko hari ubushake bwo kugenzura birushijeho utwo turere kugeza ubwo twitwaga ko tugenzurwa n'ibwami ku izina gusa. Uko kongera imbaraga mu kugenzura utwo turere byajyanye no kongera ibyasabwaga abaturage. Ni muri urwo rwego uburetwa bwatangijwe mu turere kugeza ubwo tutari twarabwigeze, urugero mu Bumbogo, mu Bukonya, mu Buberuka, n'ahandi. Ni muri uwo mwuka mubi umuntu yashyiramo ukwigomeka kw'amajyaruguru agana uburasirazuba n'agana uburengerazuba kugeza intambara ya mbere y'isi yose itangira.

Mu Majyaruguru agana iburasirazuba, ibwami bari bahangayikishijwe cyane n'umugore wari umaze kumenyekana cyane wakomokaga Mpororo wiyitaga umugore wa Rwabugiri na

⁹⁹ Ku birebana n'ibyabaye i Rwaza n'uruhare rwa Padiri Classe, soma inkuru ya Minnaerts twavuze haruguru.

nyina w'igikomangoma. Abagaragu b'uwo mugore bamwitaga Muhumuza na Nyiragahumuza ku Banyarwanda muri rusange. Hari n'aho bamwita Muserekande, nyina wa Biregeya, waburiwe irengero nyuma y'imvururu z'Abateke (mu wa 1897-1898). Abandi bamwitaga Nyakayonga, wahoze ari umugore wa Rutarindwa wari waramubyariye umwana w'umuhungu. Hari kandi n'abavugaga ko Rwabugiri avuye mu gitero k'i Bujinja, yarongoye Muserekande maze agashyingira Nyakayonga Rutarindwa. Ibi bikaba byasobanura urujijo ruri kuri Muhumuza, umugore wa Rwabugiri na Rutarindwa. Muhumuza ashobora rero kuba atandukanye na Muserekande.

Guhera mu wa 1903, ubufatanye hagati ya Muhumuza n'abayoboke ba Nyabingi byatumye agira abayoboke benshi. Guhera mu wa 1905, yakoranije abayoboke be kugira ngo batere ikicaro gikuru cy'ubwami maze bahasimbuz ubwami bwe. Ibwami bafashe icyo kifuzo nk'igikomeye maze basaba Abadage kubashafa gucubya uwo mwanzi. Aba ariko barabihakanye kubera impamvu zitazwi. Mu gihe bagitegereje igisubizo kirambye, bafashe abasirikare n'ingabo nke ziyobowe n'umutware Nturo (wo mu Ndorwa) na Rwatangabo (wo mu Mutara) maze boherezwa muri Mpororo gufata Muhumuza. Iyo mitwe ibiri y'ingabo yageze ku kifuzo cyayo (muri Nyakanga 1905) maze bazana uwateje iyo myivumbagatanyo i Kigali kwa Kandt aho yamufungiyeye igihe gito. Abenshi mu Banyarwanda batekereje ko ubutegetsu bw'Abega buri mu marembera. Kugira ngo bagabanye ibyo bihuha no guhumuriza ibwami, Kandt yohereje Muhumuza i Bukoba.

Mu gihe Muhumuza yagendaga agira imbaraga (1905), uduce twegereye Mpororo twabaga ku nkeke twaterwaga na Basebya n'ingabo ze z'Abatwa. Nyina wa Basebya yitwaga Nyirantwari. Se ntabwo yari azwi. Basebya yabanje kuba umugaragu wa Rutarindwa nyuma aba uwa Cyaka, wishwe muri Mata 1904. Ntiyakundaga Abega bishe shebuja. Basebya n'Abatwa be bari barashinze ibirindiro mu gishanga cya Rugezi, bagatungwa n'ibyo banyagaga abagenzi, hamwe n'amaturu bahabwaga n'abaturage baho ku bwoba. Ibwami bari bahangayikishijwe na Basebya atari ukubera gusa ibyo yangizaga ahubwo ari no gutinya ko yazishyira hamwe na Muhumuza wari ufite ibirindiro hafi ya Rugezi.

Mu wa 1905, ingabo z'umwami ziyobowe na Ruhararamanzi, zateye ibirindiro bya Basebya ariko ntibagira icyo bageraho.

Izo ngabo ntizashoboraga gufata Abatwa aho bari mu gishanga cyabo. Nyuma y'icyo gitero, Basebya yaramenyekanye cyane birenga Rugezi bigera mu Buberuka, i Bumbogo no mu Ndorwa. Bamwe mu batware ntibagaragazaga ko bamushyigikiye ku mugaragaro ariko bakamwoherereza amaturo rwihishwa bigaragaza ko bemera ubutware bwe. Basebya nta mugambi wo kugera mu gihugu hagati yari afite. Yashakaga kwigarurira akarere k'igihugu kari mu majyaruguru ya Nyabarongo, akarekera Musinga amagepfo.

Musinga yiyambaje Abadage mu kurwanya Basebya. Kandt yemera kumutera inkunga mu wa 1909. Ariko nyuma kubera impaka yari afitanye ku mbibi z'igihugu (hamwe n'Ababirigi n'Abongereza) ahitamo gusubika igihe cyo gutera. Abadage bashakaga kwereka ibindi bihugu by'abakoroni ko amajyaruguru yose yari mu maboko ya Musinga. Intambara kuri Basebya yari ibangamiye uwo mugambi.

Mu wa 1911, mu gihe akanama mpuzamahanga gashinzwe gushyiraho imipaka karangizaga imirimo yako, Muhumuza yongeye kugaragara ayoboye izindi ngabo zarwanyaga abazungu. Ibi ni nyuma yo gucika gereza y'i Bukoba maze akagaruka i Mpororo. Yasubiranye ubutegetsi bwe abifashijwemo na Basebya, hamwe na Ndungutse. Ibitero n'iterabwoba by'abamushyigikiye byibasiraga abashyikiranaga n'abazungu (Abadage n'abamisiyoneri). Icyo gihe abantu benshi bahungiyeye mu Buganda.

Kandt yongeye gushaka gufata Muhumuza ariko biba iby'ubusa. Ni nyuma y'igitero cyagabwe n'ingabo zivanze z'Abongereza n'Abadage, boherejwe n'akanama mpuzamahanga gashinzwe gushyiraho imipaka, mu Kuboza 1910; yarafashwe, maze mirongo ine mu ngabo ze ziricwa.

Mu wa 1912, amajyaruguru yiboneye umutware mushya Ndungutse. Uyu yemereye abaturage baho ko azabakiza abatware boherezwa n'ibwami, gukuraho uburetwa bazanye no kwirukana abatware bigaruriye ubutaka gakondo. Birashoboka ko Ndungutse yarwanyeye mu ngabo za Muhumuza. Yakijije amagara ye we na Basebya aho bafatiye ikitso cyabo. Aba bombi bashinze ibirindiro byabo muri Rugezi. Birashoboka ko Ndungutse akomoka i Mpororo. Abaturage b'amajyaruguru bamufataga nk'uwaje aturuka ahandi.

Ndungutse yashingiraga ubutware bwe kuri Muhumuza wafatwaga rimwe nk'umugore w'umwami Rwabugiri, ubundi nka Nyakayonga umugore wa Rutarindwa. Yabushingiraga kandi kuri Rwabugiri yiyitiriraga kuba umuhungu. Benshi bamufashe koko nk'umwami kandi na we ni ko yifataga, afite ingoma ye y'ubwami, ikamba, abamugaragira, n'ibindi. Ntabwo yarwanyaga ubwami ahubwo yarwanyaga Musinga ku giti ke wafashe ubwami ku buryo butemewe. Ndungutse yagize abamushyigikiye benshi kugera no mu duce ubwami bwari busanzwe bufitemo imizi nko mu Buberuka, mu Bumbogo, mu Busigi no mu Buriza.

Abo mu majyaruguru agana uburengerazuba (mu Bukonya, mu Buhoma no mu Bushiru) bashyigikiye Ndungutse, ntibari bitaye ko ashaka kuba umwami. Rukara umutware w'Abarashi na we yari ku ruhande rw'abigometse kuko yari afitanye ikibazo n'ibwami aho bashakaga kumufata kubera kwica padiri Lupias: icyaha atagizemo uruhare. Uretse ibyo, Rukara yitaga mu ruhame Ndungutse umubeshyi kubera ko yiyitaga umwana wa Rwabugiri. Abatware gakondo babonye ko bikwiye kwifatanya n'uwo munyamahanga (Ndungutse) kugira ngo bikize abatware b'Abatutsi babakaga andi makoro. Amakimbirane hagati y'abatware gakondo yatumaga batumvikana ku muntu umwe ukwiye kubayobora. Ndungutse yabigezeho abemerera kubakemurira ibibazo anigarurira ubushobozi bwa Nyabingi¹⁰⁰.

Ukwigomeka kwa Muhumuza kwibasiraga abazungu. Ndungutse we yashatse kwikuraho iyo sura yo kwanga abazungu. Ku nshuro nyinshi yoherereje abapadiri b'i Rwaza n'i Nyundo impano. Yanashyizeho intumwa yagombaga guhora imugezaho ibibera muri misiyoni kandi ategeka ingabo ze kudahohotera abagana misiyoni. Abapadiri ntibizeraga ko koko Ndungutse yabayobotse. Banze impano ze maze banabuza abayoboke babo kwifatanya n'abigometse. Ku mugaragaro bavugaga ko kutamushyigikira biterwa n'uko Ndungutse yari afatanije na Rukara.

Ndungutse kandi yashatse kubonana n'abazungu (abaha inka) abasezeranya kumvikana na bo. Nta n'umwe mu bayoboke be washidikanyaga ku cyo Ndungutse yari agamije. Ayo yari amayeri yo kurwana urugamba. Ndungutse yashakaga gukoresha abazungu mu kwigizayo Musinga. Nyuma yo gutsinda Musinga akigarurira igihugu cyose, yari guhindukira agakemura n'ikibazo

¹⁰⁰ Imigani yavugaga ububasha yari afite bwo gutsemba umwanzi akoresheje indwara, guhindukiza imyambi y'umwanzi, guhindura amasasu mo amazi, etc.

cy'abazungu. Gushyira hamwe kwa Ndungutse, Muhumuza, Rukara na Basebya byaramenyekanye cyane. Abakoreshejwe akazi k'agahato n'akandi karengane, bafataga Ndungutse nk'ikimenyetso cyo kwigomeka. Abatwa bo mu Bugoyi bamufataga nk'uwakomeje ibikorwa bya Muhumuza.

Muri Mata 1912, Ndungutse yari amaze kwigarurira intara ziri hagati y'ibiyaga bya Burera-Ruhondo na Rugezi, naho mu magepfo yageraga ku muhanda Kigali-Ruhengeri. Abaturage bo mu turere twa Busigi, Buriza, Bumbogo, Kibari, Bukonya, Buhoma n'u Bushiru bari baramuyobotse. Mu tundi turere bamuvugaga neza. Amaturo bamuturira yavaga hose. Ntiyari akeneye gukoresha ingufu ngo abone ibyo ashaka. Yarwanyaga gusa abatware b'Abega n'ababashyigikiye b'Abatsobe: aya moko yombi yari yaragize uruhare rukomeye mu ihirikabutegetsi ryo ku Rucunshu, kandi ni ryo ryari ryaragize uruhare runini mu guhamya ubutegetsi bw'ibwami. Mu majyaruguru abatware b'Abatutsi benshi bahisemo guhungira mu magepfo.

Hari abatware bakomeye bemeraga ubwigomeke bwa Ndungutse. Abatware babiri b'Abanyiginya, Kanuma na Bandora ngo bari baramwoherereje amaturo kandi bavugaga ko biteguye kumwemera. Kubera gutinya ko Abanyiginya bamugambanira, Musinga yongeye kwitabaza Abega, yashakaga ubundi kwitandukanya na bo.

Umwami yohereje Ndengabaganizi kujya kurwanya ubwo bwigomeke. Asaba n'Abadage kumuha ingabo zo gufasha ize. Ni Gudovius wari ushinzwe icyo kibazo kuko Kandt atari ahari. Yari ahanganye n'uko Ndungutse yari amaze kuba icyamamare mu baturage n'ukuntu yivuguruzaga mu mibanire ye n'abazungu (yavugaga rimwe ko ashigikiye Muhumuza, ubundi agasaba gufatanya n'abazungu) ndetse n'uko ibwami bari batangiyeye gukuka umutima. Imikorere ya mbere ya Godovius yabanje kujijisha ibwami. Yemeye amaturo ya Ndungutse kandi na we arayamuha. Yanga ikifuzo k'ibwami cyo guhita bamutera, anabuza ingabo z'ibwami guhita bashoza urugamba. Ndetse asa n'ugenda buhoro ku mpamvu zitumvikana neza, ashinga ibirindiro bine gusa hafi mu nkengeri z'intara ya Ndungutse. Gudovius yaba yarashatse gushyigikira Ndungutse no kurwanya Musinga? Yaba yari ategereje amabwiriza? Umwami yagize ubwoba cyane kuko yatinyaga Gudovius washakaga kumuvana ku butegetsi.

Mu ntangiriro za 1922, Gudovius yiyemeza gutera uwo mwigomeke. Yumvise ko ashumbirijwe kandi wenda ashaka no kwikiza inshuti imuteza ibabazo, Ndungutse atanga Rukara, amuha Abadage (tariki ya 6 cyangwa ya 7 Mata). Ariko Gudovius ntiyahindura gahunda ye. Tariki ya 8 Mata yinjira mu bwatsi bwa Ndungutse, atera urugo rwe, yifashishije abasirikare be n'ingabo z'ibwami zigera ku 3000. Abarwanyi ba Ndungutse bagera nko kuri 50 barahagwa. Hari n'abavuga ko Ndungutse ubwe ari ho yaba yaraguye. Ariko hari ayemeza ko yashoboye guhungira Uganda. Ibyo ari byo byose, yaba yari yapfuye cyangwa yari akiriho, Ndungutse kuva yaterwa ntiyongeye guhangayikisha Musinga.

Gudovius azenguruka uturere twose twari twarashyigikiye Ndungutse ashaka kudukana. Abasirikare n'ingabo bajya mu Buberuka, hanyuma berekeza mu Bushiru. Bagaruka berekeza mu Burasirazuba, banyuze mu Bukonya no mu Kibari. Tariki ya 5 Gicurasi 1912, Gudovius yandikira abapadiri b'i Rwaza ababwira ko igihugu cyongeye kugarukamo amahoro. Ariko mu by'ukuri utwo turere twose twari twayogojwe n'abasirikare n'ingabo z'ibwami zahanyuze. Mu gihe ingabo zagaruraga umutekano mu majyaruguru, intasi y'ibwami irangira Abadage aho Basebya yari yihishe. Shefu Rwubusisi amusaba ko bahura ngo kuko yifuzaga kumugezaho ubutumwa bw'ibwami. Agenda aherekejwe n'abasirikare bane biyoberanyije, bafata Basebya aza kuraswa bitegetswe na Gudovius.

Uwa nyuma mu bigomeke b'amajyaruguru, Rukara yaje kuraswa na Gudovius tariki ya 18 Mata mu Ruhengeri. Yari yahamwe n'icyaha cyo kwica Padiri P. Loupias, ahabwa igihano cyo kwicwa. Mbere yo kuraswa yari yashoboye kwica na we umusirikare wari umuyoboye. Umurambo we werekwa umunsi wose abaturage ngo babone uko bajya batinya ubucamanza bw'abazungu. Ariko ntibyabuza ko abaturage basigarana indi sura ya Rukara ; bamufashe nk'intwari yashoboye kwisasira umwanzi mbere yo kuraswa.¹⁰¹

Nyuma y'icyo gitero, abatware bari barahunze bagarutse mu bwatsi bwabo, bazanye n'abagaragu babo bagombaga kuyobora ku buryo butaziguye. Ndetse Umwami yohereza abamuhagararira mu turere tutari tubafite, nko mu Bumbogo no mu Bukonya. Biza kugera nyuma ko ubwigomeke bwashakaga kugabanya

¹⁰¹ Chrétien J.-P., « La révolte de Ndungutse (1912) », in *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* LIX, no 217, 1972, pp.645-680.

ubutegetsi bw'umwami ahubwo bwabuhaye ingufu. Abatware bamwe babonye ko ubwigomeke buvuna cyane (mu gutakaza abantu, ibintu n'ubuyobozi) batangira gushaka ubwumvikane n'abazungu n'abatware b'Abatutsi.

4.1.6 Intambara ya Mbere y'Isi

Gushoza intambara byatangiye tariki ya 24 Nzeri 1914 ubwo ikirwa k'Ijwi kigarurirwaga n'abasoda ba Wintgens (Tembasi), biturutse ku nkuru zatanzwe na Pasitori Roehl, washinze Misiyoni ya Rubengera (1909)¹⁰². Byafashije Abadage kurinda i Kivu n'umupaka hagati y'u Rwanda na Kongo.

Abadage bari bafite abantu bake n'ibikoresho bidahagije. Umubare w'abasirikare b'Abadage mu Ruanda-Urundi mu kwezi kwa cumi bari:

Imbonerahamwe ya 4: Umubare w'Abasirikare b'Abadage mu Ruanda-Urundi

Akarere	Abazungu	Abasoda
Gisenyi	5	47
Kibitoke	1	25
Bujumbura	18	152
Igiteranyo	24	224

Nubwo bari bake, Abadage batanga isura y'abantu bakomeye kandi bafite ikinyabupfura. Bigitangira Abadage batangije uburyo bw'ibitero shuma, bateraga ahantu batagamije kuhaguma. Tariki ya 4 Ukwakira 1914, abasikari bakambitse i Goma bashaka kwihorera, batera ku Gisenyi Kapiteni Wintgens ababera ibamba. Tariki ya 27 Ukwakira, Ababirigi bashaka gufata iposita ya Ruhengeri ariko biba iby'ubusa. Umwaka wa 1915 waranzwe n'ibitero byo kubotsa igitutu. Abanzi bari barakomeje ibirindiro byabo. Nyuma Abadage bareka Gisenyi, bimurira ibirindiro byabo ku Nyundo bavaga batera ibitero shuma mu gace k'Ababirigi. Ababirigi bashoboye gutungukira mu karere ka Ruhengeri. Ibyo bikorwa byose byabangamiye abaturage bahungaga. Umwaka wa 1915 wahiriye Ababirigi, imirwano igenda ibera mu gice kigenzurwa n'Abadage. Musinga yakoze uko ashoboye kose ngo atere inkunga u Budage, abuha ingabo ze (z'indugaruga) kandi anatanga ibibatunga n'abikorezi.

¹⁰² Roehl K., "Ruanda- Erinnerungen (zum Gedächtnis an Major Wintgens)", in *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1925, 9, pp. 290-298.

Hagati aho Ababirigi bariho bitegura kuzagaba igitero simusiga. Ubwongereza n'u Bubirigi bari bagiranye amasezerano mu Kwakira 1914 (Inama ya Kibati) avuga ko ingabo z'Ababirigi zizafasha ingabo z'Abongereza niharamuka habaye intambara muri Afurika Ndage y'u Burasirazuba. Bashingiye kuri ayo masezerano ingabo za Kongo zateye u Rwanda n'u Burundi¹⁰³ muri Mata 1916. Kuki abo Babirigi n'Abanyekongo bari barategereje cyane mbere yo kugaba igitero kinini? Nuko bari batarabona inkunga y'Abongereza. Nyamara Abongereza bari bafite ingabo zihagije muri Uganda, Kenya no muri Rodeziya, ariko bahitagamo kuba bagitegereje.

Ibikorwa by'intambara byatangiyeye tariki ya 21 Mata 1916 ku mpande ebyeri :

- Mu majyaruguru: Burigade Olsen yagombaga gufata Nyanza igakomeza igana i Gitega n'i Bujumbura.
- Mu majyaruguru: Burigade Molitor yari igamije gufata Kigali igakomeza yerekeza i Burasirazuba

Molitor yafashe Gatsibo yari irinzwe n'igice k'indugaruga za Nturo na Rwubusisi. Bageze i Kigali bigabanijemo kabiri : igice kimwe kerekeza iyo mu Bugesera ikindi kijya muri Santere kigamije kuzambuka Akanyaru. Tariki ya 6 Gicurasi, Musinga ari kumwe n'abatware b'ingabo bake basanganira ingabo z'Ababirigi kugira ngo berekane ko bayobotse. Tariki ya 9 Gicurasi Koroneri Molitor agera i Kigali afite batayo 2, ahakorera umunsi mukuru w'insinzi. Hagati aho Umudage wa nyuma yari yavuye i Kigali tariki ya 5 Gicurasi 1916 kubera gutinya ko bamukubira hagati, Wintgens yari yahunze, yerekeza tariki ya 11-12 Gicurasi i Kigali, Save n'u Burundi¹⁰⁴.

Brigade Olsen yafashe Cyangu, yambuka ishyamba rya Nyungwe yerekeza i Nyanza yafashwe na Majoro Muller. Musinga amugezaho ijambo ababajwe n'ibyangirijwe n'intambara yamwituye hejuru ariko yemera kuzagirana umubano mwiza n'abo bayobozi bashya. Musinga yifuzaga kurokora iby'ingenzi: abantu n'ibintu¹⁰⁵. Ariko aho ingabo zanyuraga hagaragaraga

¹⁰³ Ministère de la Défense Nationale, *Les campagnes coloniales belges, 1914-1918*, Bruxelles, 3 tomes, 1927-1932 ; Louwers O., *La campagne africaine de la Belgique et ses résultats politiques*, Bruxelles, Weissenbruch, 1921.

¹⁰⁴ Lettow-Verbeck (von) P., *La guerre de brousse dans l'est africain (1914-1918)*, Paris 1933 ; Dellicour M.F., « *La conquête du Ruanda-Urundi* », in Bulletin de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1935, 6,1 pp., 142-166

¹⁰⁵ Rumiya J., *Le Rwanda sous le régime du mandat belge (1916-1931)*, L' Harmattan,

ibikorwa kenshi bibi: konona ibintu no gufata abagore ku ngufu, bitwaje gushaka ibibatunga n'abikorezi. Abasirikare bafashe ibintu n'abantu nk'iminyago.

Tabora imaze gufatwa, tariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1916, u Bubirigi bwari bumaze gufata ahantu haruta 200.000 km². Mbere yo gushoza intambara Ababirigi bari bavuze icyo bagamije, bashakaga kuzashingira kuri teritwari bigaruriye muri Afurika y'u Burasirazuba nk'ikimenyetso ndakuka igihe hazaba hakorwa imishyikirano nyuma yuko abari barafatanije urugamba batsinda¹⁰⁶. Kuhaba byari rero iby'agateganyo k'igihe gito. Insinzi y'ingabo z'Ababirigi yahise irangiza vuba ubukoroni bw'Abadage, busiga hari imishinga myinshi budakoze.

Kugeza mu wa 1916, Abadage bari birinze kugira icyo bahindura icyo ari cyo cyose ku nzego z'Abanyarwanda, ni ryo hame batangazaga mu by'ukuri, hari ikintu kinini cyari cyarahindutse. U Rwanda rwari rwaratakaje ubusugire bwarwo, bwarigaruriwe n'umwami w'abami Wilhlem II.

Mu wa 1907, mu rugendo rw'ubushakashatsi mu by'ubuhanga rwari ruyobowe n'igikomangoma Duc de Mecklenburg, Musinga yikanze ko yari agiye gusimburwa n'icyo gikomangoma, maze akava gutyo ku ngoma.

Igihe Abadage bavaga mu Rwanda, bari bagikunzwe n'abaturage muri rusange. Musinga by'umwihariko yagumye gukumbura izo nshuti ze z'Abadage kugeza ku minsi ye ya nyuma.

Abadage ntibabonye igihe cyo gushyira mu bikorwa imishinga yabo myinshi, cyanecyane ijyanye n'itumanaho yagombaga gukura u Rwanda mu bwigunge. Ariko hari ibintu byinshi byahindutse cyane; muri byo iby'ingenzi ni ibi:

- U Rwanda rwashoboye kwagura amarembo yarwo guhera mu burasirazuba iyo Abadage baturutse. Abarabu bashoboye kwinjira mu gihugu, bahashinga ubucuruzi bureba i Bukoba na Tabora, banashobora kugenzura ubucuruzi bwo hagati y'ibiyaga bigari, binjizamo n'u Rwanda;

- Kuva mu wa 1905, u Rwanda rwabaye igihugu gikomeye mu kohereza impu hanze, zijya i Bukoba kandi Kigali ihinduka ihuriro ry'ibicuruzwa, rikananyuzwamo ibijya hirya no hino muri ubwo

Paris, 1992, p.29

¹⁰⁶ Lettre de Renkin J., Ministre des Colonies au Général Tombeur. 27 mars 1916.

bucuruzi. Ubucuruzi gakondo bwaberaga mu Burengerazuba bwa Kivu ntibwarorereye, ahubwo bwariyongereye kandi kwerekeza mu Burasirazuba byatumye izo nzira zombi z'ubucuruzi zihuzwa. - Ubutegetsi bw'umwami kwasigaye bwarakomejwe n'imyaka 22 Abadage bamaze.

4.2 Ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi

Ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi bwashimburaga ubw'Abadage, byahinduye u Rwanda nk'intara ya Kongo mbirigi byari byegeranye igihe k'indagizo cya SDN cyaba igihe cyaje guhinduka icy'uburezi bw'Ababirigi igihe cya Loni.

4.2.1 Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsi bwa gisirikare

➤ Ibyari bigamijwe mu mubano n'amahanga.

Ingabo z'Ababirigi zinjira muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba zari zigamije gufasha teritwari yabo ya Kongo yari ifite ingorane zo kudakora bihagije ku Nyanja. Iyo ngorane yaje kumarwa no kubona ikigobe cya Kabinda n'igice cya teritwari ya Porutugari cyari ku nkombe y'ubumoso y'ikiyaga cya Kongo. Mu mishyikirano hagomba kwemezwa ko igihugu cya Porutugari kemera ko izo mbibi zisubirwamo, na cyo kigahabwa ingurane ku gice cy' Afurika y'uburasirazuba na cyo cy'u Budage. Ku bwa Minisitiri w'Ubukoroni w'u Bubirigi Renkin, wari ushinze kuyobora ibyo bikorwa muri Afurika, kubona umwaro ku kiyaga cya Victoria byari bifite akamaro gato ugereranyije no kwagura amarembo ku Nyanja ya Atarantika. Inkunga y'u Bwongereza yari ikenewe cyane ngo ibyo babyumvishe Porutugari, bitabaye ibyo hari gutekerezwa ubundi buryo bw'ukuntu u Bubirigi bwabona igihembo cy'umusanzu bwatanze mu ntambara.

Inyungu y'u Bubirigi yari iyo gukoresha u Rwanda nk'umunyago w'intambara ugurishwa ku giciro kiza, naho ahandi hari higariwe, hagombaga kurekwa nubwo hatanzwe ingurane ifatika. Ubuyobozi bwa Koroni muri Afurika bwabyumvikanagaho na Minisitiri wa Koroni; ariko ntibwari bwishimiye cyane ko teritwari z'ubukoroni zagurwa kubera ubuke bw'abakozi bazishinze. Koroni ya Kongo yari ihagije kongera ubunini bwa teritwari byasaga n'ubusazi. Ariko kugira ngo bashobore kubona uturere bashakaga mu Burengerazuba, byari ngombwa

ko baka intara zari zarigaruriwe n'ingabo z'Ababirigi mu gice cy'Afurika ndage y'uburasirazuba. Bibazaga niba u Bwongereza buzabyemera.

U Bubirigi bwashakaga kubanza kugira ingurane ihagije kugira ngo bubone kureka intambara yatwaraga abantu benshi n'ibintu. Abasirikare bari guhabwa ayahe mabwiriza nyuma y'ifatwa rya Rwanda n'u Burundi? Guhagarikira kuri izo ntara zombi, zasaga n'izifunga neza Kongo mbirigi cyangwa gukomeza intambara? Abongereza bari batarempera neza agaciro k'ingurane. Kandi guhagarika ingabo zitsinda byari kuvamo umutima wo kutishima mu gisirikare.

Ku rugamba ibintu byarushijeho gukurikirana byihuta : ku ya 9 Kamena 1916, ni ho Biharamulo yafashwe na Tombeur, hahita hoherezwa amaburigade Tabora na Ujuji. Bamwe mu bakoroni babonaga ko nta kamaro ko kujya Tabora, yari kure y'umupaka wa Kongo kandi ari mu gice nyirizina cy'u Bwongereza, babonaga ko baramutse bafashe Tabora, byaba ari ukuyiha Abongereza. Ku ruhande rw'Ababirigi, igikorwa cya gisirikare cyagombaga kujyana n'imibonano ikomeye mu bya diporomasi irebana n'u Bwongereza. Impungenge z'u Bubirigi zari zifite ishingiro. U Bwongereza bwatekerezaga ko kuva intambara igitangira ari bwo buzasigarana icyahoze ari igice cy'u Budage muri Afurika y'uburasirazuba.

Itangazamakuru mbirigi ryandikanaga ibyishimo amakuru y'insinzi y'ingabo z'Ababirigi n'Abanyekongo. Byatumye abantu barushaho gukangukira kumva akamaro k'izo ntara nshya. Inyandiko zanditswe ku Rwanda zikabije kuvuga inyungu iri mu gufata icyo gihugu : bavuga ko gifite inka nyinshi, abaturage benshi bagombaga kuvamo abazakora imirimo muri Kongo, ubutegetsi bwa cyami bwiteguye kuzashingirwaho mu mitegekere y'abazungu y'icyo gihugu. Muri make babonaga ko gufata u Rwanda ari ibintu bifite akamaro kanini.

➤ **b. Inzara ya Rumanura (1916-1918)**

Ababirigi baje mu gihe igice kinini k'igihugu cyari mu bizazane by'inzara izwi ku izina rya Rumanura. Iyo nzara yatangiye mu Bugoyi, mu wa 1916 igeza mu wa 1918. Yakwiriye igihugu cyose ihitana abantu benshi.

U Bugoyi bwari akarere gatuwe cyane icyo gihe, kakeza imyaka ishobora kuguranwa mu Nduga igihe kitari icy'umwero. U Bugoyi kandi bwari isangano ry'ubukungu bwuzuzanya hagati y'u Rwanda rwo hagati rwari rukize ku matungo n'igice cy'amajyaruguru cya Kivu kitari gifite inyama ariko gikize ku bintu by'ubukorikori n'ubutega bwari bukunzwe cyane mu Nduga. Iyo nzara yaje gutuma abashonji benshi bazerera bashaka ibibatunga, yatewe n'uko Abagoyi batari barashoboye guhahirana n'Abanyekongo (itabi n'ubutega biguranwa imyaka) kuva mu wa 1914 bitewe n'intambara y'Abadage n'Ababirigi. Muri iyo ntambara, abaturage bafatirwaga hagati y'imirwano bahunze bagana mu Nduga, mu Kingogo, mu Bushiru, mu Murera no mu Kanage. Inzu ziratwikwa, n'intoke nyinshi zitemwa n'abarwanyo ngo bashobore gutazura hafi y'indake zabo. Ibyo bimara umwaka wa 1915 wose n'igice cy'uwa 1916¹⁰⁷.

Ingabo z'Abadage zihunga zitwara imyaka yari isigaye n'abikorezi benshi. N'Ababirigi bakora uko mbere yo guhagarika ibyasabwaga byari ngombwa ko ingabo zihanyuze zibona ikizitunga n'imirongo y'abasirikare bagenda ikagemurirwa. Kugira ngo bashobore kudatanga ibyasabwaga, abantu bahungiraga mu mashyamba bakagumayo. Abategetsi b'Ababirigi babona ko iyo mikorere ishobora guteza amakuba maze ihagarika izo ngemu z'agahato.

Abantu batangiyeye guhunguka, imvura idasanzwe yaraguye iboza imbuto zameraga, inakukumba ubutaka. Abatware gakondo na bo baho (Rwakadigi) bagarutse bazanye mu Bugoyi abagaragu babo bakuye mu Nduga, batangira imirimo y'agahato y'inyongera (kubaka amazu, gutanga imyaka).

Igitabo cy'Ababikira Bera bo ku Nyundo (Gicurasi 1915, Ukwakira 1917) cyanditsemo ko abantu benshi bishwe n'inzara, abandi bagenda ari amagufa gusa. Mu Gushyingo 1915, abakirisitu bumvaga misa ku cyumweru ntibari barenze 50, mbere y'intambara hari 8000 by'abakirisitu, abana 400 bazaga ku ishuri mbere y'intambara, bari gusa 20 mu nzara. Padiri Classe avuga ko¹⁰⁸ umubare w'abapfuye wari ugeze kuri 3/4 by'abaturage bose: umubare w'abishwe n'inzara w'ibihumbi 25 watanzwe n'abamisiyoneri ntukabije¹⁰⁹. Komiseri w'umwami

¹⁰⁷ P.Soubielle, « Rapport trimestriel de la mission de Nyundo pour les Années 1916-1917 » in *Société des missionnaires d'Afrique*, T.13, p.300.

¹⁰⁸ P.Classe kandi atanga amakuru ku nzara yibasiye abaturage b'akarere k'u Bugoyi

¹⁰⁹ Philippin, « Rapport sur la famine du Bogoyi (1917) », in Lugan B., *Etudes Rwandaises*, op.cit., p.247

amaze kubwirwa ayo makuba yo mu Bugoyi (wari warakwije henshi ibaruwa ya P. Classe) yandikiye Minisitiri we amubwira uko ibintu bimeze n'ingamba zafashwe¹¹⁰. Mu ibaruwa ye yabanje kuvuga ko nyirabayazana ari ubutegetsu bwaho, cyanecyane Kapiteni Van Aerde wayoboraga igice cy'uburengerazuba¹¹¹ na Bwana Lignon wari adiminisitarateri w'iyi ntara, kuko nta cyo bakoze ngo bagobo abo baturage kandi abo bayobozi bombi bari babifitiye ubushobozi bwinshi¹¹². Ni yo mpamvu yateye Komiseri gushyiraho Mortehan ngo ayobore iyo teritwari yari mu kaga.

Yavuze kandi ko bari baratumiye ibiribwa n'imbuto muri Walikale na Masisi kugira ngo barengere abashonji b'i Bugoyi. Hanyuma yahagaritse ibyo gushyiraho abikorera, kuko abaturage babaga mu mutekano muke n'umutima uhagaze.

Za Misiyoni n'abayobozi b'Ababirigi batangira gutabara abashonje batanga imyaka yaguzwe ahari hadashonje cyane, kandi banavuzaga abarwayi bafashwe n'indwara z'ibyorezo (macinya, ubushyamba n'ibindi). Adiminisitarateri Mortehan yavuze ababaye ko abamisiyoneri bifashishije iyo nzara maze bakwiza idini ryabo mu gihugu. "Igice kinini k'inkunga bari babonye yahawe gusa igice gito cy'abaturage, ari bo b'abakirisitu". Abatari abakirisitu batuye hafi ya misiyoni bagombaga kujya ku Gisenyi gufatayo imfashanyo.

"Imirimo y'ubuhinzi yakoresheye na ba nyakubahwa b'abapadiri na yo ntiyagenze neza". Aho guhinga ahantu hanini hagaragara, igice kinini cy'abaturage cyahabwaga inkunga ya Leta mu gukorera gusa intoko za kera bene zo bari barapfuye cyangwa barasuhutse. Yongeyeho ko abamisiyoneri bari bafitemo inyungu. Batunze abantu babo muri izo ntoki: bari bizeye ko bazazegurirwa zikaba izabo burundu mu gihe bene zo ba mbere bazaba batagarutse: ibyo kandi byari binyuranije n'umuco w'igihugu¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Lettre au Ministère, 29 juin 1917.

¹¹¹ Muri urwo rwandiko Steven yohereye Komiseri w'umwami w'Ababirigi. Muri raporo ze zo mu Kuboza 1916, Mutarama, Gashyantare 1917, Komanda w'ako gace nta cyo avugaga ku bibazo byanywe n'ibiribwa nubwo yari atuye ku Gisenyi. Kuri Steven, «uko ni ukwirengagiza kutababarirwa», «biragaragara rero ko iyo Bwana Van Aerde amenyesha hakiri kare ibibazo biri mu Bugoyi, nari kwihutira gutanga ibyo nasabwaga byose kugira ngo ibibazo bikemuke» (Steven kuri Komiseri w'umwami w'Ababirigi)

¹¹² Nk'uko Mortehan abivugaga, Bwana Lignon yahisemo guhita yohereza kuri misiyoni ya Nyundo imyenda, ibiribwa, imbuto n'ibikorere yari yahawe. Yibazaga aho ibyo bintu byahereye (ibaruwa ya Mortehan yohereye Rezida tariki 18 Nzeri 1917).

¹¹³ Lettre de Mortehan au Résident, 18 septembre 1917.

Inzara ya 1916-1918 yatewe n'ikibazo kidaturutse ku Banyarwanda, ikomezwa n'imvura y'imbusane mu bihe byayo hiyongeraho kutita ku bintu by'ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni n'umugogoro w'imirimu ubuyobozi gakondo byakaga abaturage.

c. Ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare kuva mu wa 1916

Nk'uko byavuzwe haruguru, bigitangira ntabwo u Bubirigi bwari bufite gahunda yo gushyiraho ubutegetsi bwabo muri teritwari ndage zo mu burengerazuba bw'Afurika. U Bubirigi bumaze gufata u Rwanda, bwashatse kuyobora icyo gihugu mu gihe hagitegerejwe ko intambara irangira. Izo teritwari zagombaga kuzakoreshwa nk'ikimenyetso gifatika mu mibonano yagombaga kuba nyuma y'intambara.

U Rwanda rugifatwa mu kwezi kwa Gicurasi 1916, ingabo z'Ababirigi zarwanaga zasimbuwe n'ingabo zo kuhayobora. Ubuyobozi bukuru bwa gisirikare bw'Ababirigi bwo muri Afurika ndage y'u Burengerazuba (Rwanda-Burundi n'igice cya Tanganyika) bwongerwagamo ingufu za Komiseri mukuru w'umwami, washyizweho n'umwami w'Ababirigi wari ufite ikicaro i Kigoma. J.-P Malfety ni we wa mbere wahawe uwo mwanya. Yakoranaga bitaziguye na minisitiri wa Koroni i Buruseli, atabanje kunyura kuri guverineri wa Kongo mbirigi. Yari ashinzwe kunyuzwa ibintu byose mu buryo, kubahiriza umutekano rusange muri teritwari no kuziyobora mu gihe hagitegerejwe ko intambara irangira, hakabaho amasezerano y'amahoro.

Mu gihe hagitegerejwe iyo mibonano, Jenerari Tombeur yahawe amabwiriza ko kwakira ubuyoboze bw'abaturage batsinzwe ndetse no "kubategeka". Kugira ngo abasirikare babone ikibatunga, u Rwanda rwagabanijwemo ibice bibiri bitandukanye: igice cy'uburengerazuba gifite ikicaro gikuru ku Gisenyi, n'igice cy'uburasirazuba gifite ikicaro i Kigali. Ibyo bice byombi byayoborwaga n'urwego rwa gisirikare ruri i Gitega. Ibyo bice byari bigabanijemo amaposition ya gisirikare ashinzwe gukurikiranira hafi abaturage, hifashishijwe abatware b'imisozi cyangwa abahagarariye abatware bakuru ku rwego rwa poritiki.

Ba ofisiye na suzofiye b'Ababirigi, bashinzwe imitegekere bahisemo uburyo bwo kuyobora batanyuze kuri Musinga n'ibwami babonaga, byaba ukuri cyangwa kutaba ko, ari

ikintu kibabangamiye. Bagombaga kunyura iruhande mu gihe bagitegereje ko bivanwaho burundu. Nyanza yari mu gice cy'uburengerazuba¹¹⁴. Raporo ya mbere y'ubuyobozi yo muri icyo gice ni iyo mu Kwakira 1916, nyuma gato y'insinzi y'Ababirigi. Iyo raporo yerekanaga uko ibintu byari byifashe ku maposita yose: ku Gisenyi (sheferi ya Rwakadigi na Rwanuma), i Rubengera, i Nyanza, Cyangugu na Ruhengeri. Iyo umuntu asomye iyo raporo, agira ngo umwaka wa 1916 warangiye hari amahoro ahagije. Impungenge zonyine zivugwa mu Ruhengeri aho abaturage baho, nk'uko bisanzwe, batari bishimiye gukandamizwa n'abanyamahanga. Ahandi byagendaga neza ndetse no mu Bugoyi hari nyamara inzara ya Rumanura ica ibintu. Ariko muri iyo raporo icyo cyago k'inzara nticyavugwaga, raporo yavugaga ko ibintu byose bimeze neza.

Ibyabonekaga i Nyanza byerekana neza ukuntu ibintu byari bidafututse mu minsi ya mbere y'ubutegetsu bwa gisirikare. Muri raporo ya mbere (1916) umukuru w'iposita y'i Nyanza yerekanaga ko yishimye ku buryo busesuye, nta mpungege Musinga yari amuteye. Ariko muri raporo yakurikiyeho, ibintu byarahindutse. Muri raporo yo muri Gashyantare 1917, igice cy'uburengerazuba cyabonekagamo ko mu gihe abaturage bari bahugiye mu mirimo basabwaga kandi bayishimiye ndetse banayikorana umwete, Musinga we yirengagizaga nkana umurimo w'abategetsu ba gisirikare.

Nyamara nyuma y'itariki ya 19 Gicurasi 1916, hagiye havuka ibibazo hagati ya Musinga n'abo bayobozi bashya. Ni muri urwo rwego, nyuma yuko Nyanza ifatwa, iposita y'ubugenzuzi yaho yasabye ko bayiha indugaruga zari zarezwe n'umuhungu w'umutware Bushaku kuba zarahiriwe kandi zigahishwa na Musinga. Ariko mu by'ukuri byasaga naho indugaruga zari zaratabye imbunda zazo hafi ya Nyanza, hanyuma zikivangavanga na rubanda¹¹⁵.

Mu rwego rwo gushakisha imbunda, higeze kuba ikibazo hagati ya Musinga na Kapiteni Philippin, shefu w'iposita ya Nyanza na Komanda w'igice cy'uburengerazuba. Abo ba ofisiye bombi bari barahagurukiye kwikoma Musinga, agashaka gutanguranwa

¹¹⁴ Bigaragara ko inyandiko za posita ya Save zidahari, kubera wenda ko De Cleck yaziciye kubera ikibazo cya padiri Huntzinger. Uru ni urugero rugaragara rw'umuntu wa Kiriziya wivanze mu bikorwa bya Leta.

¹¹⁵ Kagame A., Un abrégé de l'histoire du Rwanda de 1853 à 1975, Editions universitaires rwandaïses, Butare, 1973, p.173.

ngo amukome imbere. Basabye Musinga gutanga imbunda yari afite abaha 30. Philippin arazanga, ategeka ko bazana n'izindi. Komanda w'iburasirazuba yatanze raporo ivuga ko hari ibihuha bivuga ko Musinga yaba yarohereje umwami w'i Karagwe, Kashushuro, imbunda 25. Gihamya yatanze ni umubano mwiza wagaragaraga hagati yabo bombi n'intumwa zabo. Umutware Gasazi w'i Cyangugu yaketswe kuba afite imbunda 40 zaje kuba gusa enye zatanzwe n'Ababirigi. Kandi nta kimenyetso na kimwe kerekanaga ko Musinga yaba yarahawe imbunda n'Abadage cyangwa n'abandi akaba yaba yari afite intwaro nyinshi nk'uko babyemezaga.

Nubwo nta kuri bari bafite, umukuru w'iposita na Komanda bemera badashidikanya ko Musinga afite umugambi w'ubugambanyi. Hatangira imvugo ikarishye hagati yabo n'ibwami, baregaga kuba baragumye kwikundira Abadage. Muri ibyo byose impuha nyinshi zaravuzwe n'udukorwa duto tugahabwa intera ikomeye. Ba ofisiye b'Ababirigi bemezaga ko Musinga afite intwaro zikabije, ni yo mpamvu bashakaga kumwikiza. Babigirwagamo inama n'abamisiyoneri gatorika bangaga urunuka Musinga, cyanecyane Padiri Huntzinger wabaga i Save. Musinga yanarezwe kuba yigwizaho intwaro z'Ababirigi azibye mu mangazini zabikwagamo.

Muri Gashyantare 1917, Kapiteni Philippin yashyize mu rwego rwo hejuru ikibazo cya Yenga-yenga, izina ryitirirwaga intasi yakoreraga z'Abadage. Yavugaga ko yafashe ibaruwa yavugaga urutonde rw'abantu 200 baba barishwe n'ingabo z'Ababirigi bigaruriye igihugu. Rwagataraka washakaga gufunguza se Rwidembya, yahamyaga ko urwo rutonde rwahimbwe n'umwanditsi wa Musinga, ahereye ku busa. Musinga we yavugaga ko ibyo byose ari ibintu byacuzwe ba Padiri Huntzinger. icyo kibazo cyabaye gihagaritswe ngo kibone gushakirwa igisubizo.

Muri Werurwe 1917, hongera kuvuka umwuka mubi. Musinga yarezwe kuba ashaka kuroga abazungu b'i Kigali; akoresheje imyaka y'ibiribwa yabohererezaga. Abatware bamwe barahagarikwa harimo Gashamura. Ibyo na byo byari byavuzwe n'umukuru wa misiyoni ya Save, wari wabikuye ku muboyi wa rezidansi. Komanda w'i Burengerazuba Van Aerde washakaga kurangiza ikibazo cya Musinga, asaba ko ashyirwa mu rukiko. Asaba abamukuriye ko Musinga yaburanishirizwa mu rukiko rw'intambara. Hategurwa

gahunda ya gisikare yo kuburizamo imyigaragambyo yavuka yose y'abaturage ndetse n'inkunga yava muri Karagwe. Abategetsu ba gisirikare bari mu Rwanda bari bategereje uruhushya rw'i Gitega hari ikicaro gikuru cya gisirikare ya Ruanda-Urundi. I Buruseli bahitamo gukemura icyo kibazo ku buryo bwa poritiki aho kugikemura mu buryo bwa porisi na gisikare. Komiseri w'umwami w'Ababirigi ashiraho iteka n° 2/5 ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1917 rigarura imiyoborere y'ubutegetsu imeze nk'igihe cy'Abadage, yongera no guha agaciro ubuyobozi bwa cyami.

Abasirikare b'Ababirigi babonaga Musinga atitaye ku buyobozi kandi nta cyo amabwiriza yahabwaga amubwiye. Ubuyobozi bw'abazungu yabushyiraga ku mwanya wa kabiri. Nk'uko bigaragara, nta waba abeshye avuze ko habuze urwego ruhuza imirimo y'abasirikare n'umwami wari uhanganye n'abatware bamwe na bamwe bashakaga kwigenga, bigatuma igice kimwe k'igihugu kigwa mu kavuyo.

d. Ishingwa rya Rezidansi mbirigi i Kigali

Ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1917 ni ho Majoro Declerk (bitaga Majoro) yagizwe rezida w'u Rwanda. Ageze i Kigali tariki ya 30 Mata yari afite ubutumwa bwo gutuma Musinga acisha make kandi akagarurirwa ijamba mu butegetsu bwe. Kuva Kigali yafatwa kugeza Declerk aza, ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bwari bushinzwe abasirikare, buri mu ntoki za Komanda Scharfes.

Rezidansi y'u Rwanda yagabanijwemo segiteri eshatu mu 1917 naho kuva mu 1921 igabanywamo "Teritwari" y'amajyaruguru (ikicaro mu Ruhengeri), teritwari ya Nyanza (ikicaro i Nyanza) na teritwari y'uburasirazuba (ikicaro i Kigali). Uko kugabanya u Rwanda mo za teritwari byari bigamije koroshya imirimo ya gisirikari nk'ijyanye no kubona ibibatunga no gushobora kubona abikorezi¹¹⁶. Muri Gicurasi 1919 Majoro Declerk yasimbuwe na F.Van Den Eede (bitaga Bebiriga), wabaye Rezida wa mbere w'umusiviri. Ubwo buyobozi bwa gisiviri bwagumyeho mu gihe cyose cy'ubutegetsu bwa gisirikare bwarangiye mu by'ukuri mu wa 1926.

Kubura umuhuza hagati y'abayobozi b'ibice bya gisirikari n'umwami Musinga byateraga ikibazo gikomeye cy'uko igihugu gishobora kwicamo ibice bibiri. Nk'uko raporo yo mu wa 1920-1921 ibivuga, "ubutegetsu bw'umwami bwari bubangamiwe

¹¹⁶ Van Den Eede E. (Résident du Rwanda), *Note sur la situation politique actuelle du Rwanda*, 26 juillet 1921, Archives Africaines : AE/II no 1847 (3 288).

by'umwihariko n'iyoy mikorere yarushagaho kuremerezwa n'uko hakagwa ibifasha abasirikare"¹¹⁷ bitangwa n'abaturage bashegeshwe n'intambara n'inzara ya Rumanura. Kuri izo ngorane hiyongeragaho ikoro ry'ibwami, ryerekanaga ko bayobotse rikanafasha imibereho ibwami, kandi kuva mu wa 1917, Ababirigi bisanze imbere y'akavuyo gakabije: abatware benshi b'Abatutsi bagaragaje (...) imyifatire yo gushaka kwigenga bituma rusa n'urukubwe no kutagira gitegeka na busa"¹¹⁸.

Tariki ya 6 Mata 1917, hashyizweho Iteka rishyiraho imiterere n'imiyoborere y'intara zafashwe. Iryo Teka ryavanagaho ibice by'iburasazuba n'iburengerazuba mu Rwanda, ryasubizagaho imiterere ya mbere ya teritwari, cyanecyane nka Rezidansi nk'igihe cy'Abadage. Ryananzaga uko rezidansi zo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi zigomba kuyoborwa. Ingingo ya 4 y'iryo Teka igira iti: "Muri teritwari z'ibihugu bitandukanye, ba Rezida ni bo bahagarariye Leta yahafashe, bashinzwe kuharinda amahoro n'umutekano wa rubanda. Abami babyo bakora imirimo ya poritiki n'ubucamanza babiyobowemo na ba Rezida, hakurikijwe ibiteganwa n'umuco n'amabwiriza ya komiseri w'umwami w'u Bubirigi"¹¹⁹.

Mu mwaka wa 1919 hashyizweho za teritwari zahujwe ziyobowe n'abatware bakuru kuko kugeza icyo gihe, ubutegetsu bw'abatware ntibwabaga kuri teritwari z'umujyo umwe: abatware hafi ya bose bategekaga imisozi cyangwa ibice by'imisozi inyanyagiye mu ntara z'u Rwanda. Mu by'ukuri intara z'u Rwanda, zagiye zicibwagurwamo uduce twinshi cyanecyane nyuma y'intambara yo ku Rucunshu, zari zisigaye ari intara ku izina gusa ku izidafite umuyobozi uzikuriye umwe rukumbi. Mu rwego rwo kunoza imiyoborere, ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwagize umutware w'intara mu wa 1919, umutware wabaga afite ibintu kurusha abandi, cyanecyane inka. Uwo mutware yagombaga kuzategeka uretse imisozi ye n'imisozi y'abandi batware bo muri iyo ntara, mu bireba byibura imirimo ya Leta : imisoro, ubwikorezi, gukora imihanda n'ibindi. Ariko birumvikana ko uwo mutware w'intara atari afite uburenganzira bwo gusaba, ku giti ke, ko abaturage bamukorera imirimo yari igenewe ubusanzwe abatware batari abo muri iyo ntara"¹²⁰.

¹¹⁷ Ministère des Colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1920-1921, p.11.

¹¹⁸ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1920-1921, p.11

¹¹⁹ Marzorati, *Note pour le Commissaire royal*, s.l.n.d. Rwa (163)1917- 1924 (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.

¹²⁰ Lenaerts, Réponse à la question no 10, *Rapport de 1921/ Administration de Nyanza*,

4.2.2 Ubutegetsu igihe cya Manda.

➤ Inyito ya poritiki y'abaturage

Aba ofisiye na ba suzofisiye ba mbere bafashe u Rwanda nta cyo bumvaga ku bireba imiterere y'ukuri mu Rwanda. Ariko byari ngombwa ko hamenyekana abantu bari mu buyobozi bwa poritiki ndetse n'uko ubutegetsu buteye n'uko bukora. Ibyo byose byagiye bivugwa n'abapadiri bera bashingiye ku byo babonaga mu turere babagamo. Padiri Classe wari ikegera cya Myr Hirth ni we wakusanirije hamwe ayo makuru mu nyandiko yise "Imiterere ya poritiki mu Rwanda mu ntangiriro y'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi (1916)"¹²¹. Iyo nyandiko ni yo yifashishijwe n'abategetsu bashya. Ndetse iyo nyandiko yaje kumenyekana cyane: yakunze gusubirwamo, gutangwaho ikigereranyo no kwiganwa muri za raporo za mbere n'abashyitsi bazaga. Ni ngombwa kwerekana uko yari iteye mu buryo burambuye.

Padiri Classe yavugaga ko ubutegetsu bufitwe n'amoko abiri : Abega n'Abanyiginya. Poritiki akenshi igirwa n'amacenga agenda anyagisha bamwe. Byose bigakorwa mu bintu by'ishyari ari yo ngeso iranga Abatutsi.

Raporo ya Padiri Classe ivuga kandi cyane ku buryo ubutegetsu bugizwe n'uduce twinshi kandi tunyanyagiye henshi, bigamije kubuza ko hagira umutware uba igikomerezwa. Mu turere tumwe umwami yari yarashoboye kuhashyira abagaragu be bwite, yambura imisozi imwe n'imwe abatware bakomeye. Ariko hari ahari hafite ubuyobozi bwihariye nko mu Bugoyi, mu Kingogo, mu Gisaka, mu Kinyaga abatware bari bahafite ubutegetsu buke, amoko n'imiryango yaho bahafite ubwigenge bugari.

Raporo ya Padiri Classe isobanura imirimo yari inkingi z'ubutegetsu bwa poritiki. Amakoro ku mashyoy'inka yagenerwaga umwami n'umugabekazi. Abadatunze inka bagatanga imyaka y'ibiribwa. Abaturage bandi cyanecyane Abahutu bagatanga ikoro ry'ubutaka, keretse abo mu Nduga no mu Marangara. Kwaka amakoro byari bifitiye inyungu abayakaga kuko hari igice bisaguriraga. Kuri iyo mirimo myinshi hiyongereyeho indi mishya, nk'amasaro, yari amazimano yagombaga kugenerwa abikorezi b'abazungu cyangwa abacuruzi.

dans Papiers Derscheid, Bruxelles.

¹²¹ Ifite umutwe wundi wa : «Notes rédigées par R.P Classe, des Pères Blancs, Mission de Kabwayi, à la demande de l'administration belge ». 28 Août 1916, papiers Derscheid.

Raporo ya Padiri Classe ivuga no ku nzego mu mibanire igatinda cyane ku buhake, hashingiwe cyane ku rugero rwo mu Marangara Padiri Classe yari azi neza : asobanura cyanecyane imirimo yagendanaga n’ubwo buhake. Padiri Classe avuga kandi ibirebana n’amoko; ngo Abatutsi, akenshi batunze inka nyinshi¹²², ni bo bafite ubuyobozi uretse Abatutsi bato, Abahutu¹²³: Abatwa barimo ibice bibiri, ababana n’abandi Banyarwanda (hafi yaho abatware n’umwami batuye), bagera ku 5000, n’abandi Batwa baba mu mashyamba ya Kingogo, mu Bushiru, mu Murera no mu Kinyaga.

Muri icyo nyandiko padiri Classe avugamo iby’ingenzi abo bayobozi bashya bagomba kumenya. Ariko gushingira ku byo yabonaga kandi yabagamo mu Marangara, padiri Classe yaribeshye, akubira mu rwego rumwe ibintu bitandukanye. Ubuhamya bwa padiri Classe bwagize uruhare rukomeye no kugena imitegekere y’icyo gihe no mu gihe cyakurikiyeho no ku bumenyi bw’urubumbambaga nyarwanda. Ibyo yemezaga byagiye akenshi bifatwa bityo nta bushishozi burimo.

b. Ubuyobozi bwitiriwe ko buziguye

Minisitiri wa Koroni Bwana L. Franck, wari wasimbuye Renkin, yasuye Kongo na teritwari zari zafashwe n’u Bubirigi¹²⁴. Muri urwo ruzinduko yashyizeho imirongo migari y’imiyoborere ya Ruanda-Urundi. Kimwe n’Abadage yashingiye ku buryo bw’ubutegetsu buziguye. Yumvaga ko ubwo buryo bwagombye kugira umumaro mu bihugu bifite ubuyobozi busanzweho, bifite inzego gakondo zikomeme n’urwego rwa poritiki n’abantu babifitiye ubuhanga bwizewe. Yavugaga ko akazi k’umuzungu ari umurezi no kwerekana inzira zo gukurikizwa. Frank yashyizeho imiterere y’inzego z’ubuyobozi iteye itya:

- Ba Rezida babiri na Rezida mukuru bashinzwe inama nshingwabikorwa igena ingengo y’imari igezwa kuri minisitiri wa Koroni, bagashyira no mu bikorwa gahunda z’ibikorwa remezo, bakagenzura kandi bagakurikiranira hafi poritiki y’abenegihugu.
- Rezida agomba gukorana ku buryo butaziguye na Minisitiri ushinzwe za Koroni, agakorana kandi na guverineri wa Kongo akanakurikiranira imikorere ya ba Rezida bombi.

¹²² Raporo yongeraho ko mu Murera ijamba «umututsi» rivuga utuye wese mu Nduga.

¹²³ Hejuru ya miriyoni ebyiri, mu kigereranyo cy’abamisiyoneri.

¹²⁴ Franck L., *Le Congo belge* t.1, La Renaissance du Livre, Bruxelles, 1931.

- Rezida ni we ushinzwe ubutegetsu bwa za teritwari abifashijwemo n'abakozi ba za teritwari bari mu mirimo inyuranye (ubuyobozi, ibikorwa remezo, ubuvuzi, imari, abashinzwe umutekano)
- Inzego zose z'imirimo za Rezida zagombaga kwifashisha Abatutsi ku buryo buhoraho kandi butaziguye kuko bafite ubumenyi kimeza bwo gutegeka, kandi bakabyumvikanaho n'umwami. Abo bafasha kandi bagombaga guhabwa amahugurwa no guhembwa. Ni byo Ishuri ry'i Nyanza ryashyize mu bikorwa kuva ritangiye mu wa 1919.

Minisitiri yashakaga kurekeraho inzego za gakondo zariho no kuzikoresha, kuko yabonaga zemewe bishingiye ku mateka. "Ntibikwiye ko mu izina ry'uburinganire inzego z'ibanze za poritiki zahindurwa. Twasanze Abatutsi bariho kuva kera, bazi ubwenge kandi babishoboye, twubashye uko ibintu bimeze"¹²⁵.

Ibyo Minisitiri yashyiragaho byari itegeko shingiro ry'imitegekere ya koroni muri teritwari ziri muni ziyobowe ku buryo bwa Manda, zifite sitati y'amategeko yihariye. Byatumaga bishoboka gutegeka teritwari nshya ku buryo budahenze, ari mu bantu ari no mu mafaranga. Mu bikorwa buri muni hari umutware mukuru muri buri karere washyirwagaho n'umwami, agashingwa ibirebana n'imikoraniye n'abazungu byose, gutunganya ubwikorezi, kurema no gukora imihanda no kwaka imisoro. Guhitamo uwo bakoranaga w'Umututsi byakozwe kandi bishingira ku mpamvu z'irondabwoko. Bashingiye ku mvugo z'abamisiyoneri, Ababirigi bafashe ingoma ya cyami n'abatware b'Abatutsi mu buryo bubiri buvuguruzanya. Imvugo ya mbere yasubiragamo imvugo z'umugani witiriwe "Hamite" ijyanye n'utuntu twinshi tw'ingirwabuhanga : nko kuvuga imico n'imiterere y'Abatutsi, Abahutu, Abatwa byagiye bishyirwa mu nyandiko nyinshi za Leta, zitanga ishusho itari yo; ariko ba adiminisitarateri bese bakagenda bayiherekanya uko basimburana. Indi shusho itari nziza bayihereye ku byo bagendaga babona buri muni.

Uhereye kuri icyo shusho, Abatutsi ni abantu bari mu rwego rw'imfura zahebuje, bava muri Aziya bakaba barabaye mu Misiri ya ba Farawo. Imvugo zirebana n'abatware b'Abatutsi zirata ubwiza bw'imibiri yabo, indeshyo, ubuhanga mu birebana n'umubano n'amahanga n'impano mu birebana n'ubutegetsu. Ngo batandukanye muri byose n'abagaragu babo b'Abahutu.

¹²⁵ Frank L., *Le Congo belge* t.1, La Renaissance du Livre, Bruxelles, 1931.

Impamvu zibatera gutegekwa kwemera kuyoboka Abatutsi biva ku buhanga buri hejuru bwabo no kuba batunze n'inka zatumye habaho imibanire na ba shebuja. Rwubusisi na Rwagataraka bafatwagaho urugero rw'uko Umututsi ameze. Abatutsi na bo baje kubwirata mu myaka ya 1930 bakwirakwiza iyo mitekereze y'ironwabwoko ifite ingirwashingiro mu buhanga.

Abahutu ni ishami ry'abitwa Bantu, bafatwa ku rwego rw'abatsinzwe. Bakaba babura imico ya ba shebuja bavugwagaho ishusho ibisanzwe biranga umwirabura wese.

Abatwa ntibafite ubunyabuntu ubwo ari bwo bwose, ntibagira umuco wo kwitwara neza kandi ni abagome kamere. Ni bo bafite umwuga wo kwica abo abatware bakuru batanze. Raporo y'umwaka ya teritwari ya Nyanza (1925) ibavuga itya : "Umutwa ari mu bwoko bukuze kandi bushaje, buri mu nzira zo kuzima. Afite ibimuranga ku mubiri byihariye : muto, ucinyagaye, ufite imitsi ikomeye n'ubwoya bwinshi cyanecyane mu gatuza, isura ijya gusa n'iy'inguge, udafite umubyibuho na busa, ufite izuru rinini. Afite muri make ibiranga impunyu zo mu ishyamba na we ubwe akunze kubamo". Muri iyo mvugo yose isa n'imigani, ikivamo n'uko ubutegetswe bwose buharirwa Umututsi, imirimo ivunanye igaharirwa Umuhutu usangiye n'Umutwa ingaruka zo kuba ibicibwa by'Imana ishingiyeye ku cyaha k'inkomoko.

Iyo shusho y'ironwabwoko ntiyakunzwe n'abo yarebaga kuko yabasebyaga. Ntabwo ari yo sura imfura z'abatware bibonagamo. Ingengabitekerezo bari bafite ni iyarataga ibigwi by'umwami ukikijwe n'intwari z'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa bahora bahiganwa mu butwari. Imvugo y'imigani ntivuga intwari zo mu rwego rwo hejuru ; umwami wenyine ni we ufite uruhare rw'ikirenga kubera ko ari umwami w'u Rwanda.

Uwo murimo ushyira nyirawo hejuru y'Abahutu, Abatwa n'Abatutsi, kandi ubwami bushyira nyirabwo mu rwego rw'indashyikirwa. Ibindi bimenyetso byo mu mico n'imigani¹²⁶ bitanga indi sura y'amoko: Mu migani Abahutu n'Abatutsi bagaragara nk'abari ku rugero rumwe. Umuhutu ayigaragazwamo nk'inkirabuhari, umukene uzi byinshi kubera kubikora. Umututsi agaragazwa nk'imfura, uzi guhisha ibintu kandi ntamenye gushima. Umutwa agaragazwa nk'utazi ubwenge, igicucu ariko w'umugome.

¹²⁶ Crépeau P. et Bizimana S., *Proverbes du Rwanda*, INRS-Tervuren, 1980.

Iyo migaragarire igayitse yaba yaravuye kuri poritiki y'ubutegetsu yasumbanije amoko, byahuriranye n'ubutegetsu bwa gitutsi, cyanecyane kuva mu cya kabiri k'ikinyejana cya 19. Imigani ivuga ibiba n'indato z'abaturage, ikaba yerekana igice kimwe k'imibereho y'abantu. Ntabwo ishobora gushingirwaho ngo ifatwe nk'ikimenyetso ndakuka mu itandukana n'inzangano hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Amateka y'imibanire y'Abanyarwanda ntishobora kugarukira gusa ku bitekerezo bisanzwe bivuga Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa. Iyo haza kuba inzangano hagati yabo ntibaba bararemye umuryango umwe w'Abanyarwanda. Nubwo ntawahakana imico itandukanye hagati y'abantu n'uturere binyuranye, hari ariko n'ibindi bibahuza nk'ururimi, iyobokamana, gutura hamwe, guhurira ku moko amwe, intambara zarwanyaga ibihugu bikikije u Rwanda n'ishyaka ry'igihugu cyabo n'ibindi. Niba harabaye "isumbana"¹²⁷ ryaba ryaturutse ku mateka igihe iki n'iki, ntibyatewe n'imiterere kamere idahinduka cyangwa gutunga inka.

Urugero rushobora gutangwa mu Kinyaga ngo rwerekane ibimaze kuvugwa. Iby'amoko byaje mu Kinyaga mu gice cya 2 k'ikinyejana cya 19, mu gihe Abahutu n'Abatutsi babanaga guhera kera¹²⁸. Mbere yuko hagera abatware bashyizweho n'ibwami, ibyitabwagaho ni amoko y'imiryango cyangwa ubumwe bw'abaturage. Ibi na byo biboneka no mu tundi turere nko mu Bumbogo, amajyaruguru n'izindi ntara aho ubutegetsu bwari mu maboko y'imiryango, aho kuba ba kavantara baturutse ibwami. Ni ubwami bw'u Rwanda n'ingufu z'ubukoroni bwashyirishijeho ubuyobozi bw'Abatutsi muri utwo turere mbere y'ubundi bwose.

c. Irangira ry'ubutegetsu bwa cyami gakondo

Inzira yaje kugeza aho ubutegetsu bwa cyami buvaho yatangiye n'ibikorwa binyuranye byagiye bibwibasira, bibanza mbere na mbere kuyambura icyubahiro cyayo cy'uko ishingiyeye ku Mana. Kuva mu wa 1917, Musinga yagumye gukurikiranwa bikomeye n'abategetsu ba gisirikare batsinze. Muri uwo mwaka ubuyobozi mu byo bwahanganaga na byo harimo inzara yabicaga ya Rumanura: byari gombwa kuyitsinda bifashishije misiyoni gatorika zari mu gihugu zonyine icyo gihe, abaporoso bari barajyanye n'Abadage. Icyo gihe kandi umubano w'abayobozi b'abakoroni n'ibwami kwa Musinga wari umeze nabi.

¹²⁷ Maquet J.-J., *Le système des relations sociales dans le Rwanda ancien*, Tervuren, MRAC, 1954.

¹²⁸ Newbury C., *The cohesion of oppression. A century of clientship in Kinyaga, Rwanda*, Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1975

Gukurikirana Musinga n'ibyegeza bye mu nkiko ku kibazo cy'amarozi byari byarasubitswe mu gihe hari hagitegerejwe ko haza rezida mushya, Majoro De Clerk. Uyu kandi yari afite amabwiriza y'uko azagenda icyo kibazo¹²⁹. Akigera mu Rwanda, yahise akora anketi yaje kwemeza ko Musinga ari umwere. Icyo kibazo k'igihimbano ngo nuko abazungu bari bagiye kuzira amarozi, gushaka guhagarika umwami Musinga w'u Rwanda by'abategetsu bashya n'iyi anketi yakurikiyeho, byose byerekana mu buryo bugaragara ukuntu u Rwanda rwari rwatsinzwe n'ukuntu umubano w'ibwami n'abazungu b'Ababirigi wari mubi. Nyuma haje gufatwa izindi ngingo zagiye zirimbura imizi y'ubutegetsu bwa cyami mu Rwanda buhoro buhoro, izikomeye muri izo ngingo ni izi zikurikira:

➤ **Ivanwaho ry'uburenganzira ku buzima n'urupfu (1917)**

Ingingo ya mbere yafashwe na Komiseri w'umwami w'Ababirigi, abyumvikanye na Leta ye, yabaye iyo kwambura abami gakondo uburenganzira ndakuka ku buzima n'urupfu by'abaturage babo. Uburenganzira bwo kwica busigirwa umwami w'Ababirigi, umwami w'i Rwanda asigarana gusa izina n'ibyubahiro. Bwari uburyo bwo kumutesha agaciro bugaragarira buri wese. Musinga yahise abyumva ku buryo bwose. We na nyina ntibigeze bashira ako kababaro. Uko kugwa hasi kwabo vuba kandi bitari byiteguwe byongeye kubatera agahinda ko kubura Abadage no kongera kwifuza ko bagaruka kubashyigikira. Ni ho havuye intandaro y'urwango rwabo ruhoraho ariko ruhisha rwaje kubaviramo nyuma y'imyaka 15 kubakura ku ngoma no kubaca. Ngo Musinga yabwiye De Clerk wari umaze kumwambura uburenganzira bwose ku butegetsu bwe ati: "Ubwo ntagishoboye kwica uko nshatse, sinkiri umwami".

➤ **Ikemezo ku burenganzira bw'iyobokamana (1917)**

Muri Nyakanga 1917, hari ubwumvikane bukomeye hagati ya Majoro De Clerk n'abayobozi b'idini rya gatorika, cyanecyane Musenyeri Hirth n'igisonga ke padiri Classe. Bishingiye ku byo abayobozi b'idini basabye, Musinga yategetswe kwemera uburenganzira busesuye ku birebana n'iyobokamana nk'uko byumvikana mu mategeko y'abazungu. Mu by'ukuri, icyo gikorwa cyari kibasiye iyobokamana gakondo bashakaga

¹²⁹ Marzorati, Note par Monsieur le Commissaire royal, s.l.n.d., Politique indigène - Renseignements - Dossier Musinga, Rwa (163) 1917- 1924, p.2.

kubuza kugira uburenganzira bwihariye yari isanganywe. Uwari kunyuranya n'icyo kemezo, cyanecyane ababyeyi n'abayobozi gakondo, bashoboraga kubihanirwa. Ni abamisiyoneri gatorika babiboneyemo inyungu kuko ari bo bonyine bigishaga.

➤ **Kubangamira ububasha bw'umwami mu bucamanza (1922)**

Umuco wa cyami wari warahimbye invugo igamije kumvisha by'umwihariko igitekerezo ko umwami ari we muntu w'inyangamugayo mu bantu bose, Nyamugirubutangwa (umuntu badashobora kuvuguruza) kuko amategeko n'ibyemezo bye ari nta makemwa kandi bifite akamaro, kandi uko aciye imanza bidasubirwamo. Mu wa 1922, hafashwe ikemezo ko umwami azajya yunganirwa mu mirimo ye y'ubucamanza n'uhagarariye rezida i Nyanza.

➤ **Kugabanya ububasha bwo gushyiraho abayobozi mu rwego rwa poritiki**

Mu wa 1923, Musinga yamenyeshejwe ko abujijwe kugabira cyangwa kunyaga uko ashatse, abashefu n'abatware bashyirwaga mu butegetsi n'ibwami. Abashefu b'intara na bo ntibari bagishoboye gushyiraho cyangwa gukuraho ababahagarariye batabanje kubihirwa uburenganzira na rezida. icyo kemezo cyari gifite ingaruka ikomeye. Impamvu nuko gushobora kwivanga mu bintu bene ako kageni, byatumye ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi ari bwo buba isoko nyakuri y'ubutegetsi : abashefu n'abasushefu mu by'ukuri ntibari bagitegekwa na Musinga, bategekwa n'abategetsi b'abakoroni.

➤ **Guca umuco w'ubwiru n'umuganura**

Mu wa 1925, ubuyobozi (bw'Ababirigi) bwemeje ko bugomba gucira i Gitega mu Burundi Gashamura wari umukuru w'abiru (abashinzwe imihango y'ubwami), bavuga ko yarwanyaga amajyambere kubera "uruhare rudafite urugero kandi rubi yari afite kuri Musinga". Gashamura yavuzwe mu nyandiko z'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri nk'umupfumu ukomeye kandi atari byo na busa. Umuhungu we Rwampungu yoherejwe mu ishuri ry'abana b'abatware i Nyanza, abatizwa mu wa 1928 muri Kiriziya gatorika. Bituma hatabaho umusimbura muri urwo rwego rukomeye rw'ubwiru n'umuganura.

➤ **Inyagwa rya Musinga**

Havugwa mu magambo make ko ihirikwa ry'ubwami bw'u Rwanda gakondo bwavuye ku gutakaza ireme ry'umwihariko mu myumvire n'imatekerereze, mu gutakaza ububasha mu guca imanza no gukuraho buhoro buhoro uburenganzira bwo kugaba no kunyaga uko bushatse. Ku gihe cy'Abadage, Kanjogera na basaza be bashoboraga kugera ku cyo bashaka. Igihe cy'Ababirigi, bagiye babagenzura bigenda biruhanya kubaca mu rihumye kubera abantu benshi babahaga amakuru n'ingeso yo kuzimura yimakajwe n'abakuru b'iposita y'i Nyanza. Ni muri urwo rwego Musinga yinubiraga guhora anekwa buri gihe ku nyungu z'abazungu, cyanecyane ku nyungu za Leenaerts, wari uhagarariye rezida i Nyanza. Yakoreshaga abanyeshuri bo mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza yayoboraga n'abarimu muri iryo shuri n'Abanyarwanda banga Musinga babaga bishakira ubuhake ku bazungu.

Musinga yari atagishoboye gutegeka abatware igihe cyose, ibihano by'umubiri byari byaravanyweho kandi no kubanyaga bikagomba kwemezwa na rezida. Musinga yagerageje kubatera ubwoba ariko ababikorewe bakamurega ku Babirigi. Gutakaza agaciro k'ibwami byagaragariraga mu guseniyuka kw'ingo z'i Nyanza. Musinga yari yaratakaje igice kinini cy'ubukungu bwe, bituma inyubako z'amazu ze zidafatwa neza. Imirimo yakorwaga n'abagaragu be yagiye igabanuka bigendanye n'uko abatware bagenda bacika i Nyanza. Ugereranyije Musinga yabonaga amafaranga menshi ku bihembo bya buri kwezi yahabwaga n'ubuyobozi. Ikoru ku misoro ryamuhaga 7000 frs ku kwezi. Musinga yayamazaga iki? Nta nkuru zifatika z'uko ibwami bakoreshaga umutungo wabo. Kuva ku isubirwamo ry'imiyoborere guhera mu wa 1926 ryibasiye cyanecyane abatware batobato bahatswe na Musinga, ibyatangwagaho ikoro ry'imyaka n'amafaranga byakoreshejwe mu gufasha abari banyazwe n'abazungu¹³⁰. Ikoru ry'ibwami rifata agaciro k'ubukungu, bugenewe gushyigikira abayoboze be. Ubwo bugizi bwa neza bwose bwatumaga urugo rw'umwami rutitabwaho.

Musinga yirukanye abagore be b'Abega mu wa 1923, kuva ubwo bafashwa n'imiryango yabo bwite. Nyuma (1927) ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bumutegeka kujya arihira abahungu be. Ubwo butegetsu buca intege itangwa ry'ibintu ryatumaga ibwami no

¹³⁰ Résidence du Rwanda, *Rapport politique pour l'année 1929*, Territoire de Nyanza, A.A. Bruxelles.

mu nkengero zaho hahora abantu b'inkorabusa byatungaga. Ibwami ntibashoboye kugenzura imikwirakwirize ishingiyeye ku bukungu bushya, cyanecyane amafaranga. Ariko ibwami habuze cyanecyane urwinyagamburiro mu rwego rwa poritiki n'ubuyobozi, bishingiyeye ku murimo wo gucibwa inyuma no guhabwa akato n'abadiminisitarateri; ni byo byaje kugera ku inyagwa rya Musinga utarashoboye kugendana n'ubutegetsini bw'abakoroni.

Inyagwa rya Musinga ryabaye indunduro y'ibibazo byo kutumvikana byagiye byikurikiranya hagati ya rezidansi y'i Kigali n'ibwami, byanyurwagamo n'igihe cy'agahenge. Ingorane nini kwari ugutandukanya n'ukubahiriza ibigenewe inzego z'ubutegetsini z'Ababirigi n'ibigenewe Musinga. Ntabwo we yigeze yemera urwego bamushyiragaho, ashingiyeye ku byo yemererwaga n'umwanya we. Ubutegetsini bw'Ababirigi bwagiye bugerageza kwikiza Musinga (1922 na 1929). Bwagiye kubireka ku mpamvu zatangwaga n'abari bagize Leta mbirigi yo mu Rwanda no kugira ngo batarakaza komisiyo ihoraho ya Manda na Sosiyeti y'Ibihugu (SDN).

Raporo yo mu wa 1928 irimo ibirego byinshi guverineri wa Ruanda-Urundi arega Musinga. Aregwa ibyaha byinshi birimo gusambanya abo bafitanye isano, kurwanira ubutegetsini, kutagira ubushobozi, kutita ku byo ashinzwe n'ibindi. Raporo yasabaga ko yanyagwa. Mu gihe bari bagitegereje igisubizo k'I Buruseli, bemeje ko umushahara we wagabanywa byo kumucira amarenga. Buruseli yanze kumunyaga kubera impamvu ebyeri:

- Inyungu ziri mu butegetsini buziguze; byari bigikenewe kandi ari ngombwa kwifashisha icyubahiro cy'umwami mu buyobozi
- Ikibazo k'imikoranire mpuzamahanga: byari kuba ari ikosa rikomeye gukuraho urwego rwerekanaga ubuyobozi buziguze. Urwego rwa CPM rwari rukomeye kuri bene ubwo buyobozi; kvanaho ubwami byari kuzagaragara nabi i Geneve, mu Budage no mu Bwongereza.

Musinga na we yari afite ibyo yinubira ku Babirigi. Nta buhamya bwe buhari, ariko hari za raporo n'ubuhamya bya ba adiminisitarateri n'abamisiyoneri bivuga ibyari bimuremereye ku mutima. Ntabwo yari yishimiye kubona i Nyanza uwari intumwa ihoraho ya rezida ibwami. Kuri we iyo ntumwa yishyiraga hejuru ndetse igasuzugura; ni ho hari ipfundo ry'ikibazo.

Umurimo w'iyi ntumwa waje kugumishwaho ndetse uwasimbuye Defawe, Lenaerts, yafatanije umurimo wo kuba shefu wa teritwari ya Nyanza n'uwo kuba diregiteri w'ishuri ry'abana b'abashefu. Yagize byinshi atumvikanaho na Musinga. Nyamara yari yaratangiye imirimo ye mu buryo bushaka kumvikana n'ubucuti, ndetse biza kumufasha kumenya amabanga y'ibwami. Ariko ubwo bucuti bwamaze igihe gito. Ibwami bamwitaga "Rurenge". Bamuregaga kwivanga kenshi mu birebana n'ibwami. Habaye intambara yo guhangana yamaze imyaka ikenda, icyo gihe cyose Musinga ntiyigeze areka gutekereza ko azira umuntu umwe umushyiraho ubushyo bw'ingenza. Iyo ntumwa yari yaragize intege kurusha Musinga n'abagaragu be bagendaga basimburwa n'abari bizewe n'umuzungu w'i Nyanza.

Musinga yanze ko umuhungu we Rudahigwa agirwa shefu wa Marangara. Yatinyaga ko yagwa mu mutego wa Musenyeri Classe wavugaga ko ari we wahindutse umwami w'u Rwanda, ko nta muntu ugabana Musenyeri na rezida batabanje kubiganiraho. Mu ruzinduko guverineri yakoze mu wa 1929, Musinga n'umugabekazi bamubwiye ibibababaje byose, binubira ko batagikorera imirimo bagenerwa, ko bambuwe ubutegetsi, ko hari ubwumvikane buke n'abategetsi b'abazungu, ko n'umuco utacyubahirizwa n'ibindi¹³¹. Guverineri abikiza yemeza ko kubaho k'ubwami bishingiye rwose ku muco n'umurage w'abakurambere. Umwami akaba aziritse kuri uwo muco kuko ibyo abakurambere bavuze bigomba gukorwa byanze bikunze¹³².

Abategetsi b'abakoroni bo babonaga umuco n'iyobokamana rya gakondo bijyana mu nzira zirwanya amajyambere, bikimakaza kudahindura amatwara naho iyobokamana ry'abazungu ryo rikaba ari ikimenyetso cy'amajyambere. Kuba u Rwanda rutinda kwihuta mu majyambere byitirirwaga Musinga. "Uruhare rwo kutihuta mu majyambere ruri kuri Musinga, ukora uko ashoboye kose kugira ngo agendere mu nzira z'abakurambere, ntashake kuzivamo, bigatuma abaturage bumva ko adakora ibyo ashinzwe byose bibareba, kandi Abanyarwanda nibamara kubiyumvisha ntibazabura kuvuga ko umutware nk'uwo hari icyo abamariye, ahubwo bashobora kumuvaho n'ibyo bamugomba byose"¹³³.

¹³¹ Postiaux, Inyandiko mvugo y'ibiganiro byabaye ku matariki ya 9-19 Kanama 1929 na Musinga na Nyina Nyirayuhi, C.P./7 /1

¹³² Idem.

¹³³ Idem.

Guverineri yasangaga igikenewe atari raporo zirata ibintu, ahubwo ari izijyanye n'icyo ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bushaka. Byatumye Musinga ategukwa kugenda kenshi mu gihugu no kurenga umuziro wo kwambuka Nyabarongo ajya i Kigali no gukemura ibibazo atagombye kubaza nyina. Guverineri yashakaga kubaza Musinga gukora ibyo yishakiye byose no kumushyira aho adashobora kuzitirwa n'abamuri hafi. Musinga yemera gukomeza kugendera ku murongo wo gukorana n'abazungu no kubumvira. Ariko muri icyo mikoranire yamaze igihe gito, Lanaerts yongeye gutanga raporo zirega Musinga kutagira impuhwe, kutazira mu nkiko ku gihe, kutizera intumwa y'abazungu n'ibindi. Gukuraho Musinga byari nta kabuza.

Gukuraho Musinga byabanje gusaba kubishimangira muri Minisiteri y'Ubukoroni kuko ho bifuzaga kugumana Musinga ku mpamvu zo koroshya imitegekere. Kugira ngo babigereho, abazungu bo mu Rwanda batangije urugamba rwo kwikoma Musinga mu itangazamakuru bafatanyije na Musenyeri Classe¹³⁴. Impamvu zatangwaga na Myr Classe zageze ku ntego yazo kuko i Buruseli basigaye bashakisha ingingo z'amategako zashingirwaho ngo bumvikanishe inyagwa rya Musinga.

Ubuyobozi ntibwashakaga ko bizazamo abiru kuko bwabafataga nk'abapfumu bwashakaga kugabanyiriza ingufu. icyari gihagije nuko abashyamba bari kubishyigikira kandi bari baramaze kuva kuri Musinga kuko batinyaga ibihano bahabwa n'ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi. Ni yo mpamvu gukuraho Musinga nta mpungenge byateraga.

Uburyo bwo gukuraho Musinga bwakurikije uburyo bwari bwateguye igihe kirekire. Guverineri Voisin yahageze tariki ya 11 Ugushyingo 1931. Abwira Musinga ikemezo yafashe. Ngo Musinga yaba yaramubwiye ko ibyo yari abyiteze kuva kera. Hagomba kuba hari uwamubwiye ibanga. Abantu bake bari muri uwo mugambi ni : Voisin, Classe, Coubeau, Lenaerts na Rudahigwa. Biraruhije gutekereza ko Rudahigwa wari umuyoboze wa se, yashoboye kwiharerana ibanga rikomeye nk'iryo. Birashoboka ko yabibwiye se akarushaho kubyumva vuba kuko ari we yatekerezaga kumusimbura. Rwigemera yatekerezwaga n'abandi ba Musinga (abahabanyu).

Rudahigwa yagizwe umwami tarikiya 14 Ugushyingo mu izina ry'umwami w'Ababirigi, yimikwa tariki ya 16 Ugushyingo. Abiru

¹³⁴ Reba uko asobanura muri *L'essor colonial et maritime*, 21-12 et 25-12-1930

bari bishimye kuko ubwami bwari bugumyeho: ariko ntibwakoze hagati y'itariki ya 12 na 14 y'uko kwezi.

Biraruhije kumenya icyo Abanyarwanda batekereza kuri ibyo bintu. Abaturage ntibigeze bakoma bumvise ko umwami yanyazwe. Diyeri y'i Kabgayi¹³⁵ ivuga ko kimwe na Musinga, Abanyarwanda babuze icyo bakora, kuko ari umwana w'umwami wari wimye ingoma. Abandi, cyanecyane babihereye ku barwanya Musinga, bavuga ko ikosa ari irye kuko atashoboye kumvikana n'abazungu. Yanze kwinjira muri gatorika akomeza kwizirika ku Badage n'ibindi. Hari n'abavuga ko yagambaniwe n'abari bamuri hafi. Ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi bwategetse kuyoboka umwami mushya. Abanyarwanda bemera gukina uwo mukino. Abanze bari kubiryoza¹³⁶.

Abishimiye cyane iyo mpinduka babaye abakirisitu. Abamisiyoneri bari barakwirakwije¹³⁷ ko Musinga atari umwami wemewe kandi ari ibintu byagibwaho impaka, ko atishimiye ibyo Ababirigi bamukoreye, kandi ko arwanya igikirisitu. Hanze y'u Rwanda nta cyakomye : nta rwego rwo muri ambasade z'i Burayi n'i Geneve zababajwe n'ibibaye kuri Musinga.

Igikorwa cyo gukuraho Musinga, aho kuba ikintu gisanzwe, ni ikintu cyanditse mu matariki y'amateka y'u Rwanda. Cyabaye ikemezo cya poritiki mbere yo kuba igihano gihawe umuntu. Ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bwambura urwego rw'umwami ibyo bwibwiraga ko bijyanye no kuba bifite ingufu, no kwishingikiriza ibivugwa mu mateka n'umuco. Ikindi kandi nuko gukuraho umwami, byashakaga kwerekana ko umwami ari umuntu ushyirwaho n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni, bunamugenera ibyo ashinzwe kandi bukanamugenzura mu myubahirize yabyo. Byari bigamije kandi kwerekana ko umwami na we ari umuntu nk'abandi kandi we yaribwiraga ko akomoka ku Mana y'i Rwanda¹³⁸. Iyimikwa rya Rudahigwa ryerekanye ko hari

¹³⁵ Daire de Kabgayi du 16 novembre 1931

¹³⁶ Daire de Rwamagana, 14 novembre 1931.

¹³⁷ Ikwirakwizwa ryasubiwemo na Gishoma Tadeyo wahoze yiga mu i Seminari nkuru, La chute de Musinga, papiers Derscheid.

¹³⁸ Musinga yaguye i Kitendwe, mu karere ka Tanganyika, muri Teritwari ya Baudoinville, tariki 25 Ukuboza 1944. Yari yaroherejweyo bikurikije amabwiriza yo kuri 18 Kanama 1940. Mu ibaruwa ya Guverineri Mukuru wungirije Jungers yohereje umwami Rudahigwa tariki ya 12 Gashyantare 1945 yemeza ko Komiseri wa District i Albertville yamubwiye ko Musinga yazize Bronchite yakurijemo indwara y'umusonga kandi ko atigeze araga; ibintu yari asigaranye ni ibikoresho byo mu gikoni n'imyambaro. Umuryango Musinga yasize wari ugizwe n'abantu 20 (abagore 5, abana

ubushake bwo kugumishaho ubwami nk'urwego rwa poritiki n'umuco, bishobora gutuma u Rwanda rwishima kandi ruyoboka ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni.

Bukeye bw'uwo muhango, Voisin yashyizeho amabwiriza atandukanye ahindura bimwe mu bireba umwami ; amakoro y'umwami yasimbuwe n'ifaranga rimwe ryakurwaga ku musoro, abashefu bahaye inka umwami bikuraho ibibazo byaterwaga n'inka z'inkuke zazaga gukamirwa ibwami. Ibi byose byari bigamije guha umwami ubushobozi mu bintu na poritiki ntatungwe n'ibyo ahabwa n'abashefu.

d. Imivugururire y'ubuyobozi

Kuvugurura imitegekere ni ibintu byagiye bikorwa buhoro buhoro kuva Ababirigi bagera mu Rwanda. Havuyemo ko nyuma y'iryo vugururwa, abakomokaga ku batware ba kera bari barahindutse abakozi b'ubutegetsi bw'abazungu.

Ibihano bya mbere byafashwe n'ubuyobozi bw'abakoroni, ni ukuvuga kunyaga abatware "batahinduye imyunvire, batanarekaga gukora uko bishakiye¹³⁹," bivugwa bwa mbere mu 1924. Umwaka wakurikiyeho (1925) ni bwo hatangajwe ku mugaragaro poritiki abayobozi b'abakoroni bumvaga bagomba gukurikiza mu birebana n'abashefu n'abasushefu: kwemera no gushyigikira ubuyobozi bwa gakondo, gukurukiza imico yubahitse, gusimbura abashefu n'abasushefu bagenda biguru ntege cyangwa bakoresha nabi ubutegetsi bahawe no kugenda basimbuza abashaje "abato bazi gusoma"¹⁴⁰. Mu 1927 byavugwaga ko uburyo bw'imategekere bugiye gusubirwamo no kunozwa¹⁴¹.

Imitegekere ivangavanze y'ubutegetsi gakondo yagaragazwaga n'umubare mwinshi w'abashefu bato n'abakuru. Ku ngoma ya Rwabugiri igihugu cyari kigabanijemo uturere (nka perefegitura), hari urugo rw'umwami muri buri karere ari rwo kicaro gikuru

9, abagaragu 6). Rudahigwa yemerewe gutaburura no kugarura mu Rwanda umugogo wa se ku mafaranga ye. Tariki 2 Nyakanga 1946 hatangajwe ko Musinga azatabururwa tariki 30 Nyakanga 1946, itariki yongeye kwigizwayo kugeza kuri 15 Kamena 1947. Nyuma baje kwisubiraho. Kugeza na n'ubu amaherezo y'umugogo wa Musinga ntazwi. [Archives Africaines, Bruxelles, dossier no RWA (1) 21].

¹³⁹ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1924, p.7.

¹⁴⁰ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1925, p.64.

¹⁴¹ Ibidem, 1927, p.37.

cy'ubutegets, hagahurizwa imirimo yose yo muri ako karere¹⁴². Hari ibice by'igihugu byo ku mupaka bitabazwaga iyo mirimo kuko byarindaga inkiko z'igihugu.

Abakozi babiri bakaga ikoro, umutware w'umukenke wari ushinzwe ibirebana n'inka n'umutware w'ubutaka wari ushinzwe ikoro ry'imyaka. Umuntu umwe yashoboraga gushingwa iyo mirimo yombi. Iyo miterere yagize uko ihinduka kuko ibwami batuye i Nyanza mu gihe cya Musinga. Ibyakwaga byose byagombaga koherezwa i Nyanza, kari akazi kavunanye kubyikorera cyanecyane abo mu turere two ku nkiko.

Munsi y'akarere hari urwego ruto bita igikingi. Mbere na mbere igikingi cyari ahantu h'urwuri rw'inka, nyuma iryo jambo ryaje kuvuga urwego rw'ubuyobozi bw'umusozi umwe cyangwa myinshi. Kagame A. avuga ko hari ubwoko bubiri bw'ibikingi: ibikingi byayoborwaga n'umutware w'ingabo birebana n'inzuri z'umutwe w'inka afite. Iyo misoszi yari inyanyagiye : ibwami ntibakunda ibintu binini bikubiye hamwe kuko byashoboraga kubangamira ubutegets bukuru. Habagaho imisozi y'ibwami y'abagaragu bwite b'umwami. Bene iyo miterere y'ibikingi ntiyari izwi mu turere twari tugwiriyemo ubuyobozi bw'imiryango (Byumba, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri, Kigali y'amajyaruguru n'igice cya Cyangugu). Bene aho ubutaka bwari ubw'uwahatuye mbere, ntibwari ubw'ubuyobozi bwa poritiki.

Imivugururire y'imiterere y'ubutegets gakondo yatangiye mu 1926, bakuraho ubutegets bushingiye ku batware batatu, byaje kugira ingaruka zikomeye mu mibanire y'abantu kuko ubutegets bwariho kwasimbujwe ubuyobozi bushingiye ku itegeko. Gushobora kuva ku mutware umwe umuntu akajya ku wumushobokeye byariho mbere byavuyeho, kuko hasigaye umutware umwe rudori; byatumye ab'intege nke bahagwa. Ubutegets bw'abakoron bwavanyeho imiyoborere y'abatware batatu mu rwego rwo koroshya imirimo kuko Ababirigi bumvaga ko imiyoborere gakondo irimo akajagari, bari barabonye bigoye gukorana n'abatware batatu icyarimwe. icyo ubuyobozi bwashakaga kwari ugushobora gutegeka igihugu bagendeye ku miyoborere y'i Burayi. Bashakaga ubuyobozi bugera ku cyo bashakaga vuba. Ariko mbere y'iyi tariki, mu wa 1922-1923, ubuyobozi bwashyize muri buri karere umutware w'akazi ushinzwe gushaka abakozi n'abanyamirimo. Yari ashinzwe kubahiriza amategeko yabo. Yari intambwe ya mbere iganisha

¹⁴² Kagame A., *op.cit.*, p.184

mu gukoresha uburyo bworoshye kandi bubangukiye inzego z'ubuyobozi zizwi.

Twamaze kuvuga kandi ko urwego rwa Rezidansi rwagenzuraga ishyirwaho n'ikurwaho ry'abayobozi ku nzego zose: bitabazaga umwami gusa kugira ngo bivugwe ko byanyuze mu mucyo. Ubuyobozi bwifuzaga kurwanya isiba ry'abashefu bakomeye, umuco wategekaga kumara igihe kinini ibwami. Ni yo mpamvu ubuyobozi bw'abakoroni bwagarukirije gusa ku minsi cumi n'itanu igihe ntarengwa abatware bagombaga kumara ibwami buri mwaka.

Ivugururwa, bita ubusanzwe "Ivugurura rya Mortehan" ryakuyeho abatware batatu bari basanzweho rirema sheferi na susheferi. Ryarakomeje mu wa 1929 rishyizwemo imbaraga na Guverineri Voisin kugeza Musinga avanwaho. Byatumye teritwari ishobora gukurikiranwa nyabyo no kuba hafi y'abaturage. Yahereye ku rwego rw'igikingi, kari akantu gato kagizwe n'umusozi umwe cyangwa igice cyawo, gatuwe n'ingo nke, ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi bwabonaga ko utwo uduce dukabije kuba twinshi. Muri Mata 1926, umwami amaze kureka kongera kurema ibikingi, hashyizweho itegeko ko buri gikingi kidafite ukuyobora kubera ko yapfuye cyangwa kubera izindi mpamvu kigomba gushyirwa kuri susheferi yaho¹⁴³. Mu 1930, Rezida yavanyeho ibikingi byari bisigaye (Abasushefu n'abanyabikingi 1278 bavaho).

Hagati aho, kuva mu wa 1927, ubutegetsi butangira poritiki yo guhuza za sheferi ngo zihinduke ibice bya teritwari bitandukanye ariko bihana imbibi. Intego yari ukugira ngo bazagere aho shefu wa teritwari aba koko ishingiro ry'ubuyobozi ashinzwe¹⁴⁴. Muri icyo gihe kandi ubutegetsi bwubakaga za susheferi zifite byibura abasoreshwa ijana nyuma bashyizwe kuri 300. Hamwe na hamwe icyo gikorwa cyakozwe n'abatware ubwabo : basabwe kugenda bagurana za teritwari. Ubundi kunyaga icyarimwe abatware benshi, hagati ya 1930 na 1932¹⁴⁵, byatumye hahuzwa za teritwari zakusanirijwe hamwe. Kubuza ko nta shefu utegeka aharenze hamwe no kubategeka gutura mu bwatsi bwabo byafashije kugera kuri iyo ntego yo koroshya imitegekere yifuzwaga n'abategetsi b'abakoroni.

¹⁴³ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1926, p.67.

¹⁴⁴ Ibidem, 1927, p.37.

¹⁴⁵ Uretse Musinga hanyazwe abashefu 10 n'abasushefu 316 ni ukuvuga abarenga icya kabiri cy'abariho mbere y'ivugururwa.

Ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi bwa za teritwari no koroshya inzego z'ubuyobozi byateje ibibazo bigendanye n'ubuhake: umuntu umwe yashoboraga kuba umugaragu w'umuntu mu rwego rw'ubuhake busanzwe, akaba n'ingabo y'undi mutware mu rwego rw'imitegekere. Abatware bategetswe kugurana aho bategeka n'abagaragu.

Imivugururire y'ubuyobozi yarangiye mu mpera za 1933. Hari hariho icyo gihe abashefu ba teritwari 65, buri wese ayobora nk'abasoresha 5500, n'abasushefu 1043 buri wese afite hafi abasoresha 343. Nyuma y'iyi tariki guhuza imisozi byarakomeje ariko ku buryo bworoheje : mu wa 1938, hari abashefu 56 n'abasushefu 860; mu wa 1947, hari abashefu 51 n'abasushefu 625, mu wa 1959 hari abashefu 45 n'abasushefu 559.

Imivugururire mishya ya poritiki yazanye umwihariko w'ubutegetsu by'Abatutsi: irushaho gushimangira isura y'ubwoko no gukwiza ubutegetsu bw'Abatutsi mu turere butigeze bubamo na rimwe. Abashefu benshi n'abasushefu baranyazwe, bidatwe n'ubushobozi buke, ahubwo bitewe n'ubwoko bwabo. Biraruhije kumenya umubare w'Abahutu banyazwe ariko mu ivugurura ryo mu 1929, nta Muhutu n'umwe wagabiwe. Bake basigaye babaga mu turere twa kure, ahantu hataba Umututsi cyangwa ari mbarwa¹⁴⁶.

e. Ikurwaho ry'ibice by'ubuyobozi byigengaga hamwe na hamwe.

Mu mpera z'ikinyejana cya 19, u Rwanda mu bijyanye n'ubuyobozi bwari rwari rugizwe n'ibice bigengwa n'umwami n'ibwami, n'uturere two ku mipaka twayoborwaga by'izina gusa n'uhagarariye umwami, n'ibice bindi ubutegetsu bwo mu gihugu butategekaga rwose nubwo bwari buzifiteho ububasha. Byose byaterwaga n'igihe ubutegetsu bwashyizweho n'umwami buhamaze n'aho ibintu bigeze; ibyo bice byomekwaga ku Rwanda, uko ubuyobozi bwa poritiki bumeze muri ako karere n'agaciro n'akamaro aho hantu hafiteye ubutegetsu bukuru bw'igihugu. Uturere tumwe two ku mipaka twasaga n'utwiyobora, byaba

¹⁴⁶ Dore ingero ebyiri z'abasushefu babiri b'Abahutu banyazwe: Nkunuzwimye, sushefu muri sheferi ya Rwabutogo, teritwari ya Gatsibu. Bamuvuga ku buryo bukurikira: «uyu Sushefu ntiyaha agaciro. Ni Umuhutu ugomba gukurikiranwa ku bikorwa ateguka abaturage be gukora» (Rapport Général de Gatsibu 1929, p. 24, papiers Derscheid). Undi musushefu ni uwo muri Sheferi ya Mutara muri teritwari ya Gabiro: «Muhuku ntabwo ari umusushefu mubi ariko kuba ari Umuhutu, agomba gukurikiranwa mu byo akora byose. Agomba kandi kubona ko ahora acungwa ku buryo nakora ikosa gato azahanwa bikomeye. Ibi birareba Abahutu bose bari mu buyobozi» (Rapport Général de Gabiro 1929, p.29, papiers Derscheid).

bitewe n'uko umwami abyemera (ni ko byari bimeze mu Busozo n'u Bukunzi), byaba se bitewe n'uko atari afite uburyo bwo kuhagandura (Murera, Rukiga, n'i Ndorwa). Umubano waho n'ibwami wagarukiraga mu gutanga ikoro ry'ibwami.

Mu mitekerereze ya kizungu, ntabwo ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi bwari kwemera ko habaho za teritwari zitayoborwa n'umwami. Kandi uretse n'ibyo, imbibi z'imipaka gakondo n'iz'ubukoroni ntibyari bimwe. Byari ngombwa ko imiterere y'ubuyobozi igirwa imwe, hakavaho ibyitwaga ubwigenge bw'uturere tumwe na tumwe, ubutegetsi bw'umwami bukagera hose. Ibi byakozwe hakurwaho abayobozi baho gakondo maze bagasimburwa n'abatware b'Abatutsi. Ni ko ubuyobozi bushingiye ku bwoko bw'Abatutsi bwashyizweho.

Iyo poritiki yo kwagura ubuyobozi yakozwe mu majyaruguru (mu Murera no mu Ndorwa), mu Majyaruguru y'u Burengerazuba (mu Bushiru) no mu Magepfo y'u Burengerazuba (mu Bukunzi n'u Busozo). Utwo turere ntitwari twarigeze dufatwa ngo tunayoborwe n'ibwami ubwabwo. Ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni bwabyitaga "kubahiriza ubutegetsi bw'umwami" muri utwo turere kandi byari ikinyoma.

Ni mu Murera ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi bwatangiriye igeragezwa ryo gukwiza ubutegetsi bw'umwami guhera mu 1923 ubwo Bwana E. Borgers yahashyirwaga kuba adiminisitarateri. Yahategekesheje ubuyobozi bw'abazungu n'Abatutsi. Gushyiraho abahatwara byakorwaga n'umwami na Rezida. Mu by'ukuri ihitamo ryakorwaga na adiminisitarateri waho yifashishije abatware b'Abatutsi bavuye mu tundi turere kubera umubare udahagije w'Abatutsi mu Majyaruguru (hazanwa Abatutsi bavuye ahandi)¹⁴⁷.

Mu Bushiru, ubuyobozi bw'abakoroni kubera kunanirwa gufata ako karere mu myaka ya 1920, bwabaye burekeyeho umuhinza waho Nyamakwa by'amaburakindi¹⁴⁸. Bitewe n'ubwinshi bw'imirimo ya gikoroni itasibaga kwiyongera yasabwaga n'Ababirigi, ubutegetsi bw'umwami bwanzwe n'ingabo zagombaga kubahiriza amategeko ye. Biza kunanirana kuvanga inshingano ze za gakondo n'inshingano yasabwaga n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni. Ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni busaba umwami

¹⁴⁷ Newbury M.-C., *The cohesion*, *op.cit.*, p.21, avuga «Ubukoroni bw'ubwoko bubiri»

¹⁴⁸ Pauwels M., «Le Bushiru et son Muhinza ou roitelet hutu», in *Annali Lateranensi*, 1967, pp.205-322.

gushyiraho umutware w'Umututsi wemewe na Rezida¹⁴⁹. Utwo turere tw'Amajyaruguru n'Amajyaruguru y'u Burengezuba, nubwo twari twarayobotse umwami, ntitwigeze dutegukwa rwose n'ibwami. Uko kwanga kuyoboka kw'imiryango imwe n'imwe yo mu Kibari, mu Bushiru, mu Buberuka, mu Bukonya n'u Bugarura byaje gutsindwa n'abayobozi bashya n'ingufu za Leta.

Uko "kuzana amahoro" byaje gufata intera y'umwihariko kandi iteye agahinda mu duhugu tw'abami bo mu Bukunzi n'u Busozo. Ingoma y'u Bukunzi yaje kurangira nyuma gato y'urupfu ry'umwami waho Ndagano, rwabaye tariki ya 30 Werurwe 1930. Bitwaje urwo rupfu n'iyicwa ry'abantu mu mihango" ngo yaba yararukurikiye, adiminishitarateri wa Cyangugu, Bwana Keiser, yahohereje igitero cy'abasirikare. Cyabaye mu kwezi kwa kane k'uwo mwaka, ariko kiza gutsindwa mu byo cyari kigamije byo gutuma abasimbuye Ndagano bayoboka kuko bafatwaga nk'abigometse kuko bari banze kwiyereka abayobozi ba teritwari, gutanga imisoro n'abakora imirimo.

Byakwibutswa ko Abadage bari baragerageje kenshi (1907, 1909 na 1914) ko Ndagano abayoboka, ariko byari byaranze. Bimaze kugaragara ko aba adiminishitarateri batava ku izima, Bigirumwera (umuvandimwe wa Ndagano) wayoboraga igihe Ngoga yari akiri umwana, yagiye kureba umukuru wa Mibirizi, Padiri P. Knoll, amusaba ngo abe umuhuza hagati ye n'ubuyobozi bw'i Cyangugu. Padiri yemera kubikora. Ashobora kwemeza adiminishitarateri Fiolle ko agomba "gukiza" Bigirumwera wari watanze na Komiseri w'umwami ngo yicwe. Padiri ahura na Bigirumwera, amubwira ibyo yagombaga kubahiriza byose, arabyemera; ari byo: gusubiza imbunda zari zafashwe mu gitero cya Keiser, gutanga inka 50 n'amafaranga 25 y'umusoro n'indishyi y'ibintu bya Leta byononwe, no gutanga buri muni abantu 30 bo gukora mu isarumara rya teritwari¹⁵⁰.

Mu gihe k'iminsi itatu Bigirumwera yari yahawe, yashoboye kubahiriza bimwe gusa. Bituma adiminishitarateri Fiolle ashyira mu bikorwa ibyo yarahiriraga kugeraho. Kuva ku itariki ya 12 na 13 Mata 1924, hongeye kugabwa igitero cya gisirikare gishya mu Bukunzi harimo n'ingabo za Shefu Rwagataraka. Bigirumwera n'umuryango we bashobora guhunga. Adiminishitarateri ateguka gufata ako karere igihe kirekire aharindisha abasirikare. Igikorwa cya nyuma cyakorewe umuryango wa Ndagano tariki ya 9 Werurwe

¹⁴⁹ Territoire de Kabaya, *Rapports politiques 1924 et 1925*, Collection Derscheid.

¹⁵⁰ Daire de Mibirizi, mai 1924.

1925. Adiminisitarateri na shefu Rwagataraka bateye n'ijoro aho umuryango w'umwami Ndagano wari wihishe bica nyina wa Bigirumwera, banakomeretsa umwana we Ngoga, wahise agirwa imfungwa. Bigirumwera wenyine ashobora kwambuka Rusizi.

Nyuma y'iyi mirwano, u Bukunzi bugabirwa Rwagataraka, banahashyira abasushefu b'Abatutsi kuva mu 1926¹⁵¹. Abamisiyoneri b'i Mibirizi bicujije kuzima k'umuryango wa Ndagano, ariko bashyira ikosa kuri Bigirumwera. Ikigaragara nuko yashoboraga kubuza intambara n'ubwicanyi, ariko ntiyari kubuza ko ingoma yabo izima. Turaza kubona impamvu.

Kuyoboka kw'ingoma y'u Busozo ntikwaruhanije kandi nti kwabayemo ubwicanyi nko muri Bukunzi. Icyo gihe umwami wako gahugu yitwaga Buhiga, mwene Nyundo, wapfuye ahagana mu wa 1904/1905. Bitandukanye n'ibya Ndagano n'abamusimbuye, Buhiga n'ibwami biyerekaga abamisiyoneri. Ariko ntibubahirizaga ibyo i Cyangugu bashakaga: gukora akazi k'agahato, kwishyura imisoro no gutura hafi y'adiminisitarateri¹⁵². Padiri P. Knoll yongeye kuba umuhuza, ariko ntiyashoboraga kumvisha haba Buhiga, haba se, umuhungu we Bizimana wari ufite ubuyobozi nyakuri bwa Busozo (n'umugabekazi), ko bagomba koroshya bakumvikana n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni. Banze koroshya, igitero cya gisirikare cyateye mu Busozo muri Werurwe 1924. Umuryango w'umwami uhatakariza byinshi ariko ushobora guhunga.

Kimwe no mu Bukunzi, icyo gitero cyakurikiwe no kuhigarurira no kuhatinda bw'abasirikare (kugeza mu wa 1926). U Busozo na bwo bugabirwa shefu Rwagataraka n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi. Kuba umuhuza kwa Padiri Knoll ntibyabujije kuvanwaho kw'ingoma z'utwo duhugu. Nta nubwo ari cyo yari agamije.

Mu rwego rw'imivugururire y'ubuyobozi bushya, utwo duhugu ingoma y'i Rwanda yari yararekeyeho, twari tubangamiye poritiki y'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni, yarangwaga no guhuriza hamwe ubuyobozi no kubushyira mu mabako y'imiryango mike y'Abatutsi. Ni byo byumvikanisha mu buryo bumwe uko kwanga kuyoboka bikabije by'ingoma za nyuma z'uduhugu tw'Abahutu.

¹⁵¹ Newbury C., *op. cit.*, ; Ntezimana E., « L'arrivée des Européens au Kinyaga et la fin des royaumes hutu du Bukunzi et du Busozo », in Etudes Rwandaises, XII, 1980, pp. 1-29 ; ID ; Ntezimana E., « Coutumes et traditions des royaumes hutu du Bukunzi et du Busozo », in Etudes Rwandaises, XII, 1980, pp.15-35.

¹⁵² Daire de Mibirizi, février 1924.

Kwagura ubuyobozi bw'umwami w'u Rwanda byanabaye mu majyaruguru y'uburasirazuba: mu Ndorwa, Buberuka, Rukiga n'u Buyaga, hari haragumye gukomeza gutinda kuyoboka kugeza mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1920 ari ukuyoboka Ababirigi ari no kuyoboka abatware b'Abatutsi. Ubutegetsu bwagombye gukoresha ingufu kandi kugira ngo buhashinge ibirindiro, bwaharemye iposita y'ubutegetsu ihoraho mu wa 1928 (Byumba)¹⁵³.

f. Abatutsi biharira ubutegetsu bwa poritiki

Mu gihe cy'ubukoroni umwe mu bantu bakomeye barengye Abatutsi yabaye Musenyeri Classe, abitewe ku ruhande rumwe n'inzira twavuze abamisiyoneri bashatse gukoresha yo kubanza guhindura abayobozi, no gukurikiza ku rundi ruhande ibyo yemeraga bivugwa mu mugani witiriwe "hamite".

Mu ibaruwa yo muri Nzeri 1927 yoherejwe Rezida w'u Rwanda, Mortehan, Myr Classe yarengye "ubutegetsu bw'Abatutsi" yatandukanyaga n'ubutegetsu bwa Musinga. Yagize ati: "ubu niba dushaka kugendera ku bintu bifatika no ku nyungu z'igihugu, dufite mu rubyiruko rw'Abatutsi igikoresho kitagereranywa cy'amajyambere kemewe n'abazi u Rwanda bose. Urwo rubyiruko rwiye gereje abazungu cyane kandi nta kindi rutinyira uretse kugarura ibintu byahozeho, byaguyemo abatware bakomeye n'abato batagira umubare».

Ni muri urwo rwego yarushijeho kurata no gukabiriza ingeso ngo nziza kamere z'Abatutsi n'ubwenge bwabo budasanze buruta ubw'Abahutu. Ibyo yagumye kubisubiramo kenshi: urugero ni mu nyandiko, yagize ati "Abatutsi bifitiye uburyo bwo gukora, umutima wo kumva ibintu n'uburyo Abahutu batagira kuko barangwa no kuba ari abanyamusozi no kwitinyira. Abatutsi imyumvire y'ubutegetsu muri bo usangana abana b'imyaka 14 na 15. Umuhutu we ni umukozi, arakomeye ariko nta kinyabupfura»¹⁵⁴.

Mu wa 1922, Myr Classe yavugaga ibitandukanye n'ibimaze kuvugwa. Yagize ati "abaturage bose bo mu Rwanda ni abahanga ndetse bitandukanye n'ibivugwa muri rusange, navuga ko Abatutsi muri rusange batarusha Abahutu ubwenge. Umuhutu we ni umukozi, arakomera, ariko nta bupfura agira nk'ubw'Umututsi; ni yo mpamvu bigararagara ubusanze,

¹⁵³ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1928, p.42.

¹⁵⁴ Un document, une épopée, *op.cit.*, p.139.

ko mu myigire ifite ireme Umuhutu agenda aca ku Mututsi buhoro buhoro, nk'uko ino (i Burayi) bijya bigaragara mu ishuri ko abana bo mu cyaro barusha abana bo mu mugirya"¹⁵⁵. Ibi birerekana ko ibintu bashingiragaho bemeza ibyo bavuga bitari bifite ireme nk'uko ibisobanuro bimwe bishaka kubyemeza ku buryo budasubirwagaho mu birebana n'imitandukanire y'amoko.

Hari inyandiko zemeza ko kurengera uruburuzi rw'Abatutsi bya Myr Classe byaje kubangamira ibyo Leta ya gikoroni yariho igerageza yo kuzamura Abahutu mu rwego rw'abatware n'abakarani. Iryo geragezwa ryaburiyemo bitewe ngo nk'uko bamwe babivugaga n'ubushobozi buke kavukire bw'Abahutu mu gutegeka "abandi bo bavugaga ko Abatutsi babirwanije"¹⁵⁶.

Uko kubyivangamo kwa Myr Classe byahagaritse ko ibyari byaratangiye byakomeza, bituma Leta yishingikiriza Abatutsi gusa. Padiri Van Overschelde avugaga ko Abatutsi bagumanye ubutegetsi biturutse kuri Musenyeri Classe. Ibyo bisobanuro ntibifite ishingiro kubera impamvu ebyeri. Iya mbere nuko nta ho bigaragara na hamwe ko Abahutu bagabiwe imyanya y'ubutegetsi byaba mu nyandiko za Leta cyangwa iza Kiriziya. Indi mpamvu nuko ibyo bivuguruzwa na poritiki yariho ikorwa yo kugabira ubutegetsi abanyeshuri bize mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza.

Raporo y'ubuyobozi yo mu wa 1927 irabyemeza igira iti "abashefu bakomeye basimbujwe abasore b'Abatutsi bazi gusoma". Raporo zakurikiyeho na zo zerekana ko iyo poritiki itahindutse. Niba kubikora byaratekerejwe nk'umushinga ntabwo byigeze bishyirwa mu bikorwa. Ahubwo kurengera uruburuzi rw'Abatutsi bya Musenyeri Classe, bikwiye gushyirwa mu myiteguro yo kunyaga Musinga no mu nkubiri yo kwinjiza mu idini rya gatorika abasore b'Abatutsi bari baratangiye. Musenyeri ntabihisha : mu ibaruwa yandikiye Rezida Mortehan yavuzwe agira ati: "ku bwacu, ku ruhande rw'iyobokamana kuko ari rwo rutureba, twemera kandi twarabigenzuye ko Umututsi ari we muntu ku bwacu uruta abandi, ubarusha gukora, ubarusha kubyemera, akaba yabarusha kuba umusemburo no kuba yashobora guhindura neza abaturage. Uwo muntu dufite hafi

¹⁵⁵ Classe L., «Le Ruanda et ses habitants : organisation politique, la religion, la famille », in *Congo*, 1922, p. 681.

¹⁵⁶ Van Overschelde A., *Un audacieux pacifique. Monseigneur Léon -Paul Classe, apôtre du Ruanda*, Namur, 1948, p. 105; de Lacger, 1959, *op.cit.*, p.523 ; Linden I., *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, Manchester, 1978, pp.161-162.

yacu birahagije kumwifashisha ngo u Rwanda rutere imbere mu majyambere¹⁵⁷.

Ayo magambo yagize ingaruka nyinshi kandi yashyigikiye bihagije ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi muri poritiki yabo yo guharira ubutegetsu Abatutsi. Uko kubuza Abahutu kujya mu buyobozi, ndetse n'ubuciriritse, byatumye ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi na Kiriziya Gatorika y'abamisiyoneri bushimangira mu mitima y'abantu imyumvire ishingiyeye ku moko. Mu by'ukuri ubutegetsu bwihariwe n'Abatutsi bwari mu maboko y'abantu bake. Kuko mu ba shefu 45 b'Abatutsi bariho icyo gihe, amoko atandatu yonyine ni yo yari afitemo abatware. Amazu y'Abatutsi bo mu bwoko bw'Abega n'Abanyiginya, yari afite 80% y'imyanya mu mirimo yose. Abasigaye bari abashefu n'abasushefu bahawe imyanya biturutse ku mashuri bize yari amaze gusakara hose: ku ba shefu n'abasushefu 680 bariho mu wa 1948, habarwa 192 (28,2%) batari bafite igisekuru mu bashifu n'abasushefu. Urubumbambaga rw'Abanyarwanda rwayoborwaga hafi na 5% b'Abatutsi. Ubutegetsu bwari umwihariko w'imiryango mike y'Abatutsi¹⁵⁸.

g. Abakozi bashya b'Abanyarwanda mu buyobozi bwa gikoroni

Kurema abakozi bashya byagumye guhangayikisha ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi. Ishuri ry'abana b'abashefu ryakinguwe i Nyanza mu wa 1919 bigamije kubahiriza ibyifuzo bya Musinga utarifuzaga ishuri rya gikirisitu. Ryasimbuye irindi shuri ryari ryararemwe n'Abadage ryafunze mu wa 1915. Iryo shuri ryahise ryitabirwa ako kanya. Abahungu batatu ba Musinga, Munonozi, Rudacyaha na Rudahigwa, baryigagamo. Aba mbere 30 b'abana b'abashefu barisohotse mu wa 1923; abarirangizagamo batangiye imirimo yo kwimenyereza mu buyobozi bwa teritwari bakora cyanecyane imirimo yo kubarura abaturage, gusoresha, guca imanza n'ibindi mbere yuko bagabirwa aho batwara. 58 mu banyeshuri bari barize i Nyanza bahawe imyanya y'ubuyobozi mu wa 1925, byakomeje gutera imbere ku buryo mu 1935 umubare w'abari bazi gusoma wari ugeze kuri 60% mu ba shefu

¹⁵⁷ Mu Nkuru ndende yanditse muri l'Essor colonial et maritime, ya tariki 4 Ukuboza 1930 (mu mutwe ugira uti: Pour Moderniser le Rwanda, no 489, 490, 491), Musenyeri Classe asubiramo ibitekerezo yanditse mu ibaruwa yoherereje Mortehan.

¹⁵⁸ Linden I., *Church and Revolution*, op. cit., p.18. Voir aussi Reyntjens P., 1985, *op.cit.*, p.107; Mbonimana G., «Christianisation indirecte et cristallisation des clivages ethniques au Rwanda (1925-1931) », in *Enquêtes et documents d'histoire africaine*, 1978, p.155-156.

n'abasushefu bose. Uretse ubumenyi bujyanye n'imirimu yari ibategereje, abize bari barigishijwe n'abarezi babo b'abazungu kubona ibintu kimwe na bo no kububaha.

Ku itariki ya 11 Nyakanga 1929, Leta yagiranye amasezerano n'umuryango w'Abafurere b'Urukundo b'i Gand yo gushyiraho ishuri rya Leta rya Astrida. Iryo shuri ryagombaga kuzuza iry'i Nyanza no kuzarisimbura (mu 1935). Ishuri ry'Astrida ryatangiyeye tariki ya 20 Mutarama 1932. Ryakiraga ku bwinshi, ariko atari bo gusa, abana baturuka mu miryango y'ubuyobozi y'Abatutsi. Iryo shuri ryacaga abana ku muco ku buryo berekanaga ko basuzuguye iby'imico ya Kinyarwanda nk'ibyaberaga ibwami.

Ubutegetsi bwumvikanishaga ko uretse no gushaka gukorana n'abazi gusoma, bunashaka abakirisitu by'umwihariko ba gatorika. Abanyeshuri b'i Nyanza bahise babyumva maze kuva mu wa 1928 bahita bajya kwigira idini. Mu wa 1936, 78% by'abashefu na 84% by'abasushefu bari abanyagatorika, mu gihe 18% gusa by'abaturage bari abayoboze b'iryo dini. Abakozi b'Abanyarwanda bagiye bahinduka buhoro buhoro "abafongisyoneri" b'ubutegetsi: bashoboraga kuzamurwa mu ntera, kwirukanwa no guhindurirwa imyanya. Ubuyobozi bwabasabaga ubushobozi butandukanye n'ubw'imirimu bakoraga mbere. Byaje gukomezwa no guhabwa imishahara kw'abashefu n'abasushefu.

Uko kubahemba byashoboye no kurema amasanduku ya sheferi no kuriha imirimu ubundi yakorerwaga abayobozi. Iteka no 67/sec/A.I.M.O. ryo ku wa 20 Ugushyirahamwe 1944 rishyiraho imishahara y'abashefu n'abasushefu. Imishahara yabo yari igizwe n'igice gihinduka n'igice kidahinduka. icyo gice gihinduka cyari kigizwe n'amasantime 50 kuri buri gitansi y'umusoro w'inka kuri ba shefu n'amafaranga atatu kuri buri gitansi y'umusoro w'umubiri kuri buri sushefu¹⁵⁹.

Bitewe n'uko nta byemezo ubwabo bashoboraga gufata, kandi abenshi muri bo banzwe n'abaturage kubera akazi babategereye mu nyungu z'ubuyobozi, abashefu n'abasushefu bagombaga kwiyegereza ba adiminisitarateri babereka ibikoresho. Umaturage arahagorerwa. Urubumbambaga rwari rusigaye rusa n'urukubwe n'ikintu kimeze nk'ubwoba, buhoraho kuko abaturage bari barahindutse ibikange n'abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda baremeye kuba ibikoresho by'abazungu.

¹⁵⁹ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1944, p.162.

Abo bayobozi biyangishaga abaturage mu rwego rwo gukora ibishoboka byose ngo bagume ku butegets, bitewe cyanecyane nuko bagombaga kwita ku birebana no kuramba mu kazi kabo no kwibonera ibibatunga.

Abakozi b'abazungu ni bo bagenzuraga abo bakozi bashya b'Abanyarwanda. Komiseri wa teritwari zafashwe yahindutse visi-guverineri mukuru, nyuma aba guverineri w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi bishingiye ku Itegeko ryo ku wa 21 Kanama 1925. Iryo tegeko ryashyiraga u Rwanda n'u Burundi ku rwego rw'intara ya Kongo. Komiseri w'umwami yari ahagarariwe na Rezida mu Rwanda kuva mu wa 1917 (yabanje kuba umusirikare nyuma aza kuba umusiviri). Rezidansi y'u Rwanda mu wa 1917 yabanje kugabanywamo segiteri eshatu cyangwa ibice by'ubuyobozi budafite umupaka nyawo uzwi. Ni uguhera mu wa 1928 raporo z'ubutegets zivuga za teritwari ku buryo zifututse kandi zifite imipaka. icyo gihe havugwaga teritwari ikenda : Kigali, Nyanza, Akanyaru-Astrida, Rubengera, Gisenyi, Murera, Bushiru-Kingogo, Gatsibo, Rukira-Gisaka. Kuri urwo rutonde hiyongeraho Kamembe-Cyangugu mu wa 1929 na Byumba mu 1wa 931. Mu wa 1932, bageze ku mubare wa teritwari 10, byaje kwemezwa n'iteko no 26/A.I.M.O ryo ku wa 17 Werurwe 1932¹⁶⁰ itanga urutonde rwa za teritwari zemewe za leta ari zo: Kigali, Nyanza, Astrida, Kamembe-Cyangugu, Kibuye, Gisenyi-Kabaya, Ruhengeri, Byumba, Gabiro, Kibungo-Rukira. Iyo migabanirize yagiye isubirwamo kenshi igatuma umubare wa za teritwari uhindagurika hagati y'umunani n'icumi. Kubera impamvu z'ubukungu, teritwari ya Gabiro yavanyweho mu wa 1935, iya Kibuye mu wa 1936, isubizwaho mu wa 1953. Teritwari ya Gitarama yaremwe mu wa 1959. Imigabanirize yazo yagiye yubahiriza imigabanirize uko imbibe z'ubutegets bwa gakondo zari ziteye.

Rezida wenyine ushinzwe umubano n'umwami n'ubuyobozi bwa poritiki, yari afite intumwa zimuhagarariye muri sheferi z'Abanyarwanda. Ububasha n'imirimo by'abategets b'abayobozi b'Ababirigi (Rezida n'adiminsitarateri ba teritwari) byanganaga n'iby'abari ku rwego rwabo muri Kongo mbirigi hakurikijwe Iteka ry'umwami ryo kuri 29 Kanama 1933 n'Iteka ryo ku wa 1 Nyakanga 1947. Visi-guverineri mukuru akaba na guverineri w'intara yategekeshaga Itegekoteka. Za teritwari zayoborwaga na ba adiminsitarateri ba teritwari, bakagira munsu yabo adiminsitarateri umwe cyangwa benshi w'umwungiriza n'abakozi ba teritwari. Ba adiminsitarateri ba teritwari bari munsu y'ubutegets bwa Rezida.

¹⁶⁰ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1932, p. 98.

Inshingano n'imirimo irebana n'akazi ka teritwari iba mu gitabo kitwa "Ihuriro ry'amabwiriza areba iby'abakozi ba Leta n'abandi bakozi bo mu kazi ka teritwari" cyanditswe bwa mbere mu wa 1916, kigatangarizwa i Londoni. icyo gitabo cyasimbuwe n'ikitwa "Vade Mecum" kifashishwaga n'abakozi ba Leta n'abandi bakozi ba za teritwari za Kongo mbirigi cyatangajwe mu wa 1953. Imikoranire mu buyobozi bwa teritwari bwari bufite uko busumbana cyane. Buri mukozi yahabwaga amanota n'umukuriye wari umufiteho ububasha mu birebana n'aho ashwirwa n'imizamukire ye mu kazi.

Muri icyo mitegekere mishya, adiminisitarateri w'Umubirigi yari ashinzwe imirimo itandukanye, yagenzuraga sheferi nyinshi. Ni we wagenzuraga byose, agatanga ibihano kandi akagenzura ko amabwiriza yubahirizwa. Yacaga imanza akaba kandi umugenzacyaha, ofisiye rusange akanayobora igice cy'abasirikare ashinzwe, akaba umwamamaza mu by'ubuhinzi, umusoresha w'imisoro n'amahoro, umubaruzi w'abaturage, umubitsi w'imari wa teritwari, agatanga amafaranga yo gukoresha, akubakisha, akaba n'animateri, n'ibindi¹⁶¹. Adiminisitarateri yari umuntu uhora agenda kandi uzi gukora ibintu binyuranye. Kubera guhora agenda yibandaga cyanecyane ku gukora ibintu bifatika. Ubuyobozi bwa teritwari bwari umutima w'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni.

Abayobozi b'abazungu bagiye biyongera ku buryo bushimishije (bikubye inshuro cumi kuva mu wa 1926 kugeza mu wa 1960 mu Rwanda n'u Burundi), bagenzuraga akantu kose karebana n'ubuzima bwa poritiki n'ubuyobozi kugeza ibwami, i Nyanza¹⁶². Itegeko teka no 347/A.I.M.O ryo mu wa 1943 ryashyiraga abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda mu rwego. Gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza yashyizweho nta ruhare bayagizemo. Ni muri urwo rwego, adiminisitarateri w'i Nyanza yafatanyaga n'umwami umurimo w'ubucamanza bw'ikirenga. Kugira ngo hubahirizwe amabwiriza ye, adiminisitarateri yakoresheje ingufu no gutera ubwoba bikabije abakozi b'Abanyarwanda akoresheje ibihano by'ubwoko bunyuranye: kunyagwa, gucibwa amafaranga,

¹⁶¹ Van Leeuw Cl., *L'administration territoriale au Congo belge et au Ruanda-Urundi*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981.

¹⁶² Abakoronni mbere yo kuza mu karere bigishirizwaga muri Université coloniale d'Anvers. Mu barimu benshi bari bafite harimo Louis Verlainé, wari waranditse igitabo *Notre colonie, contribution à la recherche, entre autres, de la méthode de colonisation* cyasomwaga cyane n'abakoraga mu bijyanye na koroni. Ni yo mpamvu kumva ko agahato gashyirwa ku baturage bakoronijwe byari kimwe mu biranga uburyo bwo kuyobora gikoroni byavaga muri izo nyigisho.

gukubitwa n'ibindi. Adiminisitarateri ntiyakoranaga n'abaturage hafi kubera kutamenya ururimi. Yagombaga gukoresha umusemuzi, bishobora kuvamo kuyobya ubutumwa.

Imibanire nyayo hagati y'abayobozi ba teritwari n'abaturage yaberaga ku rwego rwa teritwari. Itegeko ryonyine umwami yashoboraga guha abashefu kwari kubabwira ko amabwiriza ya adiminisitarateri agomba kubahirizwa. Umurongo w'ibyemezo no gushyira mu bikorwa wari uyu: Rezida-Adiminisitarateri-Shefu kugera kuri ba sushefu. Nubwo bishingiye ku muco nyarwanda, abasushefu bari ingabo z'umwami, mu by'ukuri bategekwe n'ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi.

Kubera izo nshingano n'ububasha by'abakozi ba Leta b'Ababirigi, ubutegetsi buziguye bwahindutse ubutegetsi butaziguye. Ndetse ba adiminisitarateri bamwe bibajije aho poritiki itaziguye yari ishingiyeye, bagasaba ko iyo mvugo yavanwaho kuko itari ihuye n'ukuri. Intumwa ya Leta i Nyanza yagize iti : Ntabwo twashobora gukomeza gukoresha ubuyobozi buziguye»¹⁶³. Mu wa 1932, Bwana J. Paradis, adiminisitarateri w'Astrida yibazaga ati: «Ubu umwami inshingano ze ni izihe? Ndabyibaza. Mu bikorwa byose, twafashe umurongo wo kujya tubanza tukaganira ku byemezo byacu, Musinga akomeza kuvuga icyo atekereza kuri buri kibazo cya poritiki, ariko iteka ikifuzo cyacu ni cyo kemezwa. Uko kubaza umwami muri byose ntibyababwira byarahindutse nk'umukino ugamije gutuma ubuyobozi bwa gakondo bwigenga bwemeza ibyemezo byacu biba rimwe na rimwe bibangamiye umuco nyarwanda? Abatware bo se si uko? Inshingano zabo ni izihe? Gushyira mu bikorwa nta guca iruhande amabwiriza bahawe n'ubayobozi, bitari amabwiriza rusange ahubwo ari amategeko ahanye, asaba kubahirizwa n'abategetsi b'Ababirigi»¹⁶⁴.

Itegeko teka no 347/A.I.M.O ryo ku itariki ya 4 Ukwakira 1943 rishyiraho imiterere n'imiyoborere ya poritiki mu Rwanda n'u Burundi¹⁶⁵ ni yo nyandiko ya mbere u Bubirigi bwatangiyemo umurongo wa poritiki bugenderaho. Mbere yaho ababizobereyemo bavugaga ko uwo murongo wari muto cyane¹⁶⁶, interuro y'ingingo ya 4 y'itegeko teka no 2/5 ryo ku wa 6 Mata

¹⁶³ Territoire de Nyanza, *Rapport politique pour l'exercice 1930*, Arch. Afric. no R/RU (89) ; Reba kandi Résidence du Ruanda, *Rapport annuel 1930*, Arch. Afric. NoR/RU 2 (54), p.121.

¹⁶⁴ Paradis J., *Lettre au Résident Coubeau O.*, 7 mai 1931, No 293 , p.1.

¹⁶⁵ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1943, pp.596- 623.

¹⁶⁶ Renytsjens P., 1985, *op.cit.*, pp. 143-148.

1917 yavuga ngo “Abami babiyobowemo na Rezida buzuzza inshingano zabo za poritiki n’ubucamanza, mu rugero n’uburyo biteganywa n’umuco n’amabwiriza ya komiseri w’umwami. Iby’ingezi byari bikubiye muri iryo Tegeko teka byari ibi:

- Umwami, abashefu n’abasushefu bashyirwaho n’ubutegetsu bwa koroni kandi ni na bwo bushobora kubakuraho.
- Rezida agenzura ibyo umwami akora, adiminisharateri wa teritwari akagenzura iby’abashefu n’abasushefu ;
- Umuco ntushobora gushingirwaho n’abayobozi gakondo mu bintu binyuranyije n’umutekano rusange cyangwa binyuranyije amategeko n’amabwiriza afite ingingo zisimbura ibirebana n’umuco gakondo;
- Inshingano zitegetswe umwami, abashefu n’abasushefu ni ugushyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo by’ubutegetsu bwa teritwari ;
- Imicungire y’isanduka y’igihugu n’iya sheferi ikorwa munsu y’ubugenzuzi n’imicungire y’ubutegetsu bwa teritwari ;

Iryo Tegeko teka ryemeza ku buryo bw’amategeko imiterere mu rwego rwa poritiki nk’uko yari yarakuze ishingiyeye ku mabwiriza ya komiseri na guverineri. Byari ugushimangira mu rwego rw’amategeko, imikorere yari isanzweho.

h. Imiterere y’ubucamanza

Imiterere y’ubucamanza ikubiyemo ibitekerezo bisa n’ibimaze kuvugwa. Imiterere y’ubucamanza bw’abaturage yashyizweho itegeko ribugenga mu wa 1943¹⁶⁷. Ingingo ya 2 y’itegeko teka no 2/5 ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1917 ryavuzwe yerekeraga inkiko gakondo uburenganzira bwo guca imanza za gisiviri n’iz’ubushinjacyaha zishingiyeye ku muco, ku mikorere yasizwe n’Abadage no ku mabwiriza ya komiseri w’umwami. Muri rusange ubucamanza mu birebana n’Abanyarwanda bwagumye mu maboko y’umwami n’abatware. Kubahiriza imiterere y’ubucamanza gakondo na byo, imbere y’ubutegetsu bw’Ababirigi, cyari kimwe mu bigize imitegekere y’Ababirigi.

Kimwe no mu buyobozi, hari ibyahise bihinduka kandi bishyirwa mu bikorwa vuba. Itegeko teka ryo ku wa 27 Mata 1917 ryashizeho umubare w’inkiko (iza teritwari, iz’uturere n’ubuporisi) zica imanza z’ibyaha byakozwe n’Abanyarwanda n’izishinzwe guca imanza zirebana n’itegeko mpanabyaha ryanditse.

¹⁶⁷ Reyntjens P., 1985, *op.cit.* , pp.149-160.

Habayeho kunenga imikorere n'imiterere y'ubucamanza gakondo: kujuririra umwami byari ibintu bya nyirarureshwa, hari n'ibyaha bikomeye byacibwaga imanza nabi n'ibindi¹⁶⁸. Mu wa 1925, inkiko zasubiwemo¹⁶⁹. Hashyirwaho urukiko rwa teritwari ku kicaro cya buri teritwari n'urukiko rw'ubujurire cyangwa urukiko rw'umwami. Inkiko za teritwari zari zigizwe n'umucamanza, ari we mukuru, n'abaseseri kuva kuri 2 kugera kuri 3, abasushefu n'umwanditsi. Adiminisitarateri wa teritwari yashoboraga gusimbura umucamanza w'umunyarwanda iyo urukiko rwakoreraga ku iposita y'ubuyobozi ; iyo rwakoreraga ahandi umukozi w'umuzungu yayoboraga imanza atari umucamanza.

Urukiko rw'i Nyanza rwarimo abacamanza, abaseseri, abashefu bese, bashyizweho na Rezida, umwunganizi cyangwa adiminisitarateri wabishyiriyeho by'umwihariko, bashoboraga gusimbura umucamanza wo mu bujurire. Umwami yaruberaga Perezida, akagira ububasha bumwe n'ubwa rezida. Inkiko za kinyarwanda zari zifite ububasha bwo kuburanisha imanza za gisirikari zose zirebana n'Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bo mu bihugu bidukikije¹⁷⁰. Izo nkiko zagize umusaruro, ushingiyeye ku mubare w'imanza zaciwe ; 1352 mu wa 1924, 3219 mu wa 1929¹⁷¹.

Mu 1934, haremwe muri teritwari ya Nyanza inkiko z'abunzi, zari zishinzwe kwita ku bibazo bidakomeye, zigashaka uko zumvikanisha ababuranyi mbere yuko bajya mu nkiko. Bene izo nkiko zaje gukwirakwizwa muri za teritwari zose guhera mu 1935¹⁷². Izo nkiko ntizacaga imanza ahubwo zungaga abafitanye ibibazo. Iteka ry'umwami no 3 ryo ku wa 13 Mata 1937 ryemeraga ko inkiko ari: Inkiko za teritwari (inkiko za sheferi n'inkiko z'abunzi), Urukiko rwa teritwari cyangwa urw'ubujurire, n'urukiko rw'umwami. Ububasha bwazo bwagarukiraga ku birebana n'abaturage. Ikirego ntikemerwaga n'urukiko rwa sheferi igihe cyabaga kitabanje kunyuzwa kuri sushefu wakoraga nk'umwunzi akifashisha inyangamugayo ebyiri. Ikirego cyageraga mu rukiko rwa sheferi iyo kubungaga bitakundaga. Umwami yashoboraga kuba umucamanza mu nkiko zose z'igihugu zireba imanza z'abaturage, kandi yari afite uburenganzira bwo gusubirishamo

¹⁶⁸ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1922, p.10.

¹⁶⁹ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1925, pp.68-69.

¹⁷⁰ Vanhove J., « Les juridictions indigènes du Ruanda », in *Congo*, 1939, p. 161.

¹⁷¹ Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1924, p.13, pp.50-51.

¹⁷² Ministère des colonies, *Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge*, 1934, p.75; Ibidem, 1935, p.78.

imanza zose zaciwe. Amafaranga yose yavaga mu nkiko za sheferi yashyirwaga mu isanduku ya sheferi, naho amafaranga avuye mu nkiko za teritwari n'urw'umwami yajyaga mu kigege kitiriwe Fonds Mutara.

Umukoroni yashyize ingufu mu mitunganyirize y'inkiko akoresheje Itegeko teka no 348/A.I.M.O ryo ku wa 5 Ukwakira 1943 rishyiraho imiterere y'inkiko z'abaturage. Iryo tegeko teka rishyiraho inkiko eshatu : Urukiko rwa sheferi, urukiko rwa teritwari n'urukiko rw'umwami. Shefu ahabwa ububasha n'itegeko ryo kuba Perezida w'urukiko rwa Sheferi, agashobora guhagararirwa n'uwemewe na adiminisitarateri wa teritwari kimwe n'abaseseri, urukiko rw'umwami ruyoborwa n'umwami kandi rugizwe n'abaseseri babiri cyangwa benshi batoranijwe n'umwami mu batware b'igihugu bagomba kwemerwa na Rezida.

Hagumye kubaho mu ruhanda rw'abazungu ikintu kinini cyo kutizera inkiko zigizwe n'Abanyarwanda gusa. Ni yo mpamvu inkiko z'abazungu zakoraga ibishoboka byose ngo zibuze inkiko z'Abanyarwanda gukora nabi: urukiko ku rwego rwa teritwari y'u Rwanda yose (rutandukanye n'inkiko za teritwari) rw'abazungu ku rwego rwa Rezidansi rwashoboraga gusubirishamo ibyemezo byafashwe n'inkiko z'Abanyarwanda zo muri icyo ariko ntiruge mu mizi y'iburanishwa. Ni yo mpamvu umuco utashingirwagaho igihe cyose byashoboraga kubangamira umutekano rusange (w'ubukoroni) cyangwa izindi ngingo z'amateka zirebana n'umuco.

Abakozi bo mu nkiko bari Abatutsi, kimwe no mu buyobozi: icyo kintu cyaranenzwe cyane ndetse kinashyirwa ku mutwe w'Abatutsi bose bikozwe n'abayobozi b'amashyaka b'Abahutu mu myaka ya 1957-1962 bavuga ko ubwo buryo bwari bubogamye kandi budakurikiza ukuri. Twabonye ukuntu imiterere y'iyi mikorere yashyizweho n'ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni.

Abanyarwanda na bo bashoboraga kuburanishwa mu nkiko z'abazungu, zitwaga "iz'uburenganzira rusange" mu bibazo birebana n'ubushinjacyaha na siviri. Inkiko z'uburenganzira rusange zacaga imanza zishingiye ku mategeko yanditse, naho inkiko za kavukire zashingiraga ku muco mu gihe cyose utabaga ubangamiye umutekano rusange n'imico myiza.

Inyandiko y'ishingiro ku bucamanza bwa gisiviri n'ubushinjacyaha ni Itegeko teka no 45 ryo ku wa 30 Kanama 1924. Ryateganyaga urukiko rushinja ibyaha, rwa giporisi rufite ububasha bugenwa na komiseri w'umwami, urukiko rwa teritwari y'u Rwanda yose, urukiko rw'ibanze n'urukiko rw'ubujurire rw'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Mu bubasha bwazo izo nkiko zashoboraga kuburanisha ibyaha byose bya kozwe na ba kavukire. Mu mikorere yazo zaburanishaga gusa ibirego biburanishwa hifashishijwe amategeko yanditse.

Imikorere y'ubucamanza bw'uburenganzira rusange yaje gusubirwamo n'iteka ryo ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1948 ryashyiragaho urukiko rwa giporisi kuri buri teritwari, urukiko rwa parike n'urukiko rwa Rezidansi y'u Rwanda, urukiko rwa mbere rw'ibanze n'urukiko rw'ubujurire muri teritwari yose y'u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Uko kubangikanya inkiko z'amoko abiri anyuranye, abanisha imikorere y'ubucamanza ishingiyeye ku muco gakondo, n'ubucamanza bushingiyeye ku mategeko yanditse ntabwo byari ibintu bidahura nk'uko hari abashoboraga kubyibwira kuko inkiko z'abazungu zarutaga inkiko z'abakavukire kandi n'ibikorwa n'abacamanza gakondo byagiye byemerwa, ububasha bw'inkiko bayobora byagiye byemerwa n'amategeko yanditse n'ubwo ibihano byo byakurikizaga umuco. Ubucamanza gakondo bwemerewe kuba bugumyeho (bushingiyeye ku muco): yari amoko menshi y'ubucamanza avanze ariko afite uko agenzurwa.

i. Ibibazo by'ubukoronni n'ingaruka zabyo

Umusoro n'akazi ni bwo buryo bwakoreshejwe n'umukoronni w'Umubirigi ngo agere ku ntego yo gutegeka igihugu no kugikandamiza no guhindura uko yabishakaga, imyumvire y'Abanyarwanda n'imibereho y'abaturage. Bitewe n'igitugu n'akarengane byakorerwagamo, n'akababaro kajyanaga na byo, ibibazo byatewe n'ubukoronni byasigiyeye Abanyarwanda babibayemo ku ngufu urwibutso rushaririye.

➤ Uburyo bwo gusoresha

Gusoreshwa ni inzira yakoreshejwe n'ibihugu byose byakoronije bishaka gushyira abaturage bakoronijwe mu bukungu bushingiyeye ku mafaranga no kugirango batange amaturo na serivise bisabwa. Poritiki yo gusoresha y'abakoronni b'Ababirigi

yari igamije gutuma Abanyarwanda bagira uruhare mu mikorere ya serivisi za gikoronize. Imisoro itaziguye yari igizwe cyanecyane n'umusoro w'umubiri, umusoro w'ubuharike, umusoro w'inka, umusoro ku mutungo n'umusoro w'umuntu ku giti ke¹⁷³.

➤ **Umusoro w'umubiri**

Twabonye ko umusoro w'umubiri wazanywe n'Abadage. Kugeza mu wa 1917 ni wo musoro wonyine wakwaga mu Rwanda, wari uhagaze ku mafaranga 3.5fr muri teritwari zose. Gutandukanya igipimo cy'umusoro w'umubiri bitewe n'ahantu na za teritwari byatangiye mu wa 1921¹⁷⁴. Mu wa 1923, uwo musoro washyizwe ku rwego rw'amafaranga 15 ku baturage batuye mu nsisiro z'imigi (Kigali), ahandi uguma ku mafaranga 3.5fr. Abasoreshwa bagabanijemo ibice bibiri: abo mu cyaro n'abo mu nsisiro z'umugi wa Kigali.

Mu rwego rw'imivugururire ya poritiki yatangiye mu wa 1926, igipimo cy'umusoro cyasubiwemo, gishyirwa ku mafaranga 15 na 10 ku baturage batuye mu nsisiro z'imigi n'abatuye mu cyaro¹⁷⁵. Guhera mu wa 1930, igipimo cy'umusoro w'umubiri cyahindutse umusoro rusange utegetswe¹⁷⁶. Ugenda ushyirwaho hakurikijwe umutungo wa buri Karere n'iterambere mu bukungu ry'abaturage: amafaranga 15,5 muri teritwari za Kigali, Astrida na Nyanza, amafaranga 17,75 muri teritwari za Cyangugu, Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Amafaranga 10 muri teritwari za Gatsibo na Rukira. Mu wa 1945, igipimo cy'umusoro cyashyizwe ku mafaranga 46 muri teritwari esheshatu (Kigali, Astrida, Nyanza, Ruhengeri, Gatsibo, Kabaya/Gisenyi). Teritwari ya Cyangugu yagabanijwemo ibice bibiri: amafaranga 56 i Kamembe n'amafaranga 28 ahasigaye. Rukira ni yo yari ifite igipimo gito: amafaranga 26¹⁷⁷.

Mu nsisiro igipimo cyakurikiranaga ku buryo buteye butya: amafaranga 24 mu wa 1927, 40, 75 frw mu wa 1930, 70 frw mu 1940 na 80 frw mu 1945. Kuva mu 1923 kugeza mu wa 1930, igipimo cyari cyarikubye inshuro enye mu gihe umutungo w'abaturage utari wikubye izo nshuro ¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷³ Mbonitegeka D., *La politique fiscale dans le Rwanda colonial (1912-1962)*, Mémoire de licence, Butare, 2003.

¹⁷⁴ Ordonnance no 11/13 du 9 novembre 1921

¹⁷⁵ Ordonnance no 55 du 17 février 1926

¹⁷⁶ Ordonnance no 1 du 9/13/1930.

¹⁷⁷ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1917-1945.

¹⁷⁸ Idem.

Mu wa 1946 poritiki y'imisoro yabaye igikoresho gikomeye cyo gukusanya amafaranga cyanecyane muri Gahunda ya y'imyaka cumi. Muri uwo mwaka (1946), igipimo cy'umusoro cyashyizwe ku mafaranga 50 muri teritwari zose, uretse Cyangugu yari ifite ibipimo bibiri: amafaranga 60 i Kamembe na 30 fr ahandi. Mu nsisiro Abanyarwanda n'abanyamahanga bari ku gipimo cy'amafaranga 80. Hamaze gukorwa Gahunda y'imyaka icumi (1951), igipimo cyasubiwemo gishyirwa ku mafaranga ijana (100fr). Igipimo cyari kimwe muri za teritwari hose uretse muri teritwari za Cyangugu, Kigali na Gisenyi zari zifite igipimo cyari hagati y'amafaranga 380 na 490 mu mwaka w'umusoro wa 1961. Umusoro w'umubiri ni bwo wahindutse umusoro uvunanye kurusha iyindi yose.

Kuvanwa ku musoro w'umubiri byemerwaga na adiminisitarateri cyangwa umwungirije nyuma yuko herekanywe urupapuro rwa muganga ruhanya ko ubisaba afite ubumuga. Abandi batasabwaga uwo musoro ni shefu na sushefu bamaze amezi atatu bakora, abasoda n'abaporisi, abarwayi bamaze amezi atandatu, abapadiri n'abapasitori b'amadini yemewe mu Rwanda n'u Burundi. Hakorwaga ibishoboka byose ngo bace intege kandi barwanye amayeri yose yakorehwaga ngo he gutangwa imisoro.

Havukaga kenshi ikibazo cyo gusonera abanyeshuri bujuje imyaka yo gusora ariko bakiga mu mashuri ya za misiyoni: iteka Leta yagiye ibyihanganira. Kuva mu myaka ya za 1950, Leta yerekanaga ko yanga abakabya ivuga ko imyaka 16 itagomba kurengwa mu mwaka wa 5 w'amashuri abanza. Abanyeshuri barengeje iyo myaka birukanwa mu ishuri.

Umusoresha yagombaga kuba ari umuntu wujuje imyaka kandi udafite ubumuga, umuturage wakuze neza ku mubiri no ku mutima. Impapuro za Leta zemewe zari indangamuntu y'ibarurwa cyangwa urundi rupapuro rwatangwaga na Misiyoni (ruvuga itariki ya batisimu y'umwana ukivuka).

Abaturage bamenyeshwaga igipimo cy'umusoro mbere y'itariki ya mbere ya buri mwaka: hari inzego z'imirimu zari zishinzwe gutanga amatangazo n'izindi nyandiko, zerekanaga uko imisoro itandukanye n'amahoro kuri buri sheferi na teritwari. Uburyo bwari bworoshye bwari ubwo guhuriza hamwe abaturage ahantu rusange. Abasoresha b'imisoro batangaga inkuru zose za ngombwa igihe cyo gutanga imisoro ku baturage ntacyagombaga kurenza iminsi icumi n'itanu. Imisoro yakirwaga

rimwe n'abasoresha babishinzwe by'umwihariko, kandi igatangwa mu mafaranga. Umaturage utatangaga umusoro mu gihe cyabugenewe yacibwaga igihano cyo gukora imirimo imwe n'imwe ifitiye igihugu akamaro yemezwa na Guverineri mu miterere n'ingano zayo, ingero zari nko gukora imihanda, gukora isuku mu migezi, gukora imirimo mu bihingwa cyangwa ibigo bya Leta, kwikorera imizigo y'ibikenewe n'abategetsi n'imirimo y'isuku y'ibidukikije. Iyo mirimo ntiyarenzaga amezi abiri.

➤ **Umusoro ku bagore benshi**

Itegeko teka n° 56 ryo ku wa 12 Ukuboza 1924 ryashyiragaho umusoro ku bagore benshi “ku muntu wese w'umwirabura utari Umunyarwanda cyangwa utuye mu rusisiro rwabigenewe, ritegeka gutanga umusoro kuri buri mugore wese uretse umugore wa mbere¹⁷⁹”. Byari ugushyira mu bikorwa itegeko shingiro ry'ubukoronni ryo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1908 ryategekaga ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo bukureho buhoro buhoro umuco wo gushaka abagore benshi. Byongeye kandi Kiriziya gatorika yari ifite ingufu icyo gihe, yabonaga ko umuco wo gushaka abagore benshi ubangamiye kwamamara k'ubukirisitu kandi ko ari n'umuco wa kinyamaswa. Igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho uwo musoro cyariho na mbere ku bw'Abadage ariko nta ngufu bari barashyizemo. Ubutegetsi bw'abakoronni bwabonaga ko umuco wo gushaka abagore benshi ari ikimenyetso cy'ubukire.

Guhera mu wa 1931, hashingiwe ku itegeko teka n° 2 ryo ku wa 26 Ukuboza 1930, umusoro ku bagore benshi wabayeho itegeko ku muntu wese ubafite. Igipimo cy'umusoro cyariyongeraga kuri buri mugore wiyongereyeho. Iyo nyongera yashingiraga ku bukungu n'iterambere rya buri karere. Wari ku mafaranga 13 muri teritwari ya Cyangugu, Gisenyi, Musha, Ruhengeri na Kabaya; muri teritwari ya Kigali, Nyanza na Asitirida hatangwaga amafaranga 10 mu wa 1931. Muri teritwari ya Gatsibo, Rukira na Byumba, uwo musoro wari ku mafaranga 6. Mu nsisiro zo mu mugi uwo musoro wageraga ku mafaranga 50. Mu mpera za manda (mu wa 1945) ikigereranyo cy'umusoro cyageraga ku mafaranga 33 hafi muri teritwari zose uretse i Kibungo wari ku mafaranga 20, Shangugu 22/40 frs no mu nsisiro wari 65 frs¹⁸⁰.

¹⁷⁹ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, p. 1925, p.6

¹⁸⁰ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1931, p. 145

Igihe cy'amasezerano yitwa ay"Indagizo", urugamba rwo guhashya ubuharike rwafashe indi sura hakurikijwe itegeko teka no 21/164 ryo ku wa 16 Gicurasi 1946 n'Iteka ryo ku itariki ya 4 Mata 1950 yabuzaga burundu umuco w'ubuharike, ndetse akanabuza abantu bafite abagore benshi kujya ahantu hamwe na hamwe hahurirwa n'abantu benshi¹⁸¹. Kuva mu 1950 umusoro w'ubuharike wajyaga kungana n'umusoro w'umubiri (mu 1951 wari amafaranga 95 muri teritwari 5, 105 muri teritwari ya Cyangugu, 80 i Kibungo na 150 muri AEC). Mu 1961 uwo musoro wari 160 frs muri teritwari 4; 175frs ku Gisenyi na 160 frs muri AEC. Kuva mu wa 1951 uwo musoro wari warazamutse cyane. Mu turere tumwe na tumwe, abafite abagore benshi bagombye kubirukana cyangwa bakiyemeza kubana na bo rwihishwa.

➤ **Umusoro w'inka**

Umusoro ku nka washyizweho mu wa 1923. Hashyizweho ifaranga rimwe kuri buri nka. Uwo musoro wakirirwaga hamwe n'umusoro w'umubiri. Wongeye gusubirwamo mu 1927¹⁸² maze ushyirwa ku mafaranga 2 ku nka, washyizwe ku mafaranga 5 mu 1936, hanyuma ushyirwa ku mafaranga 10 mu 1945.

Igihe cya manda, umusoro wavuye ku ifaranga 1 ugera ku mafaranga 10, kandi uba umwe mu turere twose. Igihe cya muryamo mu 1934, umusoro waragabanyijwe ariko wongera kuzamurwa muryamo ishize. Ku gihe cy"Indagizo" ikigereranyo cy'umusoro cyageze ku mafaranga 18 mu wa 1947, kuri 27.5 mu wa 1950, kuri 50 mu wa 1954 no ku mafaranga 75 mu 1960¹⁸³.

Itangwa ry'uwo musoro ryabanzirizwaga n'ibarura ry'inka zose n'iry'abasoreshwa, bigakorwa n'abanditsi batoranijwe mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza, babaga baherekejwe na shefu cyangwa sushefu w'aho hantu. Ibarura rya mbere ryabaye mu wa 1927 (habazwe inka 500.000). Ingorane nini yabonekaga nuko abatunzi batavugaga ku buryo bworoshye umubare w'inka zabo kugira ngo batazisorera¹⁸⁴.

Guhera mu wa 1950 ikibazo k'inzuri cyatangiye kwigaragaza. Mu nama yabereye i Bujumbura kuri 23.8.1950, ikibazo cy'ubworozi

¹⁸¹ Ibidem, 1951

¹⁸² Ordonance du 6/6/1927

¹⁸³ Bulletin officiel du Ruanda-Urundi, 1947-1960

¹⁸⁴ Nkurikiyimfura J.-N., 1994, *op.cit.*, p. 214

cyari mu byagombaga gusuzumwa. Visi-guverineri yahatangiye igitekerezo cy'uko inka z'umurengera zagabanywa. icyo gitekerezo nticyashimishije abatunzi. Umwanzuro waje kuba ko hashyizweho umusoro ku nka bavuga ko "zitifuzwa": zari inka zose zirengeje imyaka 12 n'izo umuganga w'amatungo yavugaga ko zitajyanye n'ubworozi. Uwo musoro kandi wagombaga kongerwa buri mwaka kuri buri nka yawusoreshejwe.

Muri rusange umusoro w'inka wariyongereye cyane, hagamijwe gushaka guca intege abatunzi ndetse no kugabanya buhoro buhoro umubare w'inka.

➤ **Umusoro w'umuntu n'ibye**

Uwo musoro washingiye ku mikorere yari muri Kongo mbirigi. Mu wa 1917 ubunini bw'ahantu hubatsweho bwatangiye kuba ikibazo. Itegeko teka no 71 ryo ku wa 15 Ugushyingo 1925 ryategetse ko mu Rwanda hubahirizwa "Iteka" ryo kuri 22 Ukwakira 1917, ryashyiragaho umusoro w'umubiri muri Kongo mbirigi. Umusoro ku mazu (ayo guturwamo, amangazini, ibiro) wari washyizwe kuri metero y'ubuso amafaranga 7 ahanu ha mbere h'ibanze, 5.25frs ahakurikiyeho, na 3.5frs ahasigaye. Hari ariko n'umusoro wihariye ku mazu ararwamo n'abakozi b'abirabura, ayo bakoreramo imirimo n'aho banika ibintu: yari 3.5 frs aha mbere, 1.75frs ahakurikira na 10.7 frs ahasigaye hose.

Ikigero cy'ahantu hatandukanye cyaje gushyirwa mu byiciro 5 kuva mu wa 1944. Hari n'umusoro wa buri mwaka watangirwaga abakozi umuntu akoresha (abo mu rugo n'abo ku kazi). Umusoro ku modoka zitwara abantu n'ibintu washyizweho kuva mu wa 1932. Haje no kujyaho umusoro ku birombe by'amabuye y'agaciro guhera mu wa 1937. Mu gihe cya manda ibyasoreshwaga byari bike cyane.

Ibintu bikwiye gusoreshwa ariko bikaba biri mu maboko y'ubutegetsi bwa Leta cyangwa mu bigo by'amadini n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta ntabwo byasoreshwaga umusoro w'umubiri. Byari kimwe n'amazu, ahanu n'imodoka zikora gusa mu buhinzi n'ubworozi, mu iyobokamana, kwa muganga, mu mashuri no mu mirimo y'iyobokamana, ubuhanga na siporo.

Mu gihe k'"Indagizo" ishingiro ry'ibintu bisoreshwa ntiryahinduwe cyane. Umusoro w'umubiri washingiraga kuri ibi: ubuso

bw'amazu n'inyubako zirimo; ubuso bw'ahantu hatubatswe mu mugu, abakozi bo mu kazi no mu ngo, amato, imodoka zitwara abantu n'ibintu, ibindi bintu by'agaciro, n'ubuso bw'ibirombe (Itegeko teka ryo ku wa 10 Werurwe 1950). Haje kwiyongeraho umusoro ku butaka, washyizweho n'iteka n° 332/352 ryo ku wa 21 Ugushyingo 1961. Kuva icyo gihe umusoro w'inka washyizwe hamwe n'umusoro w'umubiri.

➤ **Umusoro ku mutungo**

Ni itegeko teka n° 72 ryo ku wa 15 Ugushyingo 1925 ryashyizweho umusoro ku mutungo mu Rwanda wari usanzweho muri Kongo mbirigi. Wari umusoro ugizwe n'amahooro ku mutungo. Uwo musoro washyizweho na wo mu gihugu gifite abaturage batunzwe cyanecyane n'umwuga wo guhinga hatarimo abakorera amafaranga menshi. Ni yo mpamvu umusaruro wawo wabayemuke.

Kuva mu wa 1951 uwo musoro werekejwe mu birebana n'inganda, ubwubatsi, amashyamba, uburobyi na hoteri hagamijwe kongerwa umubare w'ibisoreshwa. Iteka ryo ku wa 20 Mutarama 1960, na ryo ryagize icyo rihindura ku musoro ku mutungo. Byageze aho ayo mahooro ku bikorwa ashirwa ku bigo byose by'inganda, ubucuruzi, ubukorikori, ubuhinzi n'inyubako ndetse no ku mishahara y'abakozi ba Leta ndetse n'abandi bakozi bo mu bigo by'abikorera.

➤ **Amahooro aziguye**

Umutungo uva ku mahooro aziguye wavaga ku byinjira n'ibisohoka no ku mafaranga yakwaga ku bikoreshwa. Urwego rw'imirimu ya gasutamo n'ahashyirurwa by'agateganyo ibintu rwashyizweho mu Rwanda mu wa 1921. Itegeko ryo ku wa 30 Kamena 1922 ryahuje uburyo bwa gasutamo bwa Kongo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi.

Amahooro y'ibinjira mu gihugu yatswe bwa mbere ku mupaka w'u Rwanda mu wa 1924. Ibiciro n'uburyo bwo kwaka ayo mahooro bwari bwashyizweho n'itegeko teka ryo ku wa 31 Ukuboza 1923. Ibicuruzwa byose ntibyasoreshwaga. Buri mwaka ubuyobozi bwa koroni bwashyiragaho urutonde rw'ibicuruzwa biva mu mahanga biza mu Rwanda. Bigatuma kubisoresha bigenda bihindagurika buri gihe. Ibicuruzwa byo gukoresha buri gihe nk'ibiribwa, akenshi nta misoro byatangaga

naho ibicuruzwa by'umutako byarushagaho gusoreshwa. Ariko imisoro yari mike ku bintu n'ibikoresho by'ibanze bigamije iterambere n'ubukungu (imodoka, imashini, ibyuma, n'ibindi)

Amahooro ku bisohoka yashyizweho bwa mbere mu 1924 ku mpu z'intama. Nyuma hagiye amahooro ku ikawa n'amabuye y'agaciro byoherezwa hanze. Amahooro kandi yarongerewe mu gihe k'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose ku bintu byoherezwa hanze.

Amahooro ku binyobwa yakwagwa ku nzoga zose zisindisha (uretse divayi ya Misa n'inzoga zengwagwaho n'abaturage ngo bazinywere ubwabo). Ikindi cyakwagwaho imisoro ni itabi ryakorerwaga mu Rwanda cyangwa hanze n'amavuta. Uburyo bwose bwo guhisha ibisoreshwa bwahanishwaga igihano kikubye inshuro 15 agaciro k'ibyagombaga gusorerwa. Ibyo bintu kandi byarafatwaga bikamburwa bene byo.

Ingengo y'imari ya Ruanda-Urundi yashingiraga ku mafaranga ava mu misoro n'amahooro nk'uko byavuzwe. Ukurikije uko amafaranga y'imisoro yagiye yiyongera amenshi yavaga ku misoro y'abaturage n'imisoro ku nka: yari 10.437.244 frs ku mafaranga 37.636.706 frs yose yabonetse mu wa 1934. Ayo rero yari agize uruhare rukomeye mu ngengo y'imari y'u Rwanda-Urundi. Umutungo uva ku mahoro wakomeje kwiyongera buri gihe. Imirimo ya teritwari ni yo yafataga umwanya wa mbere mu ikoresha ry'ayo mafaranga.

Ibyo ayo mafaranga atashoboraga kwishyurira u Bubirigi na Kongo mbirigi byarabirihaga, bikoresheje amafaranga ku nyungu z'umwenda wa Ruanda-Urundi, bigatanga inkunga izishyurwa nk'uko byari biteganyijwe mu masezerano yo ku wa 15 Nyakanga 1932. Ruanda-Urundi byakomeje kubona ayo mafaranga kugeza ku bwigenge.

Ntibishidikanywa ko amafaranga yavuye mu misoro yagize uruhare mu kubaka amashuri, ibitaro, amazu y'ubutegetsi, kugura ibikoresho no guhamba abakozi ba koroni n'abakavukire, n'ibindi. Hari amafaranga make yakoreshejwe mu guteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho myiza. Porogaramu za kijyambere zagendanaga n'umutungo w'imbere mu gihugu uturutse ku misoro n'akazi. Ariko ibyo byanateje ingaruka mbi nyinshi. Ihunga ry'abaturage n'ibura ry'ibiribwa, biza kuvugwa, ni ibimenyetso by'ingaruka mbi zabyo.

➤ Akazi

Imirimo y'inyungu rusange ni yo yitwa akazi cyangwa imirimo y'agahato. Yari yarashyizweho kandi iyoborwa n'itegeko teka no 25 ryo ku itariki ya 7 Ugushyingo 1924. Iyo mirimo yari igizwe no guhinga ahantu hanini ibihingwa ngandurarugo biramba (imyumbati n'ibijumba), guca imigenderano n'imihanda, kurwanya isuri, guhinga mu bishanga, gutera amashyamba n'ibindi. Iyo mirimo yategetswe abaturage kandi batayisobanuriwe neza, ntibayishimira ahubwo bagerageza kuyanga ku buryo bunyuranye¹⁸⁵. Ndetse n'imirimo y'uburetwa yari isanzweho mu Kinyarwanda yafashe indi ntera.

Ijambo “akazi” ryakomotse ku giswahiri ryinjira mu mvugo isanzwe ku ngoma y'Abadage. Rivuga ibintu byinshi bitandukanye: imyaka ihabwa abayobozi, umurimo wose udahemberwa cyangwa n'uhemberwa intica ntikize. Abadage bagumishijeho imirimo yose ya gakondo yakorerwaga abayobozi: ngo haba harabayeho ubwumvikane kuri ibyo hagati ya Musinga na Kapiteni Bethe mu wa 1899. Uretse kandi kugumishaho iyo mirimo yari isanzwe, ubutegetsu bushya bwongereyeho indi myinshi mishya. Ariko ku buryo bw'umwihariko uturere twari twegereye ibigo by'Abadage (na za misiyoni ku buryo budakanganye) n'uturere twanyurwagamo n' imihanda byarahababariye cyane. Mu mirimo mishya yashyizweho n'Abadage harimo ijyanye no guca no gukora inzira z'imihanda, gutanga ibitunga abategetsu b'abakoroni no gutanga ibikoreho by'ubwubatsi. Twabonye ko gushaka abikorezi byagize uruhare rw'umwihariko mu bucuruzi.

Ni Abadage bazanye kandi bakwiza hose igihano cyo gukubita ikiboko mu gihugu. Ikiboko kandi cyarakoreshejwe cyane ndetse birimo n'agakabyo, baba Abadage ndetse n'abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda mu guhana abaturage bafatwaga mu cyaha cyo kwanga cyangwa kudakora imirimo y'agahato.

Mu gihe cy'ubutegetsu bw'Abadage abamisiyoneri b'Abadage na bo bakoresheje imirimo y'agahato. Bigatangira abatware bakoreshaga abaturage iyo mirimo babahembaga ibintu by'ibivamahanga. Nyuma abamisiyoneri bamaze kuba ibikomerezwa ntibongera gutanga inyishyu. Ibintu by'ibivamahanga byatangwaga (umunyu, isukari, imyenda, amasaro, imiya) ntibyari bihagije ngo

¹⁸⁵ Uwizeyimana L., *Croissance démographique et production agricole au Rwanda. Impossible adéquation*, Louvain-La-Neuve, 1989, p. 39.

bishobore gukemura ibibazo byose. Abamisiyoneri bifashishije abaturage mu gutwara amatafari¹⁸⁶. Urugero: bubaka i Save abamisiyoneri basabye ibwami kubaha abantu bo kwikorera ibiti byo kubaka. Mu gihe cy'amezi ane abaturage bagera ku bihumbi icumi (10.000) bashyizwe muri ako kazi ko gutwara ibiti 300¹⁸⁷.

Mu wa 1922, abamisiyoneri na bo bifashishije abaturage mu gutunda ibiti byavaga mu Budaha. Kari akazi gakomeye kandi kavunanye kuko byafataga iminsi itatu yo kugera mu ishyamba rya Gishwati n'iminsi munani yo gusubira i Kabgayi. Kubaka kiriziya y'i Kabgayi byabaye indahiro kuko abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi bakoreshejwe mu gutunda ibiti byakoreshejwe mu kubaka sharupanti no gutwika amatanura y'amatafari¹⁸⁸. Ibi byose birerekana ko abamisiyoneri bagize uruhare mu kongera imirimo y'agahato yavunaga abaturage.

Kuva wa 1917 Ababirigi bateganyije ihingishwa ku itegeko ry'imyumbati no gutera amashyamba mu gihugu¹⁸⁹. Amabwiriza yo kubitangiza yashyizweho mu 1926. Ikawa itangira guhingwa mu 1924-1925 by'igeragezwa. Itegeko teka riha manda ububasha bwo gukoresha imirimo y'agahato no guhingisha ikawa ryagiyeho itariki 7 Ugushyingo 1924. Haje kujyaho andi mabwiriza menshi yakurikiye iryo tegeko teka yashyiragaho ubundi buryo bunyuranye bw'akazi, bijyanye n'imirimo y'uburetwa.

Raporo y'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi yo mu 1924 ivuga ko "byumvikana ko Leta igihe ikora ibintu ishinze mu bantu bataratera imbere igomba kugira ububasha bwo gukoresha ingufu rimwe na rimwe mu bintu by'inyungu rusange"¹⁹⁰. Kuva mu wa 1925 kugeza mu wa 1959 habaye igihe gifatwa nk'icyagize umwihariko munini mu ikoreshwa ry'imirimo y'agahato, haba mu gushyiraho ayo mabwiriza ayigenga, haba se no mu kuyikoresha mu buryo busesuye kandi bwimbye.

Guhera mu wa 1926 ubuhinzi bw'imyaka ngandurarugo (ibijumba n'imyumbati) ni ho bwafashe intera. Ubwo buhinzi bwitwaga ku mugaragaro ko ari imirimo yashyizweho n'abategetsu

¹⁸⁶ Daire de la Mission de Kabgayi, 10 juin 1907, p. 74

¹⁸⁷ Ibidem, 16 février 1906, p.21

¹⁸⁸ Daire de la Mission de Kabgayi, 10 juin 1907, p.74; soma na « mémoire » yakozwe kuri misiyoni ya Kabgayi.

¹⁸⁹ Lettre no 791/A/53 du 2 août 1917 portant organisation du royaume

¹⁹⁰ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration, 1924, p.28

b'abazungu mu nyungu z'abaturage ubwabo. Ni muri icyo gihe kandi hatangijwe imirimo yo gutera amashyamba no gukora imihanda, byitwaga na byo imirimo yakozwe n'abaturage mu nyungu rusange”.

Itegeko teka n° 347/A.I.O ryo ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1943 rishyiraho imitegekere y'u Ruanda-Urundi ni itegeko rikomeye muri urwo rwego. Ryaje nyuma kunganirwa n'andi mategeko arishyirisha mu bikorwa. Riha uburenganzira Rezida bwo gushyirishaho imirimo myinshi y'agahato: gutera amashyamba ku buryo bugari, guhinga ibihingwa ngandurarugo, kurwanya isuri n'ibindi. Amabwiriza yashyizweho ateguka buri muturage ufite imyaka ya ngombwa kandi utari ikimuga ko agomba kuba afite iteka ubuso buhinze bwa ari 25 z'ibijumba na ari 35 z'imyumbati.

Imiyoborere y'akazi yashingiraga ku miyoborere ya poritiki mu gihugu. Guverineri wa Ruanda-Urundi yashyiragaho gahunda y'imirimo yose igomba gukorwa. Akayigeza kuri Rezida na we akayigeza ku mwami. Umwami yamaraga kubyumvikanaho n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu (guhera mu wa 1953) akagena uruhare rwa buri sheferi mu gushyira mu bikorwa iyo gahunda y'imirimo muri rusange. Ba adiminisitarateri ba teritwari bamenyeshwaga iyo gahunda, kandi bakagomba kureba ko iyo mirimo yubahirizwa mu bice bashinzwe. Bashingiye ku mabwiriza ya ba shefu, abasushefu ubwabo bagombaga kugabanya iyo mirimo abaturage bari muri buri kigero cyo kuyikora. Mbere ya 1924, umukuru y'inzu ni we wanyuzwagaho imirimo yagenwe n'abashefu n'abasushefu ari mu birebana n'imirimo y'amaboko cyangwa ibigomba gutangwa byasabwe. Nyuma y'iyi tariki abatware bashya baretse kwifashisha abakuru b'amazu maze bashyiraho abatoni babo cyangwa bashyiraho benewabo bwite. Barimo ibice bibiri: ibirongozi n'abamotsi. Ibirongozi byasimburaga abashefu n'abasushefu igihe babaga badahari kandi bakayobora imirimo y'abanyakazi. Abamotsi bafashaga abasushefu gushaka abanyakazi, kumenyekanisha amabwiriza ya ba sushefu mu baturage, no kubwira abagomba gukora imirimo aho bazayikorera. Mbere yo gutangira akazi, sushefu cyangwa ikirongozi bakoreshaga iperu ngo bamenye abaje n'abasibye.

Abasibye barahanwaga. Ibirongozi n'abamotsi ntibahembwaga. Mu birebana n'amategeko ntibakorwaga imirimo y'akazi nk'uko byari bimeze ku ba sushefu. Ariko babifashijwemo n'abasushefu babaga bafite buri gihe abaturage babakorera imirimo y'iwabo bwite. Kandi nta kazi ka Leta bakoraga kandi byabagiriraga akamaro.

➤ **Imirimo y’agahato yakoreshwaga ku nyungu bwite za buri rugo.**

Iyo mirimo yarebaga cyanecyane ubuhinzi bw’imyaka ngandurarugo (imyumbati n’ibijumba) ikawa no guhinga ibishyimbo¹⁹¹.

• **Shiku**

Guhinga ibihingwa ngandurarugo bizwi cyane ku izina rya “shiku”, ijamba rishya ryatangiyeye mu wa 1930. Iyo myaka yagombaga guhingwa ahantu hatari mu masambu y’abaturage ahenshi hatoranyijwe n’ubuyobozi bubifitiye ububasha. Iyo mirimo y’agahato yitwaga ko ikorwa mu nyungu z’abaturage, ntiyakundwaga.

Ni yo mpamvu iyo mirima n’iyo mirimo yayikorerwagaho byaje kwitwaga shiku (biva ku nshinga “gushikura” bivuga guhingana ingufu nyinshi). Iryo shusho risa n’iryerekana ukuri kuko iyo mirimo yakorerwaga mu mishike ivunanye guhingwaho. Shiku yanitwaga “akajagari” bishaka kuvuga imirima yahawe abaturage ngo bayihinge ariko buri muturage afite ike cyate. Shiku y’imyumbati yakorerwaga imusozi naho shiku y’ibijumba igakorerwa mu mibande n’ibishanga.

Ku birebana n’imirima, shiku ntiyari amasambu (umurima w’umuntu ku giti ke) kandi ntiyari imirima rusange ahubwo yari imirima y’umuntu ku giti ke ariko yahujwe. Uwahabonaga umurima wo guhinga ntiyabaga abonye uburenganzira bwo kuwutunga. Yawukoreshaga by’agateganyo. Iyo yabaga amaze gusarura, aho yari yahinze hasubiraga mu mutungo rusange w’umurenge. Umwaka ukurikiyeho imirima yatangwaga ahandi. Kandi ntawabaga afite uburenganzira bwo kwaka aho yabaga yarahinze mbere.

Imirimo y’ubuhinzi bw’imyaka ngandurarugo yahinduye ishusho y’icyaro. Ni muri urwo rwego buri sushefu yabaga afite ibipimo bibiri cyangwa bitatu binini by’imyumbati byitwaga “agakiza”. Iyo mirima yahingiwe kandi igahingwa n’abaturage yagombaga gufasha mu gihe k’inzara. Bitandukanye na shiku. Imirima “y’agakiza” yari imirima rusange. Kandi yari minini kurusha imirima ya shiku (imirima y’“agakiza” yabaga ifite ari 100). Kugira ngo haboneke imirima ihagije inzuri z’inka zagiye zigabanywa

¹⁹¹ Adriaenssens J., *Le droit foncier au Rwanda*, Butare, 1962, p.61

buhoro buhoro, ziza kugenda zihinduka imirima y'ubuhinzi. Byaje kuvamo kubyangwa mu ibanga kw'aborozi bitewe n'ingufu zashyirwaga muri ubwo buhinzi bw'agahato muri izo nzuri.

Imirimo y'ubuhinzi bw'ibihingwa ngandurarugo yabanje gukorerwa igeragezwa guhera mu wa 1926 kugeza mu wa 1930. Hanyuma ibona gukorwa ku buryo bugari, batanga imbuto z'imyumbati zavaga mu karere ka Rubona¹⁹², hakoreshejwe abayitangaga, abayiguraga, n'abayikorera bahembwa na Leta. Imbuto z'ibijumba zo zabonekaga aho bahinga. Mbere yo guhinga bagombaga kubanza gutoranya ahazahingwa: hagatoranywa n'abayobozi babifitiye ububasha ari bo ba sushefu. Mu byakurikizwaga harimo ko aho hantu hagomba kuba horoshye kuhasura. Sushefu kandi yahabwaga amanota hakurikijwe ubuso bw'ahantu hahinzwe mu bwatsi bwe.

Yashoboraga kunyagwa cyangwa guhabwa amanota mabi iyo yabaga yarahingishije ahantu hato. Kugira ngo agaragare neza imbere y'abayobozi ba teritwari n'abandi bashyitsi bakomeye, imirima yagombaga kuba hamwe byaba byiza hakaba hafi y'umuhanda munini cyangwa muto. icyabaga kigamijwe kwari uko abo bashyitsi bashobora kwibonera n'amaso yabo, akazi kanini cyane kakozwe na teritwari, sheferi cyangwa susheferi, batagombye kuva mu modoka cyangwa amapikipiki yabo ngo bagende n'amaguru. Mu kwerekana aho hantu hashoboraga kugerwa shefu cyangwa sushefu yabaga ashaka kwerekana ko n'ahandi ari uko, maze abategetsu bo muri ako karere bakabona amanota meza cyane. Bene aho hantu ntihabaga haratoranyijwe hakurikijwe urugendo abaturage bagombaga gukora. Ni yo mpamvu hari igihe abaturage basigaga ibishanga n'imisozi bidahinze hafi y'iwabo bakajya guhinga kure. Ni bene ayo mafuti yaje gutuma shiku yangwa kandi ntiyagira umusaruro itanga.

Iyo ahagombaga guhingwa hamaraga gutoranywa sushefu yahamagaraga abaturage, abicishije ku bamotsi, maze bakaza guhabwa ibyate aho hatoranyijwe. Sushefu afatanyije n'abamotsi yacagamo ibyate bya metero 40 z'uburebure kuri 20 z'ubugari.

Uhawe icyate akagiteramo imambo ku mitwe yacyo yose byo kuhashyira imbago zihagabanya. Ibyate by'ibijumba byabaga bito ku byate by'imyumbati. Nta mambo byashyirwagaho, bahitaga bahinga. Ubuso bw'icyate k'ibijumba bwari metero z'ubuso

¹⁹² Mu 1927, hashyizweho ibigo bibiri byo gutoranirizamo imbuto, kuzigerageza no kuzimenyereza kwera mu Rwanda, kimwe cyari i Rubona ikindi i Ntendezi (Cyangugu). Iki cyaje kuvaho mu 1927.

40 (40 m²). Ni ukuvuga metero icumi kuri metero 4. Kugira ibyate bitandukanye kandi ari iby'urugo rumwe ni kimwe mu byarangaga shiku: byaterwaga n'uko ahatoranywagwa guhinga habaga ari henshi bitewe no gushaka kwagura ahahingwa hashoboka no kwanga ko harumbira rimwe haramutse habaye ibizazane by'ibihe bibi cyangwa hateye udukoko turya imigozi.

Imirimo y'ubuhinzi yatangiraga mu kwezi k'Ugushyingo cyangwa muri Mata ku birebana n'ibijumba n'imyumbati by'imusozi cyangwa igatangira mu kwezi kwa Kamena-Nyakanga ku birebana n'ibijumba byo mu mibande. Iyate by'imirima byahabwaga buri rugo byabaga bingana n'ubushobozi bwarwo. Byari itegeko kurangiriza igihe ubuso buteganyijwe. Kugira ngo babishobore, be guhanwa, abaturage barafatanyaga mu mirenge. Iyo bitashobokaga, umuturage yahingaga igice kimwe, ikindi akacyorosaho ibitaka bivuye aho yahinze. Muri rusange icyabaga kigamijwe si umusaruro ahubwo kwari ukwerekana ubunini bw'ahahinzwe, bishaka kuvuga ko susheferi yakoze neza.

Kujya guhinga kure y'ingo yari ingorane nini kuko abantu bagombaga gukora ingendo buri munsu igihe k'ihinga, ibagara n'isarura. Hari imirima itarasarurwaga kubera ko iri kure. Ingo zaravunitse kurusha uko zaboneye inyungu muri shiku.

Dore uko ubuyobozi bwashobanuraga ishyirwaho ry'imyaka y'agahato. Bwambere nambere ibijumba n'imyumbati byagombaga kurwanya inzara n'ibura ry'imyaka, byongeraga ibiribwa. Ntabwo imyumbati yari isanzwe izwi ariko ibijumba byarahingwaga mu turere tumwe na tumwe. Impamvu iyo myaka yombi ari yo yahingwaga nuko itakundaga kwicwa n'imihindagurikire y'ibihe. Iyo mpamvu ijyanye n'indi yakunze kuvugwa n'abakoroni ngo iyo myaka yombi yarwanyaga ubunibwe no gusesagura by'abirabura. Iyo ngingo ntiyari yo kandi yanyomozwaga n'uko ibindi byari byifashe. Turaza kubona ko Abanyarwanda bagiye gupagasa mu bindi bihugu cyane bahunga imirimo y'agahato. Ababirigi bitaye cyane ku gihingwa k'imyumbati kuko batekerezaga kuzagurisha umusaruro wayo muri Katanga.

Guhera mu wa 1954, ibihingwa by'agahato byafashe indi ntera, ntibyongeraga guhingwa ahantu herekanywe n'abakarani ba goronomu cyangwa ba sushefu. Kuva icyo gihe buri muturage yari ategetswe kwihingira aho ashaka igipimo cya ari 15 z'imyubati, atabikora agahanwa (uretse gukubitwa ikiboko cyavuyeho mu wa 1948).

• Ubuhinzi bwa Kawa

Ikawa yazanywe mu Rwanda n'abamisiyoneri gatorika mu ntangiriro z'ikinyejana cya XX. Yahinzwe by'igeragezwa bwa mbere mu misiyoni za gatorika za Mibirizi na Nyundo. Imbuto zavaga muri Gwatemala, zinyujijwe i Bukoba, aho abamisiyoneri bari bafite ikigo cyashyizweho n'Abadage kigeragezwamo imbuto zatoranyijwe¹⁹³. Ni ho imbuto zavaga zigakwirakwizwa hose.

Igihingwa k'ikawa cyatangijwe mu baturage mu wa 1921. Amabwiriza yatanzwe na visi guverineri ubwe na Rezida, bayaha ba adiminisitarateri batagamije gusa kwerekana akamaro k'ikawa, ahubwo banagamije kwerekana uburyo bwa tekini iyo mbuto nshya ihingwa. Urugero n'iyi baruwa ya Rezida yo mu wa 1923 yagize iti: "Ndabamenyesha nkomeje ko ari ngombwa igihe cyo gutera ingemwe muzajya muyishyira mu ibimba, nyuma yo kwika indiba y'ingemwe isigara iringaniye n'ubutaka. Iryo bimba ritabayeho, kwika k'ubutaka bwateweho imbuto byatuma hirema ikizinga cyarekamo amazi y'imvura yabangamira urwo rugemwe rukiri ruto"¹⁹⁴.

Hagati ya 1921 na 1932, umusaruro wabaye mubi ugereranije n'ibyavugwaga muri za raporo za Leta zatangwaga zivuga iterambere ry'icyo gihingwa, byaterwaga no kubikorana agahato kandi nta n'ubumenyi na buke bwari buzwi bw'icyo gihingwa. Mu wa 1931 hatewe ingemwe 300.000 z'ikawa ariko kuri 31 Ukuboza 1932 hari hasigaye izigeze ku 155.000, bivuga ko hari harononekaye izigera kuri 50%¹⁹⁵. Mu mwaka wakurikiyeho hononekaye izigera kuri 20%¹⁹⁶. Bumwe mu buryo bwakoreshejwe bwabaye gutegeka abashefu n'abasushefu gutera kawa. Iyo mikorere yari ishingiyeye ku zindi ngero zagiye ziboneka mu gikoroni: urugero ni nk'uko guhinga ipamba i Buganda byahereye ku ba shefu bagombaga kugira ikimpoteri hafi y'urugo rwabo¹⁹⁷. Abakuru b'ingo na bo bagombaga guhabwa ingemwe bagomba gutera bahagarikiwe na gonomu n'abayobozi babo na gonomu w'ubuhinzi.

¹⁹³ Ngirishuti H.-J., *Histoire socio-économique du Rwanda. Le cas du café (1930-1964)*, Mémoire de licence, UNR, Butare, 1997

¹⁹⁴ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration, 1930, pp.107-108 ; Lettre du Résident du Ruanda adressée aux administrateurs territoriaux, 28 décembre 1931

¹⁹⁵ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration, 1932, p.113

¹⁹⁶ Ibidem, 1933, p.145

¹⁹⁷ Ibidem, 1930, p.16

Kuri icyo gikorwa cyo gutuma abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda bakigiramo uruhare, hiyongeragaho ubundi buryo bunyuranye bwo kwamamaza icyo gihingwa mu nama z'abaturage zaberaga ahantu nko mu masoko, mu nama zo gusoresha, no muri za sosiyeti zicukura amabuye y'agaciro. Ndetse na Kiriziya gatorika yari ikomeye, yitabiriye icyo gikorwa, igira n'uruhare rwo kwamamaza igihingwa cya kawa mu baturage. Mu wa 1933 Musenyeri Classe yoherereje ibaruwa abapadiri ba Vikariyati ye bose abashishikariza rwose gufatanya na Leta mu kwamamaza igihingwa cya kawa, anabasaba gutanga urugero bita ku makawa yabo bwite¹⁹⁸. Ihingwa rya kawa ryakomeje gushyirwamo ingufu kugera igihe bigabanyirijwe umurego bitewe n'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose. Abantu bose bavugaga rumwe ku kwamamaza igihingwa cya kawa no gukora imihanda byatwaye umwanya w'ibanze mu mirimo yose yokoreshejwe n'abategetsu b'abakoroni.

Igihingwa cya kawa cyasabaga imirimo myinshi. Habanza iyi ikurikira: gukora ibihoho ibihumbi n'ibihumbi, bizakoreshwa mu ngemwe zo mu bimpoteri, no gutwara ingemwe amagana n'amagana mu mirima rimwe na rimwe ari kure cyane. Kuva mu wa 1933-34 ibintu byatangiye koroshywa imirimo imwe n'imwe ivanwaho: hashyizweho ibimpoteri byinshi kandi bareka gutera ingemwe mu bihoho, bashishikarizwa kandi guhinga kawa gusa ahantu hari haragaragaye mu igeragezwa ry'ibanze ko haberanye n'igihingwa cya kawa. Ni muri urwo rwego Kanage, Rubengera, impinga za Asitirida na Gitarama, amayaga n'ibice bimwe bya Byumba, Kibungo na Kigali byiswe ko bitaberanye n'ihingwa rya kawa. Mu birebanye n'ubucuruzi bwa kawa, haremwe ikigo kitwa OCIRU (Ikigo cya Kawa cya Ruanda-Urundi) mu wa 1945.

Abahinzi ba mbere ba kawa ntibumvaga impamvu bagomba guhinga kawa kuko batari bazi icyo imara. Byarushagaho kuruhanya kuko basabwaga gutera kawa mu butaka bwiza no kuyifata neza ngo badahanwa. Amakawa ya mbere yatewe hafi y'ingo ahantu ubusanzwe haterwaga imyaka ngandurarugo cyangwa urutoki bagombye kurimbura. Byongeye kandi hari hatarabaho uburyo bw'iyamamazabuhinzi no kwerekera abaturage uko zihingwa.

Hashize hafi imyaka ine abantu batarumva impamvu za kawa. Ariko byarahagije ngo umusaruro wa mbere uboneke maze kawa igurishwe ngo akamaro ka kawa kagaragarire bose uwo

¹⁹⁸ Mgr Classe, Lettre adressée aux prêtres du Vicariat du Ruanda, 1er août 1933

mwanya. Ikoreshwa ry'ifaranga ryari rimaze kwamamara kandi rikemura ibibazo binyuranye. Kuva mu wa 1933 abantu batangiye guhinga kawa hafi ku bushake. Igihingwa cya kawa cyazanye imihindagurikire ikomeye muri karendari z'ubuhinzi mu Rwanda no mu mutungo w'umuryango nyirizina. Gutangira igihingwa cya kawa byafataga ibice bitatu bitangana, ari mu gihe byafataga ari se mu mirimo ubwayo. Habaga imirimo rusange yo gukora ibimpoteri, kwimura ingemwe no kongera kuzitera mu bipimo byateguwe n'imirimo yo gufata neza ikawa. Mu gihe cyo gukoresha ibimpoteri, buri sushefu yagombaga gukoresha abaturage ikimpoteri k'ikawa ku murenge ayobora. Nyuma buri mukuru w'urugo yatoranyaga aho azashyira igipimo cya kawa.

Igipimo cyategurwaga hifashishijwe goronomu w'ubuhinzi, sushefu yahaga ingemwe buri mutware w'urugo. Buri wese yahabwaga ingemwe mironko itanu. Nyuma hatangiraga itera rya kawa ryatangiraga mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa cumi cyangwa mu kwezi kwa Mata. Imirimo yakurikiragaho yari iyo gusasira kawa, kuyibagarira buri gihe no kuyifumbira. Iyamamara ry'ingarane z'ibishingwe mu cyaro bifitanye isano ya hafi n'ubuhinzi bwa kawa ku itegeko. Uretse iyo mirimo kandi, hari ubundi buryo bwashyizweho bwo gufata neza kawa. Gukuraho ibisambo no gusarura imbuto za kawa no gutora ubusurira bwaryaga kawa. Buri muhinzi wa kawa yagombaga kwitaba kwa sushefu ajyanye icupa ryuzuye ubusurira kugira ngo amwereke ko koko yagize uruhare mu kurwanya utwo dukoko. Ibyo byaje kurangizwa n'ikoreshwa rya DDT mu wa 1946-1947.

Gahunda yo kugenzura no gushyira mu bikorwa ry'iyi mirimo yakorwaga na ba sushefu, ba shefu n'abadiminishatarateri. Gukererwa cyangwa gukora nabi iyo mirimo y'ubuhinzi byahanirwaga umuturage na sushefu, akenshi byavagamo gukubitwa cyangwa kunyagwa.

Gutonora kawa byabanje kujya bikorwa n'intoke gusa, bikorwa n'umuhinzi n'umuryango we. Babanzaga kuzumisha : bazanikaga ku birago cyangwa ku ntaro z'imbingo, bakazanika ku zuba mu gihe k'iminsi myinshi. Zamaraga kuma bakagerageza kuzikuraho igishishwa neza¹⁹⁹. Kuva mu wa 1951, hatangiye kwamamara uburyo bwo gukoresha amazi: bashyiraga ibitumbwe bya kawa mu cyuma gisya kawa, harimo n'amazi, bagakaraga icyo cyuma

¹⁹⁹ Kureba amabwiriza y'umwami Mutara Rudahiwa "Uburyo bwo gutunganya kawa", in *Kinyamateka*, no1, tariki ya mbere Nzeri 1933

kigatandukanya uruhu rwa kawa n'imbuto. Nyuma abaturage bakita ku murimo wo kwanika kawa. Ubwo buryo bushya bwazanye ikwirakwizwa ry'ibyuma bisya kawa mu turere twose twera kawa. Ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni kwasobanuraga igikorwa cyo guhinga kawa ku itegeko ku buryo bwinshi. Ikawa mu bihingwa byose byageragejwe (ipamba, itabi,...) yabayeye itegeko kubera impamvu zikurikira:

- Kubera ko u Rwanda rwari rwarinjiye mu bucuruzi mpuzamahanga, gucuruza kawa byazanaga amafaranga mu masanduku ya Leta.
- Igihingwa cya kawa cyari gifite akarusho kuko agaciro kayo kari karakomeje kuzamuka guhera mu kinyejana cya 18.
- Ikawa yari ifite uruhare mu kwinjiza umuturage mu bukungu bukoresha ifaranga, imufasha kubona amafaranga yo guhahisha ibyo ashaka²⁰⁰.

Koko kandi ikawa yagize uruhare runini mu bukungu bw'ingo zimwe na zimwe mu turere tweraga kawa, ibazanira amafaranga buri gihe. Raporo y'Ababirigi yo mu wa 1959, ivuga ko kawa yonyine yazaniraga umuturage 49% by'umusaruro w'umuryango²⁰¹: uwo musaruro washoboraga kwiyongera iyo umukoroni waguraga iyo kawa, atayiguraga ku giciro kiri hasi cyane.

- **Guhunika ibishyimbo**

Guhunika byatangiye mu 1948. Ni bwo bwoko bwa nyuma bw'imirimo y'itegeko bwabayeho mu Rwanda. Byarebaga ibishyimbo kandi hagakorwa n'akazi k'agahato ko kurinda aho bihunitse.

Poritiki yo guhunika ibishyimbo yazanye n'yo kubaka amangazini bibikwamo ku rwego rwa susheferi. Yubakwaga n'abaturage. Bigitangira byahunikwaga mu nzu zifite ubushobozi buke, zubakwaga hafi yaho ba sushefu batuye. Mu wa 1950, izo nzu za mbere zasimbujwe izubakishijwe amatafari zinasakaje amategura ariko na zo zifite ubushobozi buke. Ayo mangazini mashya yubakwaga hafi y'imihanda nyirizina.

Muri buri mangazini hubakwagamo imirongo myinshi igerekeranye. Ni yo yaterekwagamo ibimuga (by'ibibindi) birimo

²⁰⁰ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge, 1930, p.106

²⁰¹ Ibidem, 1959, p.40

ibyo bishyimbo. Guhunika kandi byarebaga abaturage bakuze kandi bafite imbaraga, abahinzi, abakozi ba za misiyoni, ab'abazungu n'aba Leta. Guhunika imyaka byakorwaga nyuma y'isarura ry'Umuhindo (Igihe k'imvura yo mu mezi ya Nzeri n'Ukuboza). Iyo umusaruro wabaga udahagije, igihe cyo guhunika kegereje, abantu bakukaga umutima, kuko nta mpamvu yashoboraga kwemeza ibura ry'ibishyimbo byo guhunika. icyo gihe, igisubizo cyabaga kujya kubihaha mu turere byeze byinshi (cyanecyane mu Mutara, Kingogo, n'u Bugoyi)

Umubare w'ibiro byo guhunika warahindukaga. Bigitangira hashyizweho ibiro ijana, hanyuma baza kubona ko ari byinshi cyane, babigabanyaho icya kabiri mu wa 1947 (biba ibiro mironko itanu), hanyuma bishyirwa ku biro makumyabiri mu wa 1949.

Ibishyimbo byabaye ishingiro ry'ibihunikwa kuko ari byo byari ishingiro ry'ibiribwa by'ingo kandi buri rugo rwashoboraga kubyeza. Mu turere tweragamo amashaza ni yo n'ibishyimbo byahunikwaga. Abayobozi bomekaga kuri buri kimuga kirimo ibihunikwa izina rya nyirabyo. Nyuma bashyize muri buri kimuga agati kariho urupapuro rwanditseho izina rya buri kimuga.

Abaturage ntibishimiye igikorwa cyo guhunika kuko bagombaga kubirinda nijoro, byakorwaga n'abantu bose bakuze kandi badafite ubumuga bo muri buri susheferi, uretse abakozi ba Leta, ab'abazungu n'aba misiyoni. Abarindaga amajoro bararaga imbere mu magazini kandi kenshi bakagurana ibimuga by'ibishyimbo bibi, ibishyimbo byiza babikorera amacuti yabo cyangwa ababaga babahaye amayoga. Na ba sushefu kandi bakoraga ibyo ku buryo icyo gihe k'ihunika cyarangiraga, hari amangazini yabaga asigayemo icya kabiri k'ibyahunitswe. Igihe cyo gusubiza imyaka beneyo hari abasangaga ibimuga bahunitsemo ntakikirimu kandi akazi k'ubuhinzi katasibaga. Ingamba zabaye ko buri wese azana ibike bishoboka kandi cyanecyane akanahunika ibishyimbo bitari ubwoko bwiza. Kandi kubera aho byahunikwaga hatari heza, ntibinafatwe neza, ibyo bishyimbo byaribwaga n'imungu cyangwa bikanyagirwa n'imvura. Guhunika ibishyimbo abaturage ntibabyishimiye kubera izo mpamvu zavuzwe haruguru. Cyanecyane ko abaturage batahonaga impamvu yo guhunika. Byagiriye akamaro gusa ba sushefu n'ababikoragamo amanyanga. Guhunika byaje kuvaho bisabwe n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu.

• **Imirimo rusange ku nyungu z'igihugu cyangwa z'Akarere**

Bene iyo mirimo yabaga guca no gukora imihanda, gutera amashyamba no kurwanya isuri.

- **Gutera amashyamba**

Muri za susheferi zose ubuyobozi bwagombaga kubahiriza itegeko rivuga ko buri sushefu yari ategetswe gutera amashyamba hakurikijwe ibiti bikenewe n'abaturage ayobora. Ibiti byagombaga guterwa n'abantu bose byagombaga kuzagirira akamaro. Ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni bwari bwarabisobanuye ku buryo bukurikira. Ubuyobozi ntibwashatse udushyamba duto duto kandi twa buri wese kandi dutatanye, akenshi dufite amakosa yo guterwa ku butaka bwiza cyane bukwiyeye guhingwaho imyaka, buri hafi y'ingo z'abaturage. Amashyamba agomba kuba igikorwa rusange²⁰².

Aborozi ntibishimiraga icyo gikorwa gishya kiyongeraga kuri shiku bikagabanya inzuri z'amatungo. Ni yo mpamvu hari abasushefu batagikurikiraniraga hafi. Ni inzego za tekinike zatoranyaga ubwoko bw'ibiti bigomba guterwa, aho bizaterwa hagatangwa na sushefu, abaturage bagakora imirimo isigaye. Akenshi hatoranywaga ubutaka bubi. Ibimpoteri byo bigashyirwa hafi y'imihanda ku misozi cyangwa mu mibande n'ibishanga kugira ngo borohereze abategetsi bagombaga kubigenzura.

Ibiti byatewe byabaye akenshi intusi na barakatsi. Barakatsi ntiyakunzwe nk'intusi yakuraga vuba igafasha abaturage mu byo bakeneye. Abaturage kandi ni ko bakoraga imirimo yose yo gufata neza ayo mashyamba mashya yabaga yatewe.

Gutera amashyamba byari bifite impamvu y'umwihariko bigamije. Ku birebana n'ubukungu ubwabwo, mu Gihugu hari hakenewe cyane ibiti by'ubwubatsi (sharupanti, ububaji n'ibindi) kandi n'abaturage bari bakeneye inkwi zo gucana cyanecyane mu turere tutabagamo amashyamba kimeza. icya nyuma nuko ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bwari bwarabonye ko byihutirwa gutera amashyamba ngo bifashe igwa ry'imvura nk'uko byanditse muri raporo y'umwaka wa 1948: "ntawushidikanya ko, imihindagurikire y'ibihe by'imvura ari yo mpamvu nkuru y'inzara, ubwiza bw'ubutaka mu gushobora gufata amazi y'imvura ari

²⁰² Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration, 1928, p.76

ibintu by'ingenzi byo kwitabwaho ku buryo bushoboka bwose. Ni yo mpamvu igikorwa cyo kurwanya isuri cyatangijwe"²⁰³.

Mu gushyiraho iyo mirimo yose, Ababirigi bavunnye abaturage cyane. Mu gihe k'imyaka n'imyaka igihugu cyari cyarahindutse nk'ingando y'imirimo y'agahato ku bwoko bushya. Ntabwo umuturage yari akikorera imirimo ye. Ni yo mpamvu abagifite ingufu bahitagamo gusuhukira mu mahanga. Uko kugenda kw'abantu bagifite ingufu byarushijeho kongera ibibazo by'ibura ry'ibiribwa mu turere tumwe na tumwe.

- Guca no gufata neza imihanda

Kubaka imihanda byari ngombwa ngo bifashe muri gahunda nshya yo guhahirana, gufasha ubuyobozi bw'igihugu no guhuza u Rwanda n'amahanga. Gukora imihanda ni byo byatwaye akazi kavunanye mu bintu byose byategetswe abaturage. Imirimo yabaga ivunanye cyane kandi yamaraga igihe kirekire, hakurikijwe ko hakorwa umuhanda munini, muto cyangwa inzira y'imigenderano y'abagenzi²⁰⁴. Gukora no gutunganya umuhanda byasabaga akazi katagira uko kangana, susheferi yose yarahagurukaga. Abari bavuye kure bagombaga kugenda ingendo ndende ngo bagera aho imirimo yagombaga gukorerwa. Buri sushefu yari afite umubare w'abaturage agomba kohereza ahakorerwaga imirimo. Uwo mubare akenshi wemezwaga hakurikijwe ubwinshi bw'abaturage ba buri susheferi. Kuyobora imirimo yo gukora imihanda minini n'imito akenshi byakorwaga na adiminitarateri wa teritwari, abifashijwemo n'abakarani bashinzwe imirimo ya tekini. Igice cy'umuhanda cyo gukorwa cyagabanywagamo buri munsu ibyate byahabwaga ba sushefu. Buri wese agaharanira kurangiza bwa mbere icyate ke. Hagati y'abasushefu habaga irushanwa rikomeye, bamwe ntibatinye gukoresha abaturage babo nyuma y'amasaha yemewe n'amategeko, babima ikiruhuko cyangwa basaba imirimo abantu ubundi batagomba gukora bene iyo mirimo (abapfakazi, abakozi ba misiyoni, ab'abazungu cyangwa aba Leta).

Kuri iyo nkubiri y'abasushefu n'abandi bayobozi b'imirimo ku ruhande rw'abaturage habagamo kutabishishikaramo kw'abaturage: akazi ntigakorwe neza, umuturage akagenzurana n'umukoresha we. Abaturage bahurijwe muri iyo sibo ntibashobora gukurikiranirwa hafi kubera ubwinshi bwabo.

²⁰³ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration, 1948, p.6

²⁰⁴ Ibidem, 1957, p. 86

Gukoresha imihanda mito n'amabarabara y'abagenzi byaharirwaga ba sushefu iyo mihanda n'amabarabara byanyuraga aho batwara. Mu guca no gukora umuhanda umuturage nta kindi yakoreshega uretse agasuka n'agatebo. Kutabaho kw'imashini byongeye ku gukoreshwa kw'ibintu by'ibanze bidafashe nta kindi byari kugeraho, uretse kongera imvune z'umuturage. Yari yarahindutse nk'imashini yo gukora byose, mu gihe umukuru w'urugo yajyaga ahandi ahunze bene iyo mirimo, umugore we n'abana be bagombaga kumusimbura muri iyo mirimo rusange n'ibindi byose byasabwaga abaturage.

- Kurwanya isuri

Imirimo yo kurwanya isuri yatangiye mu wa 1946. Yituye ku baturage vuba cyane batazi akamaro kayo. Guca imiringoti isanzwe byakurikiraga uko umurima uteye. Kurwanya isuri ntibyabonye umwanya wo gukorerwa igeragezwa hose. Imirimo yakoreshwaga na gonomu w'Umubirigi, agafashwa n'abashinzwe ubuhinzi b'Abanyarwanda. Umurimo munini ugakorwa n'abaturage.

Ibyasabwaga n'abakoroni n'ubukoroni byongereye imirimo y'umuturage aho kugira ngo yisanzure nk'uko byandikwaga n'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri. Ahubwo iyo mirimo yatumye umuturage arushaho kuremererwa n'inzara aho kubona ibimutunga akeneye.

J. Imirimo yakorerwaga abayobozi gakondo

Mu Rwanda rwa mbere y'ubukoroni habagaho amoko y'amahoro anyuranye n'indi mirimo gakondo yakorwaga, ndetse imwe yadutse vuba, yari ifite akamaro mu mibanire y'abantu n'ubutegetsu. U Bubirigi bwari bwarihayeho inshingano yo kuzamura imibereho myiza y'abaturage bukuraho ibyo bwabonaga ko bibangamiye abaturage mu muco wa Kinyarwanda. Nk'uko byavuzwe ikibazo u Bubirigi bwahuye na cyo nuko bwashakaga kurinda rubanda rugufi kandi rushyigikiye ubutegetsu bw'abayobozi gakondo.

➤ Uburetwa

Uburetwa ni imirimo y'agahato ikorwa na buri muturage iminsi ibiri mu cyumweru cya gihanga cyagiraga iminsi itanu,

igakorerwa umuyobozi kandi ntigire inyishyu iyo ari yo yose. Muri za 1950, uburetwa kimwe n'ubuhake byageragejwe nka bumwe mu buryo Abatutsi bakandamizaga Abahutu mbere y'umwaduko w'abazungu²⁰⁵: ariko iyo mvugo yirengagizaga uko ikibazo nyacyo cyari giteye.

Mu wa 1902, padiri A. Brard washinze kiriziya ya mbere y'i Save yavugaga ko Abahutu barimo ibyiciro bibiri: ingabo n'ibiretwa bikoreshwa imirimo yose²⁰⁶. Hari izindi nyandiko zagiye zikomoza ku buretwa ku buryo bunyuranye. Urugero ni Czekanowski, mu wa 1907, yandika ku mibanire y'abantu mu Rwanda, yavuze ko mu byiciro bine by'Abanyarwanda, hari ikiciro k'ibiretwa ni ukuvuga abaturage bigenga ariko badafite umutungo w'ubutaka, bagahinga ku butaka bw'igihugu kandi bagatanga imibyizi ibiri cyangwa itatu mu cyumweru bayiha umutware w'umuryango. Ku ruhanda rwe Bwana Defawe wari umukuru wa Leta mbirigi, yanditse mu wa 1920 ko mu Bahutu harimo ibice bibiri: abagaragu (bahakwa kuri ba shebuja) n'ibiretwa²⁰⁷.

Mu ntangiriro z'ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi, imirimo y'agahato yakorerwaga abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda yari itandukanye, yarimo kuragira inka, guheka, guhinga, gukuka, kubaka inkike no guheka.

Bamaze guhitamo gukorana n'abatware b'Abatutsi, Abadage n'Ababirigi bahaye ingufu nyinshi intumwa z'ibwami na zo zishyiraho abazifasha gukora imirimo yose yasabwaga. Uturere twari dufite ubwigenge bucagase, twarabutakaje dusigara tuyoborwa n'abatware b'Abatutsi bashyizweho n'abakoroni.

Mbere y'ihinduka mu butegezi ryakozwe n'abakoroni, buri rugo rwatangaga imibyizi ibiri mu cyumweru cya gihanga ni ukuvuga iminsi 146 mu mwaka. Mu wa 1924, uburetwa bwashyizwe ku minsi 24 mu mwaka, hanyuma bushyirwa ku minsi ibiri mu cyumweru k'iminsi y'abazungu²⁰⁸. Hashyizweho ibitabo byandikwamo iminsi yakozwe. Ariko iminsi yarengagaho ntiyavugwaga.

Mu wa 1927, rezidansi yashyize uburetwa bwa buri mugabo ku minsi umwe mu cyumweru k'iminsi irindwi cyangwa iminsi ntarengwa 13 mu mwaka. Ku bw'Ababirigi ibyo byagaragaraga

²⁰⁵ Bourgeois R., 1954, *op.cit.*, t.2, pp. 84-86; Murego D., *La révolution rwandaise, 1959-1962*, Louvain, 1975, p.249

²⁰⁶ Brard A., Lettre du Père au Supérieur général des Pères blancs, 8 février 1902

²⁰⁷ Defawe, *Eléments essentiels de l'organisation politique et sociale du Rwanda*, Bruxelles, 9 novembre 1920: Archives africaines AI (4370) 6bis, p.6

²⁰⁸ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel *,op.cit.*, 1924, p.7

nk'iterambere. Mu by'ukuri, iyo poritiki nshya, yarushagaho kongera imirimo yasabwaga abaturage.

Mu wa 1900, uburetwa kwasabwaga umuryango cyangwa inzu, uyikuriye yashoboraga gukora uwo murimo mu izina ry'umuryango wose. Ibyo byagiye bihinduka uko umuryango wagiye uteshwa agaciro no gufashanya byawurangaga mbere y'ubukoroni. Mu myumvire y'Ababirigi uburetwa bwaretse kuba ubw'umuryango buba ubw'umuntu ku giti ke kuri buri mugabo udafite ubumuga. Birasobanura ko uburetwa bwarushijeho kugera kuri benshi kurusha mbere. Ikindi kandi uburetwa bwagejewe no mu turere butabagamo (nko mu majyaruguru). Mu wa 1933, iteka ry'umwami ryagabanije iminsi y'uburetwa: iba 13 mu mwaka kuri shefu na 10 kuri sushefu. Ndetse n'abagaragu mu rwego rw'ubuhake, bagenewe iminsi bagomba gukora mu mwaka.

Kuva mu wa 1936, hemejwe ko imirimo y'uburetwa ishobora gutangirwa ingurane ku baturage bakoraga mu bigo by'abazungu²⁰⁹. Kugeza icyo gihe ubutegetsu bw'abakoroni bwafataga uburetwa nk'ikimenyetso cy'ubuyoboze no kumvira kw'abaturage ku batware babo b'abashefu n'abasushefu²¹⁰. Mbere gato y'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose, gutanga ingurane z'uburetwa byaraguwe binemererwa izindi nzego: abakozi b'abasukontaro, abakozi ba Leta, aborozi bafite nibura inka icumi, abakozi ba nyakabyizi bakoraga kure y'iwabo byibura amezi ikenda mu mwaka n'abarimu ba gatigisimu²¹¹. Bari abakozi batari bagikora mu rwego rw'imirimo yabo ya gakondo cyangwa bari imbere mu birebana n'ubukungu. Mu wa 1944, gutanga ingurane z'uburetwa byemerewe abaturage bose babyifuza, ingurane ishyingirwa ku mafaranga 19.50 frs. Byaje kuba itegeko guhera mu wa 1949.

Ubuyobozi bwabanje kugerageza gukwiza hose uwo muco wose wari icyaduka nubwo bwageragezaga kubuza akarengane bwose. Bwanze ko uburetwa buvaho biza kugeza aho busimburiwe n'amahooro, bigaragaza imikorere itanoze y'ubuyobozi.

²⁰⁹ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge, 1936, p.66

²¹⁰ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge 1933, p.71 ; voir aussi les commentaires de Mgr Classe à ce sujet, in P. Rutayisire, 1987, *op.cit.*

²¹¹ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge 1939-1944, p.36

➤ Ubughake

Abazungu bamaze kuzana ubundi buryo bwo kugera ku bukungu, ari bwo bw'amafaranga n'uburyo bwo kuyabona, byahinduye cyane imyitwarire n'imyumvire y'abagaragu na ba shebuja. Amafaranga amaze kuza kandi agatuma abantu bashobora gukira batanyuze mu nzira zari zisanzwe zimenyerewe byatumye imibanire y'ubutegetsi n'ubuhake, haba hagati y'abato n'abakuru cyangwa hagati y'abagaragu na ba shebuja.

Mu gihe cy'ubukoronu bw'Abadage n'igihe Ababirigi bari bamaze kwigarurira u Rwanda (1916-1926) nta mpinduka igaragara yabaye mu birebana n'ubuhake. Ariko ba misiyoneri gatorika ba mbere bitwaye nka ba shebuja b'abaturage bari batuye mu mbibi za misiyoni, byarabaye i Zaza, kandi bigafatwa gutyo.

Ababirigi bamaze kuza ubuhake bwagiye bukurwaho, ibijyanye n'ubuyobozi n'ubutegetsi bose busigara uko bwamye kera na kare, bwerekana imibanire hagati y'umutunzi w'inka nyinshi n'ufite nke cyangwa utazifite na mba wazaga kumusaba inka imwe cyangwa nyinshi²¹².

Impinduka ya mbere igaragara mu kwivanga k'ubutegetsi bw'abakoronu mu buhake yatangiye kuva mu wa 1926. Umuzungu yafashaga umwami mu murimo we wo guca imanza: byatumye imikirize y'imanza hakurikijwe amategeko y'abazungu bigaragara mu manza i Nyanza. Mu Manza zikomeye umwami yacaga yagaragazagamo izirebana n'ubuhake. Abazungu bamaze kuza muri izo manza, bashyigikiye ko haba igabana hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja: urugero ni mu rubanza rwa Rudahigwa na Kayondo.

Habaye n'ibyemezo by'ubuyobozi byafashwe mu rwego rwo koroshya ubuhake, urugero ni nko gukuraho itangwa ry'inka zitwaga imponoke, umugaragu yahaga shebuja nyuma y'icyorezo k'inka, n'inka zitwaga indabukirano ari zo nka zahabwaga shefu cyangwa sushefu bagabanye umusozi zigatangwa n'abakuru b'imiryango²¹³, abashefu n'abasushefu babujijwe guhakwa kuri ba shebuja barenze umwe²¹⁴, koroshya imirimo isabwa guhera tariki ya Mbere Mutarama 1932 abatware b'intara bategetswe

²¹² Nkurikiyinka J.-N., 1994, *op.cit.*, pp.138-139

²¹³ Par ordre de service 2213/ordonance du 26 décembre 1924

²¹⁴ Bourgeois R., 1954, *op.cit.*, p.24

kutarenza iminsi 15 mu mwaka ibwami, abasushefu ntibarenze iminsi 10-12 mu mwaka kuri ba shebuja mu mwaka²¹⁵ n'ibindi.

Raporo y'ubuyobozi bwa Ruanda-Urundi yo mu wa 1936 ivuga ko abagaragu batari bakibibona igihe cyo kuva iwabo ngo bage gukora imirimo y'ubuhake kubera imirimo mishya y'ubukoroni barimo²¹⁶. Hagati aho imanza z'abagaragu na ba shebuja zari zariyongereye ku buryo buri gihe hatekerezwaga uko ubuhake bwavanwaho. Abagaragu ntibari bagifite ubwoba bw'uko bwavanwaho. Kugira ngo imanza z'ubuhake zigabanuke ariko no kugira ngo haboneke ingingo zo gushingirwaho mu kugenzura no guca imanza, ubuyobozi n'ubwami bagerageje kuva mu wa 1939 gushyira mu nyandiko zavuye mu mibonano kuri iyo ngingo izwi ku izina ry'"isezerano ry'abagaragu" cyangwa "kontaro y'ubugaragu" yatangajwe tariki ya 1 Kanama 1941 igirwa itegeko na Rezida guhera muri Mutarama 1942. Iyo nyandiko yashakaga kumara impungenge abari baragabiye abantu kandi benshi muri bo bari abashefu n'abasushefu. Iyo nyandiko ifite ingingo 23: ebyiri muri zo ni zo zirebana gusa n'abagabye inka, ingingo umunani zireba ibisabwa umugaragu, enye zikareba imirimo bashobora gufashanya, imwe gusa ireba uburenganzira bw'umugaragu. Isezerano ry'ubugaragu ritinda cyane ku bisabwa umugaragu, ntibyita kubisabwa shebuja, rikita kandi ku burenganzira bwa shebuja, ntiryite ku bw'umugaragu.

Ingingo ya 2 igira inama umugaragu na shebuja kwandikisha amasezerano yabo kandi igategeka abazagirana amasezerano nk'ayo bose kwiyandikisha guhera tariki 1 Mutarama 1942. Ingingo ya 23 ivuga ko igihe havutse impaka hagati y'umugaragu na shebuja, bashobora kugabana inka mo kabiri nk'uko byagenze i Nyanza kuva mu wa 1925. Hari ababikoze bake ariko umubare mwinshi w'abagaragu wagumye mu buhake, akenshi batiyandikishije mu masezerano y'ubuhake kubera gutinya ingaruka mbi bakorerwaga na ba shebuja. Muri rusange, habaye amasezerano make y'ubuhake yasinywe nyuma ya 1942: ahubwo kuva icyo gihe gusesa amasezerano y'ubuhake byagiye byiyongera buri mwaka. Uko gusesa ubuhake byari bihuje n'imyumvire y'abantu yagiye ikura, imihakire ya kera yari yaragiye yangwa, ntipfe kwemerwa uretse amaburakindi²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ Ibidem

²¹⁶ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge, 1936, pp.65-66

²¹⁷ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge, 1946, p. 47

Ubuguhake bwageze aho bwangwa na rubada kandi bwari buvunanye cyanecyane bukurikije impinduka zaje mu wa 1926-1931 zavanyeho imitwe y'ingabo. Uburenganzira bwazo bwari bwarahindutse ubw'amasezerano y'ubuhake bw'inka²¹⁸. Abatware ba mbere n'abo bari bamaze gusimburwa. Bamwe bifashishije igurana ryari ryemewe n'ubuyobozi maze biyitirira inka zimwe zari zemewe mu rwego rw'ubuhake, kandi ubundi bari bazishinzwe nk'inka ziyanye n'umutwe w'itorero bayoboraga, akenshi aho abagaragu batashatse kujyana na ba shebuja bari bimuriwe ahandi bishyize mu maboko y'umushefu ukomeye Umubare muto ni wo w'abakurikiye ba shebuja.

Mu rwego rwo guhunga imirimo myinshi yari ijyanye n'ubukoroni, abantu bamwe bashatse ubuhake ku bashifu n'abasushefu ngo babone uko bahunga imirimo mibi y'agahato. Abandi borozi bagabiraga inka abaturanyi babo ngo babafashe guhinga imyaka y'itegeko, gutera imyaka ngandururugo n'inyongerabukungu, gutera amashyamba n'ibindi.

Umwami Rudahigwa yatanze ikifuzo ko ubuhake bwavanwaho burundu kuva tariki ya Mbere Mutarama 1946, guverineri Jungers ahitamo kuba ategereje kuko yabonaga ko gukuraho ubuhake byagombaga kujyana n'amategeko mashya ajyanye n'iby'inzuri. Mu gihe yari agitegereje yakoresheje anketi mu bashifu ngo yumve icyo batekereza ku ivanwaho ry'ubuhake. Kubukuraho birashyigikirwa cyane. Igihe hakorwaga gahunda y'iterambere y'imyaka icumi, igitekerezo cyo kvanaho ubuhake kiremerwa. Ariko amabwiriza y'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni yari ayo kubijyana gahoro ngo hatagira ibigenda nabi mu bo bireba kuko ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ryabonekaga nk'impinduramatwara mu bakozi ba Leta mbirigi: batinyaga ko iryo vanwaho ry'ubuhake ryabyara intugunda mu baturage.

Mu wa 1952, umwami Rudahigwa yongeye kuvuga impungenge aterwa n'ubuhake, ubwo yagiraga ati: "mu bibazo byose biduhangayikishije ntagushidikanya ko ari ikurwaho ry'ubuhake kuko ririmo ibibazo by'insobe kandi binyuranye. Ni yo mpamvu nibwira ko igihe kigeze ngo tubwire Abanyarwanda ibyifuzo by'abashinzwe kureba aho igihugu cyacu kigana. Gukuraho

²¹⁸ Kagame A., 1952, *op.cit.*, p.7; Kagame A., 1975, *op.cit.*, pp.209-216; Reintjens F., 1985, p199, note 7; Bourgeois R. avuga ko ubuhake butari bufite agaciro kanini ariko aribeshya (R. Bourgeois, 1954, *op.cit.* mt. 2, p. 272)

ubuhake byaratekerejwe hakorwa gahunda y'imyaka icumi y'amajyambere. Abayobozi b'abazungu n'abirabura bumvikana ko bugomba kuvaho kandi ko ariyo gisubizo k'ikibazo k'inka z'ikirenga²¹⁹.

Ibyari bigamijwe muri iryo kurwaho ry'ubuhake byari ibi:

- Gutuma buri muntu agira umutungo w'inka bwite
- Gutuma, bishyizwe mu igabana, buri wese ashobora kwishyira akizana, bizatuma Abanyarwanda bashobora gukora akazi bashaka batabangamiwe n'imirimu iva ku masezerano y'ubuhake yakozwe na basekuru.
- Gushyiraho uburenganzira mu mihahirane: nyiri inka, wahoze ari umugaragu, agashobora kugurisha amatungo ye uko abishyira atagombye kubisabira uruhushya shebuja
- Gutuma buri wese atangira ibikorwa yishakiye ku giti ke²²⁰

Iteka ry'umwami n°1/54 ryo ku itariki ya mbere 1954 ryashyizeho amabwiriza y'igabana ry'inka hagati y'abagaragu na ba shebuja. Igabana ryatangiriye muri teritwari ya Nyanza kuva kuri 15 Mata 1954, ariko binakorwa n'ubuyishakiye mu gihe cy'amezi menshi muri za teritwari zindi z'u Rwanda. Igabana ryakwiywe hose n'iteka ryo ku itariki ya 3 Kamena 1954 n'iryo ku wa 24 Mutarama 1956. Inkiko zahise zishishikarizwa imirimu y'igabana ry'inka ryabanzirizwaga rimwe na rimwe n'imanza. Kuva icyo gihe, umubare w'igabana n'uw'inka zagabanywe ntiwaretse kwiyongera buri gihe

Ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ryasize ikibazo k'inzuri ari cyose. Mu wa 1934, u Rwanda rwari rufite abaturage 1.572.527, inka zari 624.102 na hegitari 1.263.400 z'ubutaka budahingwa bushobora kuba inzuri, buri nka yari ifite ugereranije nka hegitari ebyiri. Mu wa 1955, u Rwanda rwari rufite abaturage 2.309.499, inka zo zari 579.831 zari zifite hegitari 875.619 z'inzuri, bivuga 1.6 ha kuri buri nka. Gahunda y'amajyambere y'imyaka icumi, yateganyaga ko ubwiyongere bw'abantu n'amatungo byatumaga abantu bagenda basigarana ubutaka bugenda buba buto buto²²¹. Iyo gahunda yateganyaga ko ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ryari gutuma hagurishwa ku isoko umubare munini cyane w'inka. Ariko ibyari bitegerejwe si ko byagenze. Inka z'abari abagaragu

²¹⁹ Mutara Rudahigwa, "Projet de suppression du régime féodal (Ubuhahe)", in *L'Ami*, no 90, juin 1952, pp.105-109

²²⁰ *L'Ami*, no 90, juin 1952, p.106

²²¹ Ministère des colonies, *Le Plan décennal*, p332

ntizari zigishoboye kurisha mu bikingi by'abahoze ari ba shebuja. Kuva icyo gihe byari bibaye ngombwa ko bazajya bishyura buri mwaka amafaranga yo kugira ngo bage babasha kujya kuragira nk'uko byari bimeze mbere. Bamwe muri bene inzuri ntibasabye bene ayo mafaranga y'ubuhake, ariko abandi barabikoze. Byarakaje abahinzi benshi batari bafite inzuri bwite, basabwaga na bene inzuri kwishyurira buri nka amafaranga ijana buri gihe k'Impeshyi: mu wa 1957, Kinyamateka yakoze inyandiko nyinshi ku kibazo k'inzuri²²². Abari babishoboye bose bageragezaga kwerekana ko hari uburenganzira bafite ku butaka budahinze buri hafi y'isambu yabo. Abandi batekerezaga ko gushyiraho inzuri rusange byari kujyana no gutuza abaturage ahabereye ubuhinzi. Birumvikana kutishima byari bitewe n'inzuri n'ibikingi.

Hari abanditse bavuga ko ubuhake ari kimwe mu bintu byashenye urubumbambaga nyarwanda, iryo senyuka rikaba ryarihuse kuva mu myaka ya za 1950.

Kuva iteka ry'itariki ya 14 Nyakanga 1952 rishyiraho imitegekere n'imiyoborere mishya ya poritiki n'ubutegetsu muri Ruanda-Urundi, ubuhake bwavuzwe mu nzego zitakiri ku gihe cyarwo zagombye guhinduka, cyangwa zikananvaho rwose. Ku mwami Rudahigwa iryo teka uretse gusaba ubuyobozi gakondo gufata intambwe y'amajyambere arambye, ryanazanaga mu gihugu amahame ya demokarasi yavugwaga by'umwihariko n'ibijyanye n'ireme ry'amatora. Byongeye kandi ryashyiragaho inkingi z'ibanze zo guhindura u Rwanda, rukaba Leta ya kijyambere: bityo u Rwanda rugashobora gutera imbere aho guheranwa n'imiterere ishingiyeye ku buhake, yari ishaje kandi itakigezweho²²³. Mu 1958, hari abize b'Abatutsi n'Abahutu bakomeje gushinja ubuhake kandi bwari bwaravuyeho bavuga ko bwagize uruhare rukomeye mu mibanire y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Ubuhanze bwanzwe kandi burwanywa na Yozefu Habyarimana (bitaga Gitera). Naho Gerigori Kayibanda, hamaze kujyaho igihembwe cya mbere k'inama nkuru y'igihugu mu wa 1954, yatangaje ibi bikurikira ku buhake: " birasa nkaho ikibazo kiruhije kubonerwa umuti: guca ubuhake, ariko cyanecyane umuco w'ubuhake. Kutavuga ukuri, kubiba amazimwe, guhakirizwa kugira ngo ube wakundwa n'uyu cyangwa uriya no

²²² Urugero ni *Kinyamateka* zo ku itariki ya mbere Mata 1957, tariki ya mbere Ukwakira na 5 Ugushyirahamwe 1957

²²³ Disikuru y'umwami w'u Rwanda Mutara Rudahigwa mu nama yo gutangiza ikiciro cya mbere k'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu", in *L'Ami*, no 111, Werurwe 1954, p.101

kugusha hasi uwo muhanganye, bigakurura inzangano zihishe n'andi mafuti yo muri bene ubwo buryo, ni yo ndwara ikomeye ibuza kwakira amajyambere ya kizungu”²²⁴.

Imitekerereze y'abarwanyaga ibyo bitaga “ubukoroni bw'Abatutsi” yari yoroshye: byari ngombwa kurwanya icyarimwe uko bishoboka kose ubuhake, bwari ipfundo ry'ikibazo hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi kandi hakarwanywa imitekerereze n'imikorere by'umuco wa gihake. Guhera muri za 1954 ubuhake bwitiranyijwe n'imikorere ya gitutsi. Ariko nta ho byari bihuriye n'ukuri. Byagereranyijwe na nkongwa yagombaga kurwanywa batajuyaje. Ibinyamakuru by'icyo gihe kimwe n'indirimo za poritiki, byagumye gusebya ubuhake n'abitwaga ko babuhagarariye ari bo Batutsi n'Abahutu bitwaga ba gashakabuhake. Ibi byakongerwaho inyandiko z'abakoroni, iz'abamisiyoneri, n'iz'abashakashatsi cyanecyane abo mu Kigo cy'Ubushakashatsi bw'Ubuhanga muri Afurika (IRSAC) cya Asitirida. Abize bo mu myaka ya za 1950, basomanaga umwete izo nyandiko hanyuma bakamamaza ibyabaga byanditsemo babaga bamaze kwemera.

Guhuza hose imikorere imwe ya gakondo byarushijeho gutera kutumvikana mu mibanire na poritiki. Hari abanditse ko mu Rwanda hari ubukoroni bubiri, bashaka kuvuga ko ubwumvikane nk'igihango hagati y'abakoroni b'Ababirigi n'Abatutsi batwaraga byaje kuvamo ivuka ry'ikibazo cy'amoko mu Rwanda cyagiye gikura buhorobuhoro²²⁵. Ariko ibyo biba ari ukwibeshya: gushyira ku munzani umwe ibikorwa by'abo Batutsi bize n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni bw'abavaburayi.

K. Ingaruka zimwe zatewe n'akazi k'agahato ku butegetsu bw'Ababirigi

➤ Ibura ry'ibiribwa

Ibyemezo byinshi twavuze byafashwe bigamije kurwanya ibura ry'ibiribwa ryabonekaga kenshi mu gihugu. Ibura ry'ibiribwa ryashoboraga kugaragara nk'amapfa y'inzara yatumaga hapfa abantu benshi. Iryo bura ry'ibiribwa ryazaga ryikurikiranije byerekana ko ubukungu bw'u Rwanda bwari bworoshye, budashobora kwihanganira ihinduka iryo ari ryo ryose niyo ryaba rito bwose²²⁶.

²²⁴ *L'Ami*, no 112, Avril 1954, p.129

²²⁵ Reyntjens P., 1985, op.cit., p.176

²²⁶ Everaerts E., *Monographie agricole du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, Ministère des Colonies, 1947; Guichaoua A., *Destins paysans et politiques agraires en Afrique centrale*, Tome I, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1989

Uretse kuboneka kenshi inzara zo mu Rwanda zibasiraga iteka uturere tumwe. Ibi byaterwaga cyane n'igwa ry'imvura ritangana hose. Uturere duciye hasi cyanecyane utwo mu Burasirazuba bw'igihugu, tutabona imvura nyinshi twakunze kwibasirwa n'amapfa atewe n'izuba, agatera inzara; igihe uturere two mu misozi miremire twabaga tudashonje uretse iyo twagushije imvura mbi, igashobora na yo guteza ibura ry'ibiribwa. Impamvu ry'ibura ry'ibiribwa mu Rwanda ni imihindukire y'ibihe, iyo bidakurikiranye neza.

Amapfa yatewe n'imvura nyinshi cyangwa n'izuba ni byo biteza imbogamizi mu buhinzi bikibanda by'umwihariko ku myaka ihingwa mu bihe ndakuka. Twavuze inzara ya Rumanura²²⁷ yateye mu majyaruguru. Inzara yo mu wa 1924-25 yiswe Gakwege n'inzara yo mu wa 1928-29 yiswe Rwakayihura, zombi zitewe n'amapfa y'izuba, hiyongereyeho imirimo ya gikoroni: iyi ya nyuma yahitanye abantu benshi by'umwihariko mu Burasirazuba bw'igihugu: yahitanye abantu bagera ku bihumbi 80.000 n'abantu basuhutse bajya ahandi gushaka ibibatunga babarirwa mu barenze 100.00.

Mu Ntambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose, u Rwanda rwashyizwe ku gahato k'imirimo y'intambara kuko amategeko ya manda atemereraga u Bubirigi kuharema imitwe y'ingabo. Iyo mirimo y'agahato y'intambara yajyanaga cyanecyane no gutanga ibintu, bikagurwa amafaranga ahemba abaturage yemejwe na Leta. Ibyatangwaga cyane byari ibiribwa n'inka zo kubaga.

Abazungu baguraga izo nka mu masoko yo mu Rwanda ku giciro gito bakazigurisha ku giciro kiri hejuru. Hari umuganga w'amatungo washyiragaho igiciro akanashyira ikimenyetso ku nka zigomba kugurishwa.

Ni muri icyo gihe ibyo byose byatangwaga amapfa yateye mu gihugu maze aratinda. Yikurikiranije imyaka ibiri, kandi abaturage bategetswe kugurisha ibishyimbo byabo muni y'ifaranga rimwe ku kiro, babigura n'abazungu, babitwaraga muri Kongo mbirigi ahari ibirombe by'amabuye y'agaciro. Byageraga muri Kongo bikagurishwa amafaranga atanu ku kiro y'inyungu. Ingaruka yumvikana yabaye itera ry'inzara ikomeye, izwi ku izina rya Ruzagayura, yateye mu gihugu kirimo imirimo y'agahato n'iyimuka ry'abantu bava aho bari batuye.

²²⁷ Mbere y'iyi nzara hari harabaye mu gihe cy'Abadage izitwa Gashogoro mu wa 1904, Kimwaramwara mu wa 1906 na Kazuba yo mu wa 1910.

Nta adiminisitarateri watinyutse kuvuga iby'icyo cyorezo ku mugaragaro, ahubwo raporo zarataga imibereho myiza y'abaturage mu myaka cumi y'ubuyobozi bwa guverineri Jungers. Inkuru nyayo y'ipfa rikomeye ry'abantu n'abashonje benshi basigaye ari amagufa gusa yagejejwe kuri guverineri n'abamisiyoneri mu Kwakira 1943²²⁸.

Bwana Jungers yahise abuza ako kanya kohereza ibintu muri Kongo. Ahubwo ibiribwa bitangira kuza bivuye muri Kongo. Misiyoni ziba ari zo zihinduka santeri z'aho bitangirwa. Anketi zirakorwa ku byerekeye ibyo bitaga "igura ry'imyaka" ariko mu by'ukuri kari agahato uretse kubitsinda. Byari agahato kuko bene inka bari bategetswe kujyana inka nziza mu kitwaga isoko ry'amatungo ryashyirwagaho muri za sheferi, batabikora zigafatwa ku ngufu. Bandikaga izina rya nyiri nka bakayimutwara, bakamuha gusa amafaranga atanu. Byari ubujura nta kindi. Kuko abo baguzi bemewe ku mugaragaro bashoreraga ayo matungo bakajya kuyagurisha muri Kongo, aho buri nka itajyaga munsu y'ibihumbi bitanu by'amafaranga. Abo baguzi ntibari bonyine, bari bafite ibyitso mu butegetsi bw'abazungu n'Abanyarwanda. Anketi yatumye hahagarikwa umuzungu umwe n'Umunyarwanda umwe.

➤ **Isuhuka**

Nta gushidikanya ko hari isano hagati y'imirimo y'agahato ka gikoroni twavuze haruguru n'isuhuka ry'abaturage ryabaye mu Rwanda igihe cya gikoroni. Ariko iyo sano si yo yonyine yumvikanisha iryo suhuka.

Icucika rikomeye ry'abaturage b'Abanyarwanda no kuba benshi ku butaka buto na byo ntibyabuze kugira uruhare muri iryo yimuka. Ni muri urwo rwego igice kimwe cy'abasuhukiye muri Kongo mbirigi gisobanuka: abaturage b'u Rwanda benshi kandi babyara cyane bagiye bashaka gutura mu ntara zituwe buke z'inyuma w'umupaka²²⁹.

Hari n'izindi mpamvu zareshyaga abaturage zigendanye n'imibereho myiza n'ubukungu. Akenshi ibihugu bajyagamo

²²⁸ Umwami Mutara yari ahugiye mu gutegura batisimu ye ; na we ntiyavuze ko ibiryo byo gufasha abaturage ari bike cyane, Guverineri Jungers yarabimutonganirije.

²²⁹ Gourou P., *La densité de la population au Ruanda-Urundi. Esquisse d'une étude géographique*, Bruxelles, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 195, p.184

byabahaga uburyo bwo kubaho bushimishije. Ibi byabonekaga cyanecyane i Bugande: uretse ko hari hanoroshye kuhakorera amafaranga, ariko n'imikorere y'akazi ntiyari ivunanye ngo ibemo n'akarengane nko mu Rwanda. Abanyarwanda bajya gushaka amafaranga aho bahembwa neza. Ariko kwimukira muri Kongo mbirigi byo byashyirwagamo ingufu kandi bikayoborwa n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni.

Isuhuka ry'abantu mu gihugu imbere ryabaye rito kandi ryakorwaga cyanecyane n'abaturage bimuka bava iwabo bajya gushaka ibibatunga mu turere tutabayemo amapfa. Uko kwimuka byabaga iby'igihe gito bigakorwa n'abaturage ubwabo kandi ntibigire aho byandikwa. Ubundi buryo bwo kwimuka ni ubw'abaturage bavaga muri za sheferi bakimukira mu nsiro (guhunga icyaro). Ubwo buryo bwo kwimuka bwakorwaga n'abantu bake bitewe n'uko mu gihe cy'ubukoroni gutura mu migi byari bikiri bike muri Ruanda-Urundi.

Inyandiko z'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni zakwirakwije ishusho ry'Abanyarwanda nk'abantu batava iwabo kandi b'abanebwe²³⁰. Nyamara ibintu byerekana ko atari ko byari bimeze. Kuko igihe cy'ubukoroni, kandi bitewe n'ubukungu bw'ibihugu byari bikikije u Rwanda, Abanyarwanda bagiye ari benshi gushaka ubukire.

Nubwo hari amategeko teka arebana n'ibyo kujya hanze y'igihugu Abanyarwanda ntibayubahirizaga. Urugero nibiteganywa n'iteka ryo ku wa 19 Nyakanga 1926 n'itegeko teka riryubahiriza no 54 ryo ku wa 31 Ukuboza 1941 byabuzaga abaturage ba Ruanda-Urundi kuva mu gihugu badafite urwandiko rw'inzira rwo kujya hanze yacyo²³¹. Abanyarwanda benshi n'Abarundi bajyaga muri Afurika y'i Burasirazuba y'Abongereza badafite impapuro: ni yo mpamvu imibare ivuga urujya n'uruza rw'abajya hanze y'igihugu igomba gufatanwa ubushishozi.

○ **Gusuhukira muri Afurika y'u Burasirazuba y'Abongereza.**

Ni abantu b'Abanyarwanda bajyaga gushaka akazi muri Uganda, Tanganyika Territory n'igihe gito muri Kenya. Bene abo bantu babayeho kuva igihe cy'Abadage, ariko byaje kwiyongera aho hantu bajyaga hamaze kugira iterambere mu bukungu. Abantu

²³⁰ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel de l'administration belge, 1928, p72

²³¹ Ibidem, 1948, p.113

babanje kwerekera muri teritwari ya Tanganyika yari ifatanye na Ruanda-Urundi mu kitwaga Afurika y'u Burasirazuba y'indage (Deustche ostafrica). Kubera ko u Rwanda na Urundi byari bituwe cyane, abategetsi b'Abadage bafashe ibyo bihugu nk'ikigega bavanamo abaturage bakwirakwiza muri koroni yabo yose. Mu wa 1912 hagiyeho komisiyo yari ishinzwe kwiga uburyo, abaturage bamwe ba Ruanda-Urundi bakwimurirwa ku nkengero z'inyanja y'u Buhinde. Abanyarwanda bake bimuriwe mu mirima y'imigwegwe iri hafi y'iyi nkengero.

Abadage bamaze gusubira iwabo, iyo nzira yaretse kwerekeza muri Tanganyika, yerekeza iy'amajyaruguru muri Uganda hari ubukungu bwifashe neza. Abantu batangiye kujyayo muri za 1920, kuko abakozi ba Ruanda-Urundi bashakishwaga ngo bakore mu bihingwa byaho (ipamba, kawa, urutoke) no mu gukora imihanda. Iryo terambere ryari ritandukanye rwose n'uko byari bimeze nabi mu Rwanda. Hari imirimo y'agahato naho muri teritwari z'Abongereza hari imirimo y'iterambere. Abaturage b'abanyacyaro bajyaga gukorera amafaranga mu bandi baturage b'abanyacyaro bashaka gukira. Niba Abanyarwanda batitangiraga imirimo y'agahato iwabo ariko ntibakoraga ubusa cyangwa ngo babe abanebwe: bajyaga aho bashobora kugira imikorere myiza.²³²

Ingendo zo kujya gupagasa muri Uganda zabayemo ibyiciro bitatu, byatangiye mu wa 1920, bifata intera nini mu wa 1926-27 babifashijwemo n'ubutegetsi bw'Abongereza hanyongeraho inzara ikomeye yo mu 1928-29. Ikiciro cya kabiri cyabaye mu wa 1933-47 kigizwe cyanecyane n'abakiri bato bagiye gupagasa ku bwinsi. Iryo genda rikomeye ryatewe cyanecyane n'ubukungu bwari bwifashe nabi n'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi yose. Igice cya gatatu cyo kujya mu mahanga cyabaye hagati ya 1948 na 1960, cyakwitwa icyo koroshya umurego cyahujwe n'uko intambara irangiye hanatangiye irangira ry'ubukoroni: gusuhukira Uganda byabaye akenshi hagati y'abanyacyaro ubwabo, nta gahato, bikaba ibihe bimwe na bimwe ndetse rimwe na rimwe bigafata intera ya rusange. Habarwa nk'Abanyarwanda 50.000 ni ukuvuga umugabo umwe kuri 6, basuhukaga buri mwaka mu mpera z'imyaka ya 1920 kugeza mu wa 1959. Hafi Abanyarwanda 350.000 bari baragiye Uganda na 35.000 muri Tanzaniya.

²³² Chrétien J.-P., « Des sédentaires devenus migrants. Les motifs des départs des Burundais et des Rwandais vers l'Uganda (1920-1960) », in *Culture et développement*, X, 1, 1978

○ **Gusuhukira muri Kongo mbirigi**

Habaye ibintu bibiri bitandukanye byo kujya muri Kongo mbirigi: kwimurira abaturage b'abanyacyaro mu mirima y'ubuhinzi ya Kongo mbirigi no kujyana abakozi mu birombe by'amabuye y'agaciro. Ubwo buryo bwombi bwo gutwara abantu bwari buyobowe kandi bwarakorewe gahunda n'ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni, mu rwego ku ruhande rumwe rwo gushaka gukoresha abakozi benshi babonekaga mu Ruanda-Urundi mu kubyaza umusaruro ubukungu bukabije bwa Kongo mbirigi no ku rundi ruhande kugabanya ubucucike bw'abaturage b'Abanyarwanda babohereza gutura mu gihugu cya Kongo kibegereye.

Ibyo kwimura Abanyarwanda ku mpamvu z'ubukungu n'ubwinshi byakorewe mu ntara za Kivu. Abakoroni b'abazungu bari bakeneye abakozi ba ngombwa bo gukora mu mirima yabo yo muri Kivu. Komisiyo yashyizweho mu wa 1927 ariko gahunda yo kwimura abantu yatangiye mu wa 1937. Yibanze cyanecyane muri Gishari kandi yari yitaye ku borozi. Hagati ya 1937 na 1946 Gishari yari imaze gusa n'iyuzura ifite imiryango y'Abanyarwanda irenga 23.000²³³.

Gahunda ya kabiri yo kwimura Abanyarwanda ku bwinshi yayobowe na Misiyo yo Kwimura Abanyarwanda (MIB) yibanze i Bwito n'akarere ka Mokoto mu ntara ya Masisi na Rucuru. Muri rusange, Abanyarwanda batujwe kuri hegitari zirenga 150.000 za Kivu. Kugira ngo hitabirwe n'abaturage, MIB yarabafashaga cyane ikanaborohereza cyane, nko kubatwarira ubuntu, kubaha ibibatunga, kubavanaho imirimo y'agahato, kububakira amashuri, ibitaro, amavuriro y'amatungo n'ibindi. Ikiciro cya mbere cyabaye hagati ya 1937 na 1945 cyahuje n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa by'ubuhinzi bugari muri Kivu. Ikiciro cya kabiri kiva mu wa 1949 kigera mu wa 1956: gihwanye n'ivuduka ridasanzwe ry'ubuhinzi aho hantu. Abasuhukaga benshi baturukaga cyanecyane mu majyaruguru y'u Burengerazuba (Ruhengeri na Byumba) kuko bari begereye aho bagombaga kujya, byoroherezaga abayobozi ntibavunike kuko byasaga no kurenza abantu umupaka gusa. Uko kwimura abaturage byarangiranye n'imirimo ya MIB.

Ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni kwasobanuye iryo yimurwa ry'abantu nk'igikorwa cy'ubugizi bwa neza cyo gufasha Abanyarwanda

²³³ Guichaoua A., *Le problème des réfugiés rwandais et les populations Banyarwanda dans la région des grands Lacs africains*, Université de Lille, 1992

n'Abanyekongo: gufasha u Rwanda rwari rukeneye aho rutuza abaturage barwo, no kubyaza umusaruro uturere tutari dutuwe two muri Kivu, twasaga neza n'aho bakomoka mu Rwanda bagakomeza kubaho nk'uko bari basanzwe²³⁴. Ariko mu by'ukuri iryo yimurwa ry'abantu ryari igikorwa kigamije ubukungu kurusha ubugizi bwa neza. Ni abakoroni b'abazungu cyagiriye akamaro kandi ni bo batumye gikorwa.

○ **Kwimurira abaturage mu birombe by'amabuye y'agaciro.**

Nk'uko hari abaturage bajyanwaga gutuzwa mu byaro byo mu majyaruguru ya Kivu hari abandi bajyanwaga mu birombe byacukurwaga n'amasosiyete manini nka sosiyete y'amabuye y'agaciro y'ibiyaga bigari, komite yo mu rwego rw'igihugu yo muri Kivu n'indi izwi cyane yitwa Ishyirahamwe ry'ubucukuzi bw'amabuye y'agaciro ya Gatanga y'amajyaruguru (U.M.H.K). Ubushobozi bw'izo sosiyete bwari buke, ntibwazemereraga gutwara abantu barenze 300 mu kwezi. Batwarirwaga ubuntu. Mu kubashaka, buri sosiyete yitaga ku bushobozi bwo gutanga umusaruro bw'abakozi. Ni yo mpamvu abifuzaga guhabwa akazi bagombaga kubanza gukora ikizamini cyo kwa muganga kandi U.M.H.K yari yarashyizeho amabwiriza yakurikizwaga mu gutoranya abakozi. Akenshi, abantu bagendaga bashakaga kuguma mu gihugu cyabakiriye bongeza za kontaro zabo (buri myaka itatu). Uko kugenda kw'abantu byaganishaga cyanecyane mu nyungu z'ubukungu abakoroni na sosiyete z'amabuye y'agaciro bakuragamo.

Ariko umuvuduko wo kwimukira muri Kongo no gukora muri sosiyete y'amabuye y'agaciro muri Kongo, cyanecyane i Gatanga wari muto ugereranyije n'abajyaga ahandi, ibi byaterwaga n'uko hari kure cyane ugereranyije n'aho bavaga n'aho bajyaga. Ariko hari n'izindi mpamvu: imiyoborere iruhije y'abakozi, kutahizera kw'Abanyarwanda, ubwoba bw'indwara n'imfu nini zabonekaga mu nkambi, n'ibindi.

Imisuhukire y'Abanyarwanda yagize ingaruka nyinshi mu Rwanda haba mu birebana n'imiturire, ubukungu, imibanire na poritiki. Urugero ni nk'uko hagati ya 1935 na 1942, u Rwanda rwahombye abaturage 29.513 bagiye mu nyungu za Kongo

²³⁴ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel sur l'administration belge, 1927, p.64

n'abantu 158.920 bagiye muri Afurika y'u Burasirazuba²³⁵. Uko gusuhuka byagize ingaruka mu miterere y'abaturage b'Abanyarwanda kuko yarebaga cyanecyane igice kiny'abagabo bafite ingufu bigatuma haba imihindagurikire mu miterere y'abaturage ukurikije imyaka n'ibitsina. Ndetse abashyingirwa n'abavuka baragabanutse bitewe n'abasore bari baragiye Uganda. Mu turere tumwe na tumwe abakobwa na bo bagombye gusuhukira Uganda kuko batari bagishobora kurongorwa kuko iwabo abasore bari barashize. Hari n'imiryango myinshi wasangaga iyoborwa n'abagore.

Indi ngaruka ikomeye y'iri suhuka ryaterwaga n'imirimo y'agahato n'imisoro n'amahooro nuko abasigaye barushagaho kuvunika kuko ari bo byose byituragaho. Ari abategetsu b'Abanyarwanda, ari ab'abakoroni nta witaga kuri iryo gabanuka ry'abaturage bashinzwe imirimo basabwaga. Ntawavuga ko imibereho y'abaturage yarushijeho kuba myiza nk'uko Ababirigi babivugaga. Ahubwo yarushijeho kuba mibi²³⁶.

Poritiki y'imibereho myiza n'umuco.

➤ Uruhare rukomeye rwa za misiyoni muri poritiki.

Ukwaduka kw'Ababirigi mu mwaka wa 1916 kwazanye amatwara mashya mu mikorere y'abamisiyoneri. Ugutoneshwa hamwe n'imfashanyo za Leta byatumye imibereho myiza y'abaturage yiyongera, kimwe n'ibikorwa bijyanye n'iyobokamana. Kuba abasirikare b'Ababirigi barasesekaye mu Rwanda byatumye za misiyoni zikurura abantu benshi kurusha ubusanzwe. Hagati y'ukugenda kw'Abadage n'ugushinga ibirindiro kw'Ababirigi haciyemo umwanya wafashije abamisiyoneri gutuma igikorwa cyabo kirushaho kumenyekana.

Mu ntambara, Misiyoni ya Save yabaye uburuhukiro, ikaba ari na yo ishyingurwamo ibigenewe abari ku rugamba, byose bisabwe na Leta y'u Bubirigi. Padiri Huntzinger wari padiri mukuru yashinzwe kugenzura ko ibyangombwa byose biri ku murongo, afashijwe n'abashefu bose batwara imisozi ikikije Save. Ukuza

²³⁵ Gatanazi A., *Migrations des populations rwandaises dans la région africaine des Grands Lacs*, Dakar, 1971; Ruzibiza H., *Population et développement agricole au Rwanda. Contribution à l'étude de la question démo-agraire*, Thèse de Doctorat, Paris, s.d. ; Bagaye Uwamahoro M.-C., *L'évolution de la population rwandaise de 1922 à 1978*, mémoire, UNR, Butare, 2001

²³⁶ Liden I., 1977, *op.cit.*, p.187

kw'Ababirigi kwamwongereye ingufu. Ubwe yarivugiye ati: "Sinazuyaje, kandi mbyumvikanyeho n'abayobozi b'u Bubirigi, icyo gihe nayoboye igihugu"²³⁷. Hari impamvu uriya mupadiri yari akwiye gushimirwa iyo mitekerereze ye: yashakaga kurinda u Bwanamukari amarorerwa yagwiririye u Bugoyi. Ariko yibye umugono abakuru be, imirimo yari yashinzwe ayihindura iy'ubuporisi n'ubukuru bw'igisirikare.

Umurimo we w'ingenzi wari uwo kumenyera ibyangombwa ingabo zari ku rugamba, akishingira no gushaka ababizizegaho. Yifashishije abakirisitu bihaye gusimbura abasushefu mu kubahiriza amabwiriza yatanze: uwitwa G. Mbonnyubwabo yasimbuye umukuru we wari wakijijwe n'uwo mwanya. Yanafungishije, avana mu byabo kandi akubita ikiboko abasushefu batamwumviraga (Padiri Gorju agaragaza abantu 36 ibyo byabayeho). Abagererwa bamwe baciye muri icyo cyuhu bipakurura abashefu babo cyangwa ba shebuja.

Uriya mupadiri yagize umwanya ukomeye mu buyobozi mu gihe k'intambara no mu gihe igisirikare ari cyo cyategekaga. Urujya n'uruza rwe i Nyanza birerekana uwo mwanya wa poritiki yari afite. Haje kwaduka poritiki nshya ishyira Musinga ku ibere, biturutse kuri Majoro Declerck, hemezwa ko uriya mupadiri atagikenewe, bashinga ikicarwo gishya mu Irango (Kamena 1917) babitewe no kwirinda kuvanga imirimo yagombaga kuhakorera n'iyakorera waga i Save.

Ibwami (i Nyanza) ntibihanganiraga ukwivanga k'uriya mupadiri mu buyobozi bw'igihugu. Ni bwo Musinga yasabye gufata abakirisitu bose bari bagize uruhare urwo ari rwo rwose rw'ubutegetsu mu gihe k'intambara. Uwari umukuru wa misiyoni ya Save yavuye mu Rwanda ku wa 25 Mata 1918²³⁸. Ubwo bwabaye ubwa nyuma umumisiyoneri agerageza kwitwaza umwanya we kugira ngo agenzure akarere yitwaje kwamamaza Ivanjiri. Mu zindi misiyoni (Nyundo, Rwaza na Zaza), abamisiyoneri bahereye ku mihindagurikire yatewe n'intambara, bavanyeho abashefu batwaraga mu nkengero za misiyoni zabo, bashyiraho bamwe mu bakirisitu babo, ariko ntibageza aho abamisiyoneri b'i Save bagejeje kuko barengereye cyane. Uretse ko ntawakwirengagiza ko padiri Huntsinger n'abandi bari bafite amatwara nk'aye barengereye, bahawe urwaho n'icyuho Abadage bari basize mu

²³⁷ Visite canonique du Père Gorju, correspondance, doc. 112026 bis, A.P.B.

²³⁸ Reba inyandiko yanditswe na padiri Gorju.

rwego rwa poritiki. Kuba barahisemo Padiri Classe nk'uhagarariye Papa (mu mwaka wa 1921), agasimbura Musenyeri Hirth wari ushyigikiye ko abayobozi bafatanyaga n'abaturage, kandi akaba yari ashigikiye n'Ababirigi, ibyo byatangaga ikizere cy'uko imikoranyire ya za misiyoni gatorika n'ubutegetsi izarushaho gutera imbere.

Izo ngorane zabaye ntizabujije ingabo z'Ababirigi, kuva zikinjira mu Rwanda, gufata neza cyane abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika. Hashingiwe ku ngingo ya munani (article 8) yaragizaga u Bubirigi u Rwanda (accord de Mandat), u Bubirigi bwagombaga kubahiriza ubwigenge mu mitekerezereze no mu iyobokamana. U Bubirigi bwagombaga korohereza abamisiyoneri bose bakomoka mu bihugu bigize icyari kuzaba Umuryango w'Abibumbuye (SDN), bukabaha uburyo bwo kuba mu Rwanda no kuhagira amasambu akwiranye n'igikorwa cyabo cyo kwigisha Ivanjiri.

Mu mikoranyire yabwo n'amadini, u Bubirigi bwatoranyije. Amadini amwe yaraciye; ni gutyo byagendekeye idini ya Isiramu n'idini gakondo y'Abanyarwanda; andi madini barayihanganiye baranayashyigikira. Twavugaga abagatorika n'abaporotesitanti (SBMP). U Bubirigi bwisobanuye buvugaga ko ari uburenganzira bwabwo nk'igihugu cyaragijwe u Rwanda, bityo bukaba bwemerewe gukundwakaza amadini amwe, nko kuyaha imfashanyo, amasambu, kuyahembera imirimo imwe n'imwe, kuyavaniraho imisoro, n'ibindi.... Uretse n'ibyo, u Bubirigi bwari kwifashisha inzego zabwo n'imikorere yabwo mu gihe bitari kuba binyuranije n'amabwiriza bwahawe buragizwa u Rwanda. Bityo bwari gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano yo mu mwaka wa 1906 bwagiranye na Vatikani, ayo masezerano akaba yaravugaga ko misiyoni gatorika zo muri Kongo mbirigi zagombaga gufatwa ku buryo bwihariye. Ni byo u Bubirigi bwakoze.

U Bubirigi, kubera gutinya amakimbirane hagati y'amadini, ntibwashakaga amadini menshi y'abaporotesitanti ashamikiye ku yari ahasanzwe. Ibyo Ababirigi babihuriragaho n'abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika. Ikerekana ko ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bw'u Bubirigi bwabyumvikanagaho n'abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika byagaragaye mu bijyanye n'ubuzima n'uburezi. Amasezerano y'ubwo bufatanye yashimishije abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika kuko yabaheshaga imfashanyo mu butumwa bwabo.

Abategetsi b'Ababirigi, mu kwita ku bagatorika ku buryo bw'umwihariko, bashakaga gushimira Abapadiri Bera kubera ko babafashije mu ntambara. Abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika barushaga ingufu abanyamadini bari bafite inkomoko mu Bwongereza no muri Amerika (Anglo-saxons). Mu mwaka wa 1921, ubutegetsi bwari mu Rwanda bwahaye vikariyati ya Kivu amafaranga y'amabirigi ibihumbi mirongo itanu na bitandatu na magana atandatu mirongo irindwi n'atanu (56.675 F) (Vikariyati ya Kivu yari igizwe na misiyoni gatorika z'u Rwanda n'u Burundi). Mu mwaka wa 1924 izo mfashanyo zageze ku bihumbi mirongo irindwi (70.000 F); mu wa 1925 zageze ku bihumbi ijana na mirongo itanu (150.000 F); mu wa 1927 zigera ku bihumbi magana abiri (200.000 F), naho mu wa 1931 zigera ku bihumbi magana abiri na cumi na magana ane makumyabiri n'ikenda n'amasentimu mirongo itatu n'atanu (210.429,35 F).

Kiriziya gatorika yari ifite inshingano igomba kubahiriza yitura Leta izo mfashanyo. Ariko ntawashidikanya ko igice kimwe k'ibikorwa byabo abamisiyoneri babikesha "ubugiraneza" bwa Leta y'Ababirigi. Leta y'u Bubirigi kandi yatangaga imfashanyo zo kubaka za kiriziya (urugero ni nka kiriziya za Kigali, Asitirida, Zaza na Mibirizi). Babisobanura bavuga ko kwari ukurwanya ukuraguzwa n'ubupfumu. Mu by'ukuri, ubutegetsi bwashakaga kwifashisha igikundiro abamisiyoneri bari bafite mu ntangiriro z'ubukirisitu, noneho bukabigenderaho kuko butari bwashinga imizi ihamye. Uretse n'ibyo kandi, Kiriziya yigishaga abaturage ko bagomba kumvira Leta, nko gutanga umusoro no kurangiza izindi nshingano. Ubuhamya bwose bw'icyo gihe bugaruka kenshi kuri ubwo bufatanye bwa za misiyoni n'abakoroni.

Kuri ubwo bugiraneza bushingiye ku mfashanyo z'amafaranga hiyongeragaho ko abamisiyoneri boroherezwaga mu kubona amasambu, kwinjiza ibintu nta misoro, kwishyurirwa amashuri arebana no kwiga indimi n'imibereho y'abantu. Izo mfashanyo zongereye abamisiyoneri umurava mu gufasha abakoroni.

Abapadiri Bera, cyanecyane Musenyeri Classe, bakomeje kugira ubwoba bw'abaporotesitanti kuko bari ibyitso by'Abongereza. Misiyoni y'Abangirikani ya Gahini yagumye kubera ko Abongereza bari bemeye kureka u Burasirazuba bw'u Rwanda bari baraheshejwe n'amasezerano ya Orts-Milner (1919-1922), ariko misiyoni ya Gahini ntiyari yemerewe gushinga za misiyoni nshyashya. Poritiki ya Musenyeri Classe yari iyo gusaba

kurwanya abaporotesitanti bitaga icyorezo, haba mu rwego rw'amashuri no mu rw'iyobokamana, naho ubutegetsu bw' u Bubirigi bukabarwanya mu rwego rwa poritiki.

Ku birebana n'ingingo z'ibanze z'ubukoroni, nta kuvuguruzanya kwari guhari hagati y'abamisiyoneri n'abakoroni, ariko habayeho amakimbirane adakomeye cyane hagati y'abantu ku giti cyabo (twatanga nk'urugero hagati y'uwabaga ahagarariye u Bubirigi mu karere (adiminisitarateri) n'umukuru wa misiyoni). Ayo makimbirane yakemurwaga binyuze mu nzira z'ubwumvikane nko kwimura umwe muri bombi. Byabaga ari ngombwa byanze bikunze kwerekana ishusho nziza y'ubwumvikane hagati y'inzego zombi z'ubutegetsu. Ikintu kimwe kitashimishaga Minisiteri y'Ubukoroni wari umubare muto w'abamisiyoneri b'Ababirigi (abamisiyoneri bari biganjemo Abafaransa). Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi irangiye ni ho abamisiyoneri b'Ababirigi baje igihiriri mu Rwanda no mu Burundi.

Kiriziya gatorika yabyungukiyemo, urugero ni mu birebana n'imfashanyo z'ubwubatsi. Leta y'u Bubirigi yishingiye gutanga ibikenewe kugira ngo ubutumwa bukorwe neza, abamisiyoneri na bo batanga umusanu wabo mu gufasha abakoroni mu gikorwa cyabo mu birebana n'amahoro n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage. Muri icyo mikoranire, ikitahesheje ishema Kiriziya gatorika ni ukuba yarishoye mu bijyanye n'ubukoroni. Leta y'u Bubirigi yivanze mu bya Kiriziya. Urugero twatanga ni nko gushyirishaho abahagarariye Vatikani. Ni muri urwo rwego Musenyeri Hirth yasimbuwe. Kugira ngo padiri Classe ahagararire Vatikani, abategetsu b'u Bubirigi (Ryckmans wari agateganyo mu mwaka wa 1921) bagize Abapadiri Bera ibikoresho byabo aho kwivuganira na Vatikani nta wundi banyuzeho. Kugira ngo Vatikani imenyeshwe ko u Bubirigi bwashyigikiye iyamamazwa rya Padiri Classe byacyiye mu nzira z'imishyikirano. N'isimburwa rya Musenyeri Gorju mu mwaka wa 1936 ni uko ryagenze. Leta y'u Bubirigi yamenyekanishije ko yifuzaga ko uhagararira Vatikani aba umuntu ukomoka mu Bubirigi: ni uko Musenyeri Grauls yashyizweho. Uko kwivanga mu bibazo bya poritiki kwabyaye ingaruka zikomeye mu buyobozi bwa Kiriziya z'u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Abamisiyoneri bafataga Ababirigi nk'abafatanyabikorwa basanzwe" kuko bakomokaga mu gihugu kitwaga ko ari "gatorika". Ubwo bufatanye bwahindutse akagambane mu

mikorere. Inzego zimwe z'ubuzima bw'igihugu, nk'izirebana n'uburezi n'ubuzima, zahawe abamisiyoneri, bazihabwa zose cyangwa igice cyazo, ari bo babisabye cyangwa bitewe n'uko ubuyobozi bw'abakoroni nta ngufu bwari bufite.

Ni gutyo idini gatorika yahindutse idini ya Leta, nuko Abanyarwanda barayiyoboka, atari uko babyemeye, ahubwo bumvira amabwiriza aturutse hejuru (umukoroni, umwenegihugu umufasha, uwo bafitanye isano cyangwa umumisiyoneri). Ni gutyo idini gatorika yahindutse idini ya ba nyamwinshi cyangwa ya rubanda. Ibyagaragariraga abantu inyuma n'ibitwaga ko bigamije gusingiza Imana byagenewe umwanya munini kurusha imyumvire n'imyemerere y'abakirisitu ubwabo.

Idini gatorika yamamajwe igihe kirekire nk'ikimenyetso cy'amajyambere n'intangarugero y'ubukirisitu: ibinyamakuru by'abamisiyoneri byahaye u Rwanda amazina menshi: "igihugu gikirisitu", "ingoma nkirisitu", noneho muri za mirongo itandatu u Rwanda barwita "Repuburika nkirisitu". Amarorerwa yagwirirye u Rwanda mu gihe cyakurikiyeho yashyize ahagaragara biriya bitekerezo n'ububi bwabyo, yerekana n'uko nta ho byari kugeza u Rwanda.

Hasigaye igihe gito ngo u Rwanda rubone ubwigenge, ibigo bya za misiyoni, cyanecyane misiyoni gatorika, byari bimaze kwiganza mu gihugu hose, ku buryo butandukanye, bitewe n'icyo amadini agamije: hirya no hino hari za misiyoni, za santarari zikomeye n'izoroheje, ibigo by'amashuri, ibitaro n'ibigo nderabuzima. Ahantu hake ni ho hasigiwe abaporotesitanti n'abayisiramu. Kuri ibyo bigo twakongeraho iby'ubutegetsi, ari na byo amajyambere azaheraho, hagaturuka imitekerereze mishya, uburyo bushya bw'imibereho y'abaturage n'imyifatire yabo n'ibindi, ibyo byose biturutse ku bakoroni no ku bamisiyoneri. Imyivumbagatanyo yo mu rwego rwa poritiki yabaye muri za mirongo itanu yahereye muri ibyo bigo no mu nkengero zabyo.

Kuba idini gatorika yarashinze imizi mu Rwanda nk'idini ya Leta, Abatutsi bake b'imena babigizemo uruhare rudasubirwaho. Habanje "intore" z'ibwami kwa Musinga. Hasigaye igihe gito ngo intambara ya mbere y'isi itangire, izo ntore zakurikiye mu bwihereho inyigisho z'iyobokamana zatangwaga n'abamisiyoneri b'abagatorika n'abafasha babo batoranyijwe mu baturage²³⁹. Mu

²³⁹ Tubamenyeshe ko abantu ba mbere i Save babatijwe barimo abana 7 b'Abatutsi n'abana 17 b'Abahutu. Mu Gisaka Abatutsi benshi bashakaga guhunga ubutegetsi bw'abatware b'Abatutsi bo mu Nduga, bigaga gatigisimu.

mwaka wa 1916, bamwe mu bayobozi, nubwo bari bake, batangiye kwiga mu kibeho. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1920, amakimbirane yabayeho hagati ya Musinga n'igice kimwe cy'abashefu yatumye havuka umutwe w'igice cy'abashefu b'Abatutsi bakomeye bagiye ku ruhanda rw'idini gatorika ukomeza kugaba amashami, ariko babikora mu ibanga. Ariko bariya bashhefu bakomeye, ibyo bakoraga ntibabiterwaga n'impamvu zo kwitagatifuza, ahubwo babiterwaga n'impamvu za poritiki. Cyanecyane ko ubuyobozi bw'i Burayi bwabonaga uko kuyoboka idini gatorika nk'uburyo bwo kwemera ubutegetsu bw'abakoroni. icyahaye ingufu uko kwigishwa kw'abashefu b'ibikomerezwa ni ishuri ryashinzwe i Nyanza rigamije kwigisha abana b'abashefu biturutse ku muyobozi w'Umubirigi Leenaerts, kuri Musenyeri Classe no ku barimu baryigishagamo. Abasore bagiye muri iryo shuri binjiye mu idini gatorika ku mugaragaro, nuko Musinga ntiyashobora kugira icyo akora kuri icyo nkubiri.

Inkubiri yo kujya mu idini gatorika yafashe intera ikomeye mu mwaka wa 1925, ubwo ubutegetsu bwa Musinga bwari bugeze aharindimuka. icyo kintu cyatumye ibwami na bariya batware b'ikirenga barebana ay'ingwe. Nuko abatware benshi begera abazungu, batera abana babo n'ingabo zabo umwete wo kwegera abamisiyoneri. icyavuyemo nuko ahagana mu wa 1930 igihiriri cy'abantu benshi kinjiye mu idini, ari byo bise " inkubi y'umuyaga "; iryo jambo ryakoreshejwe n'ikinyamakuru kitwaga " Grands Lacs" mu nomero yacyo idasanzwe cyanditse iterambere ry'Ivanjiri mu Rwanda. Umutwe w'icyo nyandiko waravugaga ngo: "Aho Roho Mutagatifu ahuhera nk'inkubi y'umuyaga: igikorwa cy'agatangaza. Uko kwegukira Ivanjiri Abanyarwanda bakwise "Irivuze umwami", bakurikije inkuru yari imaze gukwira yavugaga ko umwami Rudahigwa yaba yarategetse ingabo ze zose kubatizwa mu gatorika. Itegeko nk'iryo ntaryabayeho, cyakora ikigaragara nuko umwami yabogamiye cyane kuri icyo dini.

Iyo nkubi y'umuyaga, hose yagaragaye nk'igikorwa k'indashyikirwa cya Kiriziya gatorika ku mugabane w'Afurika. Bitewe n'umubare w'abakirisitu wiyongeraga buri mwaka, cyanecyane mu myaka ya 1933 na 1934, "u Rwanda rwabayeho urwa mbere ku isi hose mu kwakira Ivanjiri"²⁴⁰. icyo gikorwa kizihijwe nk'igitangaza Imana yakoreye muri Afurika rwagati, nyamara mu myaka mirongo itandatu ishize amakarita y'ubumenyi bw'isi yerekanaga icyo gice cy'Afurika nk'ahantu hatazwi, ahantu

²⁴⁰ Lacger (de), 1959, *op.cit.*, p.698.

umuzungu atarakandagira»²⁴¹. Hari abamisiyoneri batari bishimiye iyo nkubiri yo kwinjira mu idini gatorika, bakifuza kuyihagarika ndetse no kureka ibirindiro bari bamaze gufata kugira ngo bacengeze ukwemera n’ubukirisitu bishinze imizi kandi abakirisitu bumva neza icyo bakora. Umumisiyoneri wabonaga ingaruka mbi z’uko guhinduka abantu batigishijwe bihagije yaravuze ati: “Iyaba byari ibishoboka, bitatu bya kane by’ababatijwe byakwambuwe Batisimu»²⁴².

Inkubiri y’ababatizwa yageze ku ndunduro mu mwaka wa 1943 ubwo umwami n’umwamikazi babatizwaga, ari na bwo nyuma yaho umwami yeguriraga u Rwanda Kirisitu Umwami.

Abaporotesitanti ntabwo bashoboye kwiyegereza abatware bakomeye, uretse abasushefu b’imirenge bake n’abakarani baciriritse bongerereye ingufu. Idini rya gakondo ryaratotejwe karahava. Ryarebwaga nk’inzitizi y’amajyambere. Abamisiyoneri ni bo bari ku isonga y’iryo totezwa, bakunganirwa n’abashefu n’abafasha b’abamisiyoneri (abakateshisiti n’abakuru b’inama), n’abakirisitu bashakaga kwibonekeza ku bamisiyoneri. Abayoboke ba Nyabingi bahizwe bukware n’ubuyobozi ²⁴³. Mu ijamba rimwe, cyari igihe cyo kutihanganira idini ya gakondo kandi bikagaragarira mu bikorwa by’urugomo byo gutoteza abayoboke bayo bari basigaye nta buhungiro bafite, uretse gukora imihango yayo rwihishwa.

➤ **Ukwisuganya kwa misiyoni z’abaporotesitanti**

Mu ntangiriro, abamisiyoneri ba Bethel ntibagaragaye cyane, babitewe n’ubuke bw’abantu n’ibintu. Mu Ntambara ya mbere y’Isi hari misiyoni zafunzwe (Zinga, Kirinda, Remera na Rubengera). Intambara irangiye, muri misiyoni zari zarashinzwe mbere nta n’imwe yari ikiriho (Kigali, Zinga, Rukira, Nyanza yacumbikiraga abamisiyoneri babaga baje bushyitsi, Kirinda na Rubengera). Abamisiyoneri b’abaporotesitanti bajyanye n’ingabo z’Abadage.

Kongera gutangira ntabwo byoroheye abaporotesitanti kubera ko abamisiyoneri b’abagatorika bumvaga ari bo bonyine bariho. Cyakora imishinga yo kongera gutangiza za misiyoni z’abaporotesitanti zari zararetswe yari yamuritswe na Sosiyete

²⁴¹ *Grands Lacs*, no spécial sur le Rwanda, *op.cit.*

²⁴² Righi P., reba mu nyandiko ya Rutayisire P., 2009, *op.cit.*, p.117.

²⁴³ Urugero i Rwamagana, in Diaire de Rwamagana, 24 mars 1925.

mbirigi ya misiyoni z'abaporotesitanti (Société belge des missions protestantes) yakiriwe neza na Musinga n'udutsiko tw'Ababirigi bifuzaga ko abagatorika bataba ari bo bonyine bagaragara. Uretse n'ibyo kandi, amakimbirane Musinga yagiranye n'abagaturika yatumye ashaka kwiyegereza abaporotesitanti.

U Bubirigi bwanze ibyifuzo by'abadivantisiti kuko byavugwaga ko baharaniraga uburenganzira bw'abirabura. Rero ibyifuzo bya Sosiyete mbirigi ya misiyoni z'abaporotesitanti yaje igihe kiza. Byongereye Ababirigi ingufu, ariko abamisiyoneri bakaba ari bo bonyine bagira uburenganzira bwo guhitamo abamisiyoneri b'abanyamahanga (bavuga indimi zo mu Bubirigi) bazakorana. Leta mbirigi yahaje kwemera guha imfashanyo Abaporotesitanti.

Mu myaka ya mbere kwongera gutangira ntibyoroshye. Umusaruro wabaye muke kubera ibibazo by'ubukene. Abaporotesitanti bahabwaga imfashanyo na Leta, izindi bakazihabwa n'andi madini bari bafatanyije cyangwa bakazikura mu bakirisitu babo. Ayo mafaranga yakoreshwaga mu mishahara yatangirwaga i Burayi, mu ngendo no mu kugura ibyangombwa. Ubwo bukene bwagize ingaruka kuri za misiyoni. Abakateshisite n'abandi bakozi ntibahembwaga, bigatuma bigira muri za misiyoni z'abagatorika kuko zo zari zikize. Uretse n'ibyo kandi, nta bumwe bwari hagati ya za misiyoni za Kirinda, Remera na Rubengera zari zongeye gutangizwa. Hagati y'abamisiyoneri hadutse impaka zishingiye ku iyobokamana no ku bamisiyoneri ubwabo. Abaporotesitanti bajyaga guhosha ibyo bibazo, iyo bakora nk'abagatorika, bakemera amasezerano areba iby'amashuri yashyizweho umukono mu mwaka wa 1929 hagati ya Leta na Kiriziya gatorika. Kugira ngo bagere kuri ibyo, byajyaga kubasaba kuba bafite abarimu babishoboye n'amashuri afite ibyangombwa, bakareka kwigishiriza ku gasozi. Ibyo byangombwa rero ntibari babyujuje.

Kubera izo mpamvu zose, abaporotesitanti ntibashoboye kwigimba misiyoni z'abagatorika zari zifite ibyangombwa kandi zigafashwa zibikesha kwishyikira muri Minisiteri y'u Bubirigi ishinzwe ibihugu bwakoronizaga. Abaporotesitanti bageze aharindimuka. Leta yashyigikiraga iyo mikorere kugira ngo ikumire abanyamahanga. Ariko mu Bubirigi muri rubanda barwanyaga imfashanyo Leta yahaga abaporotesitanti. Abaporotesitanti bari bayobowe n'umupasiteri w'Umudage witwa Heyden, ibyo bikongera amakimbirane.

Leta y'u Bubirigi ntiyizeraga amadini y'abaporotesitanti akomoka mu Bwongereza no muri Amerika. Kuri Leta y'u Bubirigi, kwemerera abaporotesitanti kuza byasaga no guha u Bwongereza urwaho, bityo bugashinga ibirindiro mu Rwanda. CMS ntiyirukanywe, ariko bayangiye gushinga za misiyoni nshya yitwaje ko abagatorika n'abaporotesitanti ari bo bihariye kwigisha Ivanjiri mu Rwanda. Leta y'u Bubirigi ijya gukoma mu nkokora amadini y'abaporotesitanti yatumye Kiriziya gatorika yigarurira abantu benshi, bityo ipyinagaza abaporotesitanti.

➤ **Poritiki y'uburezi**

Mu bireba uburezi, Abadage basa naho nta cyo bakoze. Abapadiri Bera ni bo mu by'ukuri amashuri akesha kuba yaratangiye. Bafunguye ishuri ibwami rigamije kwigisha abana b'abashefu, kandi muri porogaramu yaryo iyobokamana ikaba yari ibujijwe. Iryo shuri ryabanje gushingwa abakateshisite b'Abaganda, Tobi Kabati na Elias; mu mwaka wa 1906 baza gusimburwa n'abakirisitu b'Abanyarwanda, Prestanci na Wilhelm. Musinga na we ubwe yatangiye kwiga igiswayire, nuko amenya gusoma no kwandika. Ku bamisiyoneri, iryo shuri ryari rifite akarusho ko kuborohereza gucengera mu bayobozi no mu bikomangoma, bityo bagacengeza ubutumwa bidashakuje ²⁴⁴.

Muri buri misiyoni yashingwaga bateganyaga inyigisho z'ibanze zigenewe abahungu n'abakobwa, rikayoborwa n'umupadiri. Mu mwaka wa 1905 hari amashuri icumi, mu mwaka wa 1910 hari amashuri 33 afite abanyeshuri 1.250, kimwe cya kane ari abakobwa. Mu byabaga bitegetswe kugira ngo umuntu abatizwe, abigishwa b'ingaragu bagombaga kuba bujuje ibyangombwa by'ibanze bituma bamenya gusoma no kwandika²⁴⁵. Abakateshisite bigishaga mu masantarari babaga bashinzwe cyanecyane kwigisha iyobokamana, ariko bakigisha n'abana babaga bageze igihe cyo gutangira ishuri n'abantu bakuru babaga batarashyirwa.

Mu mwaka wa 1909, Ababikira Bera basesekaye muri za misiyoni kandi bagira uruhare rudasubirwaho mu mashuri. Mu by'ukuri, ibikorwa biteza imbere abari n'abategarugori byafashe intera nyayo muri za misiyoni zarimo abihayimana b'igitsinagore cyangwa abategarugori b'abapasiteri b'abaporotesitanti.

²⁴⁴ Erny E., *De l'éducation traditionnelle à l'enseignement moderne au Rwanda (1900-1975)*, Tome I, Thèse, Université de Strasbourg II, 1978.

²⁴⁵ Mgr. Hirth, Instructions, 1912.

Mu mwaka wa 1912, Musenyeri Hirth yakoze urwandiko rwatangaga amabwiriza agomba kugenga ibirebana n'uburezi. Ayo mabwiriza yarimo ibice bitatu:

- abana bari hagati y'imyaka 7 na 12 baturaga kane mu cyumweru, bakamara isaha imwe biga gusoma, bakabazwa ku byo bize, bakigishwa iyobokamana n'indirimo;
- ikiciro gikurikiyeho kiteguraga Batisimu, kiri hagati y'imyaka 12 na 15, cyaturaga gatatu mu cyumweru, gifite porogaramu nk'ya bariya bato. Inyigisho yabanzirizwaga na misa;
- abakuru babaga bari hagati y'imyaka 18 na 20, ndetse hakabamo n'abayirengeje, babaga bari mu ishuri nyaryo bafite na gahunda isobanutse imara igitondo cyose. Inyigisho zabaga zishingiye kuri gatigisimu. Ababaga bifuzaga kujya mu iseminari bajyaga muri icyo kiciro bakakimaramo imyaka 2.

Abaseminari ba mbere bigishirijwe i Rubya (Rubia) muri Tanzaniya kuva mu mwaka wa 1904, hafi y'ikiyaga cya Victoria, mu mwaka wa 1913 bimukira i Kansi, mu mwaka wa 1914 bajya i Kabwayi, ari na ho abapadiri ba mbere baherewe ubusaserodoti mu mwaka wa 1917²⁴⁶.

Ikintu gikomeye cyane cyagaragaye mu rwego rw'uburezi mu gihe cy'Abadage, ni ingufu inzego za gikirisitu, cyanecyane iza gatorika, zari zifite, naho imishinga ya Leta ikaba mu rwego ruciriritse. Abamisiyoneri bahaga agaciro gakomeye ukwigishwa kw'abakateshisite n'abafasha babo b'abarayiki, ukwigishwa kw'abapadiri kavukire, no kwigisha gusoma no kwandika bijyana no kwigishwa iyobokamana. Misiyoni zari zishishikajwe n'iyogezabutumwa: kwigisha Ivanjiri uherye ku rubyiruko, kugira uruhare mu iterambere rijyanye n'ubukirisitu, kuyobora abana b'abakirisitu ahantu haberanye n'uburere bubakwiriye, guha abinjije mu idini gatorika uburere bwa gikirisitu n'ubwa kimuntu bufite ireme, guha abasirimu n'abazaba abayobozi uburere bufite ikerekezo cya gikirisitu, kwigisha ku buryo bwihuse abapadiri b'Abanyarwanda, guha inzego za Kiriziya ingufu n'ubushobozi bijyanye n'igihe kigezweho. Abamisiyoneri ntibari bagamije kwigisha abantu bazaba mu rwego ruhanitse, ahubwo bari bagamije kurema abakirisitu bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bafasha muri za misiyoni no mu buyobozi. Kuri icyo ngingo Padiri Loupias yaravuze ati: "Ntituzabona abahanga

²⁴⁶ Donati Reberaho, umupadiri wa mbere w'Umunyarwanda ukomoka i Save, yasobanuraga umwuka wari muri izo seminari za mbere n'uburyo bigaga, «Reberaho Donat, le premier décédé des prêtres du Rwanda (1885-1925)», in *Grands Lacs*, no 154, 1952, pp.6-26.

baminuje, ariko byadushimisha turamutse twifashishije uburezi mu mashuri, tukabona abakirisitu bo mu rwego rwo hejuru bajijutse kandi bashoboye kogeza ukwemera mu bo baturanye. Inyigisho ikomeye si ugusoma no kwandika, ahubwo ni nyigisho ishinze imizi mu bukirisitu ”²⁴⁷.

Birumvikana ko mu burere bw’urubyiruko bugamije umuco n’ubukirisitu, ubwenge bwo mu bitabo bwonyine atari bwo bwajyaga kugira umwanya ukomeye. Imyumvire y’inzege za Kiriziya n’iz’abakoroni si ko yahuraga byanze bikunze: ku bamisiyoneri, gutegekwa kwigisha abazaba abafasha b’abayobozi byasaga naho bibangamiye icyo bari biyemeje.

Nubwo habaga hari imyumvire imwe ku bigamijwe no mu buryo bwo kubigeraho, mu Rwanda kimwe n’ahandi hose muri Afurika, mu bijyanye n’uburezi amadini yasaga n’apiganwa, ndetse ashyamiranye, nubwo hagati y’abantu ku giti cyabo, kenshi umubano wabaga ari mwiza. Bashingaga amashuri menshi, bamwe bagamije gutwara abandi abana, bakabajyana mu idini yabo. Kuri iyo ngingo, raporo ya Vikariyati yo mu mwaka wa 1933 yagiraga iti: “Kubera uguturana kwa za misiyoni zifite imyigishirize idahuje, tugomba byanze bikunze kugira amashuri menshi kandi meza... Igihe cyose ishuri ni intwari ikomeye muri urwo rugamba rw’amadini. Bariya bantu bageze aho bumva ko amashuri yaduhesheje umwanya w’imena mu gihugu kandi akadufasha kwigarurira urubyiruko rw’abayobozi. Biragaragara ko twabasize, ariko ntibivuze ko batadushyikira...Kuri bo ntarirarenga, kandi barashishikaye cyane”²⁴⁸.

Mu gihe ubuyobozi bwibandaga ahantu hakomeye, misiyoni zo zibanze mu giturage, aho zabaga zikinze abazimeneramo. Ni ho abamisiyoneri bashinze amashuri mu giturage, aciriritse ariko menshi, bayashinga abakateshisite. Gushyira ku murongo uburezi bw’ibanze ni kimwe mu biranga ibikorwa by’abamisiyoneri; ibyo byajyanaga no kwigisha isuku no gushinga amashuri aciriritse y’imyuga inyuranye. Hari abanenze iyo myigishirize, cyanecyane abari bagamije gusa amashuri y’imyuga yo mu rwego rwo hejuru. Muri raporo ubuyobozi bwatangaga, na bwo bwinubiraga iyo myigishirize yageraga gusa ku bantu bo hasi, naho abo mu rwego rwo hejuru bakayigendera kure, bityo ntibagire aho bahurira n’amajyambere. Ariko amashuri yo mu

²⁴⁷ Nkabuwakabiri A., *L’enseignement primaire au Rwanda avant la Deuxième Guerre mondiale (1900-1939)*, mémoire de licence, Louvain, U.C.L., 1971, p.24

²⁴⁸ Ibidem, p.44.

cyaro yagize uruhare rukomeye mu guhindura urubumbambaga nyarwanda biturutse kuri za misiyoni. Ni zo urubumbambaga nyarwanda rushya rwari rushingiyeho.

Ababirigi bakigera mu Rwanda mu mwaka wa 1916, Abapadiri Bera bakajije umurego kuko ubutegetsu bushya bwari bubashyigikiye kurusha ubwabanje. Nubwo abategetsu bashya baretse za misiyoni zikongera amashuri yazo, bashyize mu bikorwa umushinga Abadage bari batangiye wo gushinga amashuri ya Leta ane i Cyangugu, Ruhengeri, Gatsibo na Rukira; ayo mashuri yarimo abanyeshuri 265 mu mwaka wa 1925, bagera kuri 677 mu mwaka wa 1929, ari na wo wa nyuma.

Ibwami hashinzwe ishuri ribanza ryo mu rwego rwo hejuru rigenewe abahungu b'abashefu, risimbura iryashinzwe n'Abapadiri Bera mu mwaka wa 1900. Ryari rigamije kwigisha no kurera abahungu b'abashefu ribategurira gukora imirimo bazashingwa mu nzego z'ubuyobozi, rigategura abarimu bazigisha mu mashuri ya Leta, rikanigisha n'abana b'Abatutsi basanzwe kugira ngo bazabe abakarani²⁴⁹. Mu mwaka wa 1923 iryo shuri ryayoborwaga n'umuzungu afatanyije n'abarimu batatu, rikigisha mu giswahiri imyaka itatu, hagakurikiraho umwaka umwe wo kwimenyereza mu kigo cy'ubuyobozi. Mu mwaka wa kabiri bigaga igifaransa gike, isomo ry'iyobokamana rigasimburwa n'iry'imbonezamuco.

Imyitozo ya za siporo za gakondo n'iza kijyambere zari zifite umwanya munini muri gahunda z'amasomo. Mu myaka yakurikiyeho, amasomo yaje kugera ku myaka itandatu. Mu mwaka wa 1925, iryo shuri ryari rifite abanyeshuri 349 kandi ryari rimaze kwigisha abakarani 78 n'abahungu 59 b'abashefu bashoboraga gufasha ba se. Mu mwaka wa 1929 isomo ry'igiswayire ryavanyweho, bitwaje ko ryatumaga isiramu icengera mu Rwanda. Abamisiyoneri ntibari bizeye iryo shuri. Raporo yabo yagiraga iti: "Ni uruvange ruvuguruza amahame agenga imyigishirize, hakabamo abagabo bamara amezi icumi cyangwa cumi n'abiri baratandukanyijwe n'abagore babo, abasore n'abana b'imyaka cumi n'ibiri, kandi nyuma y'amasomo urwo rusobe rw'abantu banyuranye ntirushobore kugenzurwa. Buri wese aracumbika aho ashoboye...urubyiruko rukaba ahantu hatari umuco, ahantu habi hashobora kubaho, ari ho kwa Musinga"²⁵⁰.

²⁴⁹ Ministère des colonies, Rapport annuel sur l'administration, 1923, p. 29.

²⁵⁰ Société des Missionnaires d'Afrique, Rapport annuel 1929-30, p. 303

Ibindi bigo bya Leta “bigenewe abahungu b’abashefu n’ibikomangoma by’Abatutsi” byari bifite imyigishirize iri muni y’iry’ishuri ry’i Nyanza: abanyeshuri bagendaga biguru ntege, bakajya kwiga aruko babihatiwe n’ubuyobozi cyangwa baciwe amafaranga ; ibikoresho byari mbarwa, kandi kenshi abarimu ntibagire igitsure gihagije imbere y’abanyeshuri bakomoka mu miryango ikomeye ndetse kenshi babarusha imyaka. Ubuyobozi bwaje kwemera ko ayo mashuri “nta kamaro kanini yari afite”. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1930, ayo mashuri yaje kuvangwa n’aya gatorika afashwa na Leta. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1932, ishuri ry’i Nyanza ryimuriwe Asitirida mu Rwunge rw’Amashuri ruyobowe n’Abafurere b’Urukundo bakomoka mu mugwi wa Gand mu Bubirigi.

Mu gihe cyose cy’ubukoroni, usanga ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika bwarashakaga kwiharira byose, bushaka guheza abatagendera ku bitekerezo byabwo kandi bukagundira uburezi bw’abateganyirijwe kuzayobora igihugu baturuka mu nzego z’ibikomangoma. Nyuma y’umwaka wa 1925 umurongo wa misiyoni z’abagatorika wari umaze kujya ahagaragara: abakuru bazo bemezaga ko ari zo zifite umwihariko w’uburezi, ko amashuri bashinze, kimwe no kogeza Ivanjiri ari umwihariko wazo. Abamisiyoneri b’abagatorika bemezaga ko imfashanyo ya Leta ari uburenganzira bwabo, ko n’ibigo bashinze ari ibyabo bwite, ko batabisimburamo Leta by’agateganyo”²⁵¹. Birumvikana ko nta kizere babaga bafitiye ikigo icyo ari cyo cyose kegamiye kuri Leta, nk’Urwunge rw’Amashuri rw’Asitirida. Nubwo ubuyobozi bw’icyo kigo bwari bushinzwe abihayimana, ntibifuzaga ko hagira imfashanyo ya Leta ihabwa amashuri y’abaporotesitanti cyangwa ngo havuke ibigo bidafite aho bibogamiye.

Poritiki y’uburezi muri Kongo yagize ingaruka ku burezi mu Rwanda. Dore ibiranga iyo poritiki: kwigisha Ivanjiri ni byo byagombaga kuranga uburere ndangamuco, poritiki y’ubufatanye na za misiyoni yagombaga gusumba iy’ubufatanye n’amashuri ya Leta, hanyuma kandi ibigo by’amashuri ya misiyoni byo mu rwego rw’igihugu bikagenerwa imfashanyo ku buryo bw’umwihariko. Ni gutyo mu mwaka wa 1924, muri Kongo mbirigi hadutse amashuri yigenga biturutse ku bufatanye n’ibigo byo mu rwego rw’igihugu. Muri iyo mikorere hagaragara amoko atatu y’amashuri: amashuri ya Leta ku buryo bw’umwihariko, amashuri y’amadini afashwa na Leta, ni ukuvuga afite ikicaro mu

²⁵¹ R.P.E. Vasse, Vade mecum - Guide du directeur d’ école, asubiramwo ibitekerezo fatizo biri mu nyandiko ya Papa yo mu 1929 yerekeye uburere nkirisitu bw’urubiruko.

Bubirigi, akayoborwa n'Ababirigi kandi akagira bibiri bya gatatu by'abamisiyoneri b'Ababirigi, n'amashuri yigenga, yirwanaho nta mfashanyo ya Leta. Bityo uburezi bwari bushyizwe mu maboko y'abantu ba Kiriziya, cyanecyane b'Ababirigi kandi biganjemo abagatorika.

Mu Rwanda, umwaka wa 1923 wahuye n'ivanwaho ry'uburezi budashingiye ku madini, ari na bwo Leta yashyize mu maboko yayo ibigo byo mu rwego rw'igihugu ibinyujije mu masezerano no mu mfashanyo. Ku ya mbere Mutarama 1931, mbere yuko amasezerano ashwirwaho umukono, hashyizweho imikorere y'agateganyo. Impamvu zateye iyo mpinduka ni nk'izo muri Kongo mbirigi; izo mpamvu zigaragazwa na raporo yerekana imiyoborere y'Ababirigi muri Ruanda-Urundi yo mu mwaka wa 1925: "Misiyoni z'abihayimana zifite ubushobozi n'ibikoresho byo gukwiza inyigisho mu gihugu kurusha ikindi kigo icyo ari cyo cyose. Abamisiyoneri bafite ubumenyi budasanzwe mu mirerere. Kuba nta kindi kibahangayikishije uretse ubutumwa bwabo, kuba iyo ntumbero y'ubutumwa bwabo ituma bihatira kumenya ururimi n'imibereho y'abaturage kandi bakamara mu gihugu igihe gisumba icy'abakozi ba Leta, ntawushobora kubigimba mu burere bw'abaturage. Uretse n'byo kandi bamaze igihe kirekire bigisha ababafasha: abapadiri ba kavukire, abakateshisite benshi, n'abantu bazi imyuga y'amoko yose... Yego, igitekerezo k'ingenzi abamisiyoneri bimirije imbere ni ukwigisha iyobokamana. Ariko gucengeza Ivanjiri ubwabyo bijyana n'uburere rusange busanzwe. Leta rero ni yo igomba guha abamisiyoneri imfashanyo zihagije, ikabafasha kuvugurura imikorere yabo mu mashuri no guteza imbere porogaramu y'amashuri yabo. Ni ibyo ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi bwagerageje gukora butanga imfashanyo zabwo bushingiye k'ukwihata abamisiyoneri berekanaga mu gukwiza inyigisho mu bantu bose".

Dukurikije uko amasezerano yavugaga, abamisiyoneri bemeraga gutanga amazu, ibikoresho byayo, no gushaka abakozi. Bari guhabwa imfashanyo hakurikijwe amashuri n'ibigo bihagaze neza, urwego rw'inyigisho, umubare w'abanyeshuri n'abarimu. Padiri ushinzwe amashuri yagenerwaga agahimbazamusyi; abarimu bagombaga kuba bafite impamyabumenyi y'imyaka itatu y'amashuri y'ubwarimu; ariko ku buryo bw'agateganyo, abarimu babaga badafite impamyabumenyi y'ubwarimu baremerwaga. Mu mwaka wa 1938, ku ruhande rw'abagatorika hafashwaga amashuri yo ku rurembo 36 na 340 yo mu cyaro,

yose akagira abarimu 540 n’abarimukazi 64, ariko hakaba za santarari 694 zitabonaga imfashanyo. Misiyoni zitacungirwaga mu Bubirigi ntizari mu zagombaga gufashwa.

Imiterere y’uburezi yari kimwe n’iyo muri Kongo ²⁵². Ku ruhande rumwe bateganyaga amashuri abanza afite ibyiciro bibiri n’amashuri yo mu cyaro cyangwa yo muri za santarari amara imyaka ibiri; ku rundi ruhande bagateganya amashuri yo ku misiyoni amara imyaka itatu. Guhera mu mwaka wa kane amasomo yatangwaga mu gifaransa, kigasimbura igiswayire cyabaga gihindutse ururimi rwa kabiri. Bateganyaga kandi ku buryo burambye amashuri y’amoko menshi akurikira abanza, n’amashuri yisumbuye atanga inyigisho zihariye agenewe gutegura abakarani, abarimu, abayobozi b’amashuri y’imyuga, n’ibindi. Abahungu b’abashefu n’ab’ibikomerezwa by’Abatutsi bo bagombaga gukomeza guhabwa inyigisho zihariye kandi zinonosoye, bakazihirwa mu bigo byabigenewe. Seminari zagombaga kugumana umwanya w’imena zitegura abanyabwenge baminuje. Zamaze igihe kirekire ari nka byo bigo by’amashuri yisumbuye n’amakuru byemewe, kandi ibyiciro bya mbere by’abayobozi n’abanyabwenge ni ho byize.

Amahame y’imyigishirize yagombaga kwita cyane ku miterere y’icyaro no ku mirimo y’amaboko; amasomo y’indimi yagombaga kuba make, kimwe n’ay’imibare, hakigishwa ururimi kavukire, abanyeshuri bagakundishwa ubuhinzi kandi bagatozwa imyuga imwe n’imwe hakurikijwe ubukorikori bumenyerewe mu baturage.

Imipaka y’amashuri yahuraga n’iya za misiyoni; nta shiti, Vikariyati y’u Rwanda yahindutse “Minisiteri y’Uburezi rusange”. Yagenzurwaga n’ubuyobozi bwa Leta mbirigi n’ubwo mu gihugu hagati, ariko ikagira ubwisanzure. Yavuye ku banyeshuri ibihumbi makumyabiri (20.000) no ku mfashanyo z’ibihumbi mirongo inani n’umunani (80.000 fr) mu mwaka wa 1925; mu mwaka wa 1935 igera ku banyeshuri ibihumbi mirongo inani n’umunani (88.000) harimo ibihumbi makumyabiri n’umunani (28.000) bifashishwa amafaranga ibihumbi magana arindwi na mirongo itanu (750.000 fr); mu mwaka wa 1945 yageze ku banyeshuri ibihumbi ijana (100.000) harimo ibihumbi mirongo itatu (30.000) bifashishwa miriyoni ebyiri n’ibihumbi magana

²⁵² Amahame ya mbere agaragara mu gatabo kitwa «Organisation de l’enseignement libre au Congo belge et au Ruanda-Urundi avec le concours des missions nationales».

inani (2.800.000 fr). Musenyeri Classe yari akomeye cyane ku ntego yuko ibikorwa by'uburezi biba mu maboko ya Vikariyati; ntiyashimishwaga n'uko ibigo by'abihayimana bigirana n'ubuyobozi imishyikirano itaziguye. Ntiyanashimishwaga n'uko amashuri ya Leta ayoborwa n'abihayimana kuko, ku bwe, yabonaga ayo mashuri afite ubushobozi bwo kubaho atagira aho abogamiye²⁵³.

4.2.3. U Rwanda mu gihe k'indagizo (1946-1962)

Nyuma y'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi, Sosiyeti y'Ibihugu byatsinze intambara yasimbuwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye tumenyereye kwita Loni. U Rwanda rwaragijwe u Bubirigi kuva ku wa 13 Ukuboza 1946, ari na ho Inteko rusange y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye yabyemeje. Amasezerano yabyemeje yateganyaga igihe igihugu cyabaye indagizo kizarangirira, cya gihugu kikabona ubwigenge kandi ntikivogerwe. Mu myumvire mpuzamahanga, bene iyo mikorere iba igamije ko abaturage babaye indagizo bagenda bakura buhorobuhoro mu rwego rwa poritiki bakagera aho biyobora ubwabo, mu yandi magambo bakabona ubwigenge. Ubutumwa bwashingwaga igihugu gishinzwe kurebera Loni bwagiraga buti: "Ubuyobozi buzateza imbere inzego z'abaturage ba kavukire zikwiranye n'u Rwanda n'u Burundi. Kubera iyo mpamvu, abayobozi bazafasha abaturage b'ibyho bihugu kugira uruhare mu buyobozi buhoro buhoro, haba mu mirimo yo hejuru cyangwa iyo hasi, bafashe abaturage kugira uruhare mu nzego zibahagarariye, bitewe n'imiterere ya buri ntara. Ubuyobozi buzakora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo abaturage bo mu Rwanda no mu Burundi bagende bakura buhoro buhoro mu rwego rwa poritiki"²⁵⁴.

Mu rwego rwa poritiki mpuzamahanga n'urw'imibanire y'ibihugu, haba mbere y'umwaka wa 1946 cyangwa nyuma yaho, ku bihugu byakoronije ntacyahindutse. Byagumanye ingufu byari bifite, bikomeza gukora uko byakoraga. Ariko ku birebana n'imikorere, buriya buryo bw'indagizo bwazanye impinduka, bushyiraho Inama ishinzwe gukurikirana imikorere mishyashya, ababishinzwe bagasura ibyo bihugu ubutitsa, bigatuma bakurikirana amajyambere yagezweho mu karere bashinzwe kandi bagatuma abaturage batanga ibitekerezo byabo.

²⁵³ Reba raporo y'Abafurere b'Abashariti bo mu Rwanda rw'Amashuri n'Ababikira bera.

²⁵⁴ Organisation des Nations Unies, Conseil de tutelle de l'ONU, Rapport de la mission de visite de l'ONU au R-U, 1948, New York, 1948, pp. 9-10.

Urebye neza ibyakozwe, ubuyobozi bwo mu gihe k'indagizo ntibwakurikije amabwiriza yariho mbere. U Rwanda rwakomeje gutegekwa n'abakoroniki kimwe na Kongo mbirigi hatitawe ku masezerano ya Versailles no ku mabwiriza yo kubaha uburenganzira bw'ibihugu byakoronijwe cyangwa byagizwe indagizo.

a. Imitego yagaragaye mbere y'irembera ry'ubukoroniki

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1946 habaye ibintu byinshi byakurikiranye ku buryo bwihuse kugeza ku marorerwa yo mu mwaka wa 1959 yari ashingiyeye ku moko, bucya mu mwaka wa 1962 haza ingoma ya Repubilika. Ibyo bintu byahungabanyije Abanyarwanda, n'ubu ntibarabyibagirwa, haba muri rusange cyangwa buri muntu ku giti ke. Ni yo mpamvu kubisobanura bitumvikanwaho kimwe.

Nyuma y'Intambara ya Kabiri y'Isi, habaye umuvuduko w'ibihugu byakoronijwe byashakaga kwipakurura ubukoroniki, nuko karahava. Ni bwo Loni yemeje ko ibihugu byose byakoronijwe bigomba kwigenga. Ibihugu byari mu bukoroniki n'ibyari byagizwe indagizo byagombaga gutegurirwa iyo ntera byaharaniraga, ari yo kwiyobora no kubona ubwigenge.

Cyakora Loni yabonaga ibirebana na poritiki mu Rwanda bigenda buhoro. Abantu bose bagiyeye mu butumwa bwa Loni mu bihugu byaragijwe u Bubirigi bahurira kuri icyo gitekerezo. Abaje mu butumwa mu mwaka wa 1948, nubwo batangariraga ukuntu mu rwego rw'ubukungu u Bubirigi bwazamuye ibihugu bwari bwarashinzwe, bavugaga ko "iterambere mu rwego rwa poritiki ryagenda buhoro cyane". Bashoje raporo yabo bavugaga ko urwo rwego na rwo rwakwihutishwa. Ikiciro cya kabiri cyaje mu butumwa mu mwaka wa 1951 kerekanye ko "urwego rwa poritiki rwakomeje kudindira". Intumwa zaje mu kiciro cya gatatu mu mwaka wa 1954 cyababajwe n'uko "amajyambere mu rwego rwa poritiki bayashyize mu bintu bitihutirwa"²⁵⁵. Ni muri uwo mwaka gahunda yo gutegurira u Rwanda kwiyobora byakozwe mu gihe k'imyaka icumi (hagati ya 1951 na 1961)²⁵⁶. Iyo gahunda yari igamijwe cyane cyane guteza imbere imibereho y'abaturage

²⁵⁵ Organisation des Nations Unies, Mission de visite des Nations-Unies dans les territoires sous tutelle de l'Afrique Orientale (1957), documentation officielle, 21^e session (30/01/1958), New York 1958 p.2.

²⁵⁶ Plan décennal pour le développement économique et social du Ruanda-Urundi, Editions Vissher, Bruxelles, 1951. ; Kageruka C., *Analyse et critique du plan décennal pour le développement socio-économique du Ruanda-Urundi (1951-1961)*, Mémoire, Université nationale du Rwanda, Butare, 1999.

n'ubukungu mu Rwanda no mu Burundi, bityo hakazibwa icyuho cy'uko nta ntumbero yabyo yagaragaraga. Muri iyo gahunda hakozwe ibintu byinshi binyuranye, cyanecyane mu birebana n'ubuzima n'ubuhinzi. Ariko gushyira iyo gahunda mu bikorwa byagize ingaruka kuri rubanda rwakoreshwaga imirimo y'agahato n'ibindi byategekwe n'abakoroni. Ibyo ni na byo bisobanura impamvu abaturage benshi basuhukiye mu bihugu bituranye n'u Rwanda, cyanecyane mu bihugu byakoronijwe n'u Bwongereza. Uko gusuhuka ni ko kwaranze iriya myaka icumi n'ingaruka zakomye mu nkokora imibereho myiza y'abaturage mbere gato y'ubwigenge.

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1948 Mutara III Rudahigwa yifuzaga cyane ko ibintu bihinduka. Ariko kuba yaracye ubuhake ku wa 1 Mata 1954 nta cyo byahinduye kigaragara. Yego, abari bahujwe n'ubuhake bushingiye ku kugabirwa no kuragizwa bagabanye inka bari barahanye, ariko ibibazo by'ibikingi ntibyakemuwe. Abantu bagabanye inka, ariko ntibagabana ibikingi²⁵⁷. Dukurikije imibare irebana no kugabana inka yakozwe ku wa 31 Ukuboza 1956, abari bafite abo bagabiye basabye abagaragu babo inka zirenze izo bo basabaga: abari bafite abo bahatse babasabye inka 32.702 mu gihe abagaragu babo basabaga inka 31.858. Uko izo nka zasabwe ku mpande zombi harimo ubusumbane budakabije: 12.938 kuri 79.641²⁵⁸. Hagati y'imyaka ya 1956 na 1958, abagabanye n'inka zagabanywe byagiye byiyongera.

Muri urwo rwego, impinduka zo mu birebana na poritiki zatangiranye n'iteka ry'umwami ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952 ntizageze ku bintu bihambaye; iryo teka ryatumye habaho uguhagararirwa mu nzego ngishwanama ku rwego ruri muni y'intara, mu ntara, muri teritwari no mu rwego rw'Inama Nkuru y'igihugu. Ariko izo nzego zari ziganjemo ibikomerezwa by'Abatutsi bari basanzwe batonye zatumye abari basanzwe barahajwe bakomeza guhezwa, ari Abahutu, ari n'igice kinini cy'Abatutsi. Ntibitangaje ko intangiriro ya manda ya kabiri ya ziriya nteko (mu mwaka wa 1956) yahuriranye n'imyivumbagatanyo mu rwego rwa poritiki.

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1955, umwami n'abagize Inama Nkuru y'igihugu basabaga ko inyandiko ngenderwaho yo mu mwaka wa 1952 ihinduka. Ubwo abami b'u Rwanda n'u Burundi basuraga u Bubirigi (ku matariki 29 na 30 Nzeri 1955) batanze ibibazo byinshi berekana n'ibyagombaga guhinduka ku iteka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952. Umwami w'u Rwanda yerekanye ingingo

²⁵⁷ Ikiganiro cyo ku wa 18 Ugushyamba 2004

²⁵⁸ Bourgeois R., *L'évolution du contrat de bail à cheptel au Ruanda-Urundi*, 1958, pp.36-39

zigera kuri mirongo itatu zari zimaze iminsi zigibwaho impaka mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu yifuza ko zihinduka²⁵⁹.

Ingingo enye ni zo yibanzeho cyane cyane. Ingingo ya mbere yari imibanire y'umwami na Rezida. Rudahigwa yabanje gutanga icyo kibazo agiciye ku ruhande, asaba ko amategeko adasobanutse neza agenga umujyanama we yahinduka. Yagize ati: "Ndifuza mbere na mbere ko umujyanama wange ategukwa na Guverineri wa Ruanda-Urundi wenyine, aho gutegekwa na Rezida w'u Rwanda. Mu by'ukuri, kenshi umujyanama wange hari ibitekerezo atanga bidahuje n'ibyamwe na Rezida, kandi agomba kugira ubwigenge bwo kungira inama zidahuje byanze bikunze n'ibyo Rezida anteguka. Ntashobora rero kurangiza izo nshingano afite ubwigenge bwisanzuye, kandi akuriwe na Rezida, ari na we umutegurira ibyo akora. Ikindi kandi, umujyanama wange agomba gushyikirana na Rezida nk'abantu bareshya. Ni yo mpamvu rero agomba kugira urwego rungana n'urwa komiseri w'Akarere (district). Umukozi nk'uwo yagombye kuba akuriwe na Guverineri wa Ruanda-Urundi, kimwe n'umukuru w'umurimo mu rwego rwa porovensi"²⁶⁰.

Umwami w'u Rwanda ntiyihanganiraga gutegekwa na Rezida. Ikibazo cy'ukuri nuko Rezida yamugiragaho ubutegetsi akoresheje inama amugira cyangwa atambamira ibyifuzo bye. Ni yo mpamvu umwami w'u Rwanda yasabaga ko ubufatanye bwe n'ubuyobozi bwaba ku rwego rwa Guverineri Jenerari: birumvikana ko umwami yasumbaga Rezida n'abandi bo mu buyobozi bari mu nzego ziri munsu ye. Gushyiraho umwami cyangwa kumukuraho byagombaga kureba Visi Guverineri Jenerari, cyangwa se minisitiri, inteko ishingamategeko, ndetse n'umwami w'u Bubiligi. Icyo kifuzo cy'umwami w'u Rwanda cyatewe utwatsi. Yashubijwe atya: "ikifuzo ke ntikemewe kuko ubutegetsi bw'u Burayi bugikeneye kugira ingufu zitavuguruzwa. Kwishitura ku butegetsi bw'u Bubiligi no guha ubutegetsi abanyafurika biracyari kure" (...); icyo kifuzo ntigishobora kwemerwa, kiracyari kure kuko bwaba ari uburyo buziguye bwo kwigenga kandi bugatesha agaciro ubutegetsi buriho. Ibyo byateza ibibazo by'imikoresherezwe y'abakozi b'abanyaburayi n'inzego za tekiniiki za guverinoma"²⁶¹.

Umwami w'u Rwanda yasabye kandi ko Perezida w'Inama Nkuru

²⁵⁹ Direction de la 2^e Direction générale, Note pour Monsieur le Ministre, 25 Octobre 1956

²⁶⁰ A. Van Hoeck au vice Gouverneur général, 16 août 1955.

²⁶¹ Halleux D., Note complémentaire à Mr le Ministre, 15 juin 1956.

y'Igihugu yatorwa na bagenzi be bagize iyo nama. Umwami yari akomeye ku ngingo ivuga ko umwami ari umubyeyi wa bose, atagomba gucengera mu by'ubutegetsi, ko kandi ibyo bintu bigomba gutandukanywa. icyo kifuzo cy'umwami na cyo cyaje kutemerwa ngo bitewe n'uko "abaturage ndetse n'abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bataragera ku rwego ruhagije rwo kumva ibirebana na poritiki". Inzego zishinzwe tekini mu biro bya minisitiri zashoje zigira ziti: " Ntagushidikanya ko muri Ruanda-Urundi hari inkubiri y'ibitekerezo biganisha kuri demokarasi, ko n'abami b'ibyo bihugu na bo bacengewe n'izo mpinduka zikataje mu rwego rwa poritiki igezweho. Kubera izo mpamvu, uwashaka yareka ibyo bitekerezo bikanonosorwa"²⁶². icyumvikanyweho nuko nta cyagombaga guhinduka. "Leta igomba guhora yiteguye guhangana n'ikintu icyo ari cyo cyose kirebana n'imiterere ya poritiki y'igihugu"²⁶³. Visi Guverineri Jenerari yemeye umwanya wo kuba visi Perezida w'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu.

Amatora y'abagize inama za susheferi yatekerejwe n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu: "Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu irifuzaga ko aho gushyiraho ayo matora, abaturage ari bo bahabwa ijamba. Abakozi ba Minisitiri ishinzwe Ubukoroni bagaragarije abo bari kumwe mu nama ko ibintu bizahinduka kubera ko Abahutu ari bo benshi. Iyo ngingo nta cyo yahinduye ku myumvire y'abari muri iyo nama"²⁶⁴. Umwami w'u Rwanda yumvikanishije rwose ko iyo mihindukire itamuteye ubwoba, ko kandi "yifuzaga kwita ku byifuzo by'abaturage"²⁶⁵. Inzobere za minisitiri bari bazi neza ko guhindura ririya tegeko ryo mu mwaka wa 1952 bitihutirwaga, cyanecyane ko ryageze ku byo bifuzaga. "Abatutsi baracyakomeje kugira ijamba ku Bahutu cyane". Abahutu bashoboye kugira ababahagararira kugeza mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Inyandiko mvugo y'impaka zagiye ivuga ko muri rusange ibyifuzo by'Abahutu byashyigikiwe, kandi koko bifite ishingiro"²⁶⁶. Umwami w'u Rwanda yasabaga ko abagize inama bose batorwa n'abaturage nta zindi mpaka. "Hemejwe ko icyo kifuzo kitemerwa, bitewe n'uko abaturage batarasobanukirwa neza ibirebana na poritiki"²⁶⁷. Minisitiri yegamye ku ruhande rwa Visi Guverineri wemezaga ko nta mpamvu yo kwihutisha ibintu"²⁶⁸.

Ikifuzo cya nyuma cyabaye icy'uko umwami ahabwa itsinda

²⁶² 1^{RE} Direction de la 2^e direction générale, note pour monsieur le Ministre, 28 avril 1956

²⁶³ 1^{RE} Direction de la 2^e direction générale, note pour monsieur le Ministre, 25 octobre 1956

²⁶⁴ Paulus J.-P., note pour le ministre, 26 septembre 1955

²⁶⁵ 1^{re} direction de la 2^e direction générale, note pour monsieur le ministre, 28 avril 1956

²⁶⁶ 1^{re} direction de la 2^e direction générale, note pour monsieur le ministre, 28 avril 1956

²⁶⁷ bivugwa na D. Halleux.

²⁶⁸ Buissellet A., lettre au vice-gouverneur général, 30 avril 1956.

rya “za minisitiri zibihugukiwemo zikora akazi nk’ak’abakuru b’imirimo. Abashinzwe u Rwanda na bo ni uko babyemeje. Umwami yagombaga kugira “abajyanama” ariko ntibitwe ba “minisitiri” kuko “igihe kitaragera”²⁶⁹. Ikindi kandi hari impungenge z’uko ibyo bibazo babihindura ibya poritiki²⁷⁰.

Ibyo byifuzo n’ibyo bibazo byabonwaga nk’ikimenyetso cy’ubunambiragihugu byari bitangiye ariko biteruye, kandi bikanerekana ubukana bw’abagize Inama Nkuru y’Igihugu” y’u Rwanda, bikaba n’intangamugabo yuko abaturage bifuzaga impinduka zimbitse²⁷¹. Ibyo ntibyabujije Jean Paul Harroy gufata umwanzuro avuga ko nta myivumbagatanyo ihari kandi bitamubujije kuvuga ko ari “amayeri y’Abatutsi yo guhigika ubutegetsu bw’u Buhirigi buhorobuhoro”, bitwaje “kugabanya ingufu za Rezida no kumvikanisha ko Umwami ategukwa na Visi Guverineri Jenerari, na Guverineri Jenerari, na Minisitiri ushinzwe ibihugu byakoronijwe”²⁷². Ubutegetsu bw’ubukoroni bwemeraga neza ko impinduka ari ngombwa, ko ariko zitagombaga gukorwa ku buryo bwihuse kandi butateguwe kugira ngo abantu batitera ibibazo bitari ngombwa mu birebana na poritiki y’abaturage: “Abatutsi bashobora kwitwaza urwo rwaho bahawe, bakagereka ibibazo byose ku Bahutu”²⁷³. Minisitiri ushinzwe ibihugu byakoronijwe yumvishijwe ko Abanyarwanda bataraca akenye mu birebana na poritiki, mu buyobozi no muri demukarasi kugira ngo babe bashingwa ubuyobozi na Leta yemewe kandi ifite akamaro mu rwego rwa poritiki, urwa tekini n’urw’ubukungu. Ni yo mpamvu guha Abanyafurika ubutegetsu byagombaga gukorwa buhoro buhoro. Abakoroni bari bafite ingingo. Kugira ngo intumbero y’impinduka yasabwaga igerweho, byari ngombwa ko byose bisubirwamo, atari utuntu duto gusa²⁷⁴. Nyamara abari bararagijwe u Rwanda bumvaga bagikenewe.

Izi ngero nkeya zishyizwe ahagaragara zirerekana ukwivuguruza kwagiye kuranga imiyoborere y’Abakoroni b’Ababirigi. Mu birebana u Rwanda, umuntu yavugaga ko nta bushake bwari buhari, kuko impinduka nyinshi zategetswe na Loni, ariko kuzishyira mu bikorwa bikagenda biguru ntege.

Mu gihe abanyabwenge b’u Rwanda botsaga igitutu abakoroni,

²⁶⁹ Buissellet A., lettre au vice-gouverneur général, 12 novembre 1955.

²⁷⁰ Halleux D., note complémentaire à Mr le ministre, 15 juin 1956.

²⁷¹ Van Hoeck A., Lettre au vice-gouverneur général, 16 août 1955.

²⁷² Harroy J.-P., Lettre au ministre des colonies, décembre 1955

²⁷³ Idem

²⁷⁴ 1^{re} Direction de la 2^e direction générale, note pour Monsieur le Ministre, 21 Janvier 1958

bifuza ko hahinduka byinshi mu mibereho y'abaturage, muri poritiki no mu bukungu, abakoronu bo bibwiraga ko bagifite igihe gihagije cyo gutegurira u Rwanda kwiyobora no kubona ubwigenge. Van Bilsen we yumvaga yagera imyaka mirongo itatu ibihugu byakoronijwe n'u Bubirigi kugira ngo bibone ubwigenge²⁷⁵. Ni yo mpamvu impinduka zakurikiyeho kuva mu mwaka wa 1956 zatunguye abari bararagijwe u Rwanda.

Ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika n'u Bubirigi byari magara ntunsige. Kuri bamwe mu bayobozi ba Kiriziya gatorika, kubona abaturage bakoronijwe barasabaga gutera imbere mu birebana na poritiki, byari uburenganzira budasubirwaho. Abepisikopi ba Kongo na Ruanda-Urundi, nyuma y'inama yabo isanzwe yabereye i Léopoldville kuva ku wa 21 Kamena kugera ku wa 1 Nyakanga 1956, batsindagiye ubwo burenganzira bw'uko ibihugu byakoronijwe bigira uruhare mu miyoborere y'ibintu byabo, ko kandi inyungu z'abaturage babyo zikwiye gushyirwa imbere. Nyuma y'imyaka itatu, abepisikopi ba Ruanda-Urundi bashimangiye iyo ngingo bavuga ko Kiriziya ishyigikira "ibyifuzo bya rubanda bihujwe n'uburenganzira bwabo, igihe rusaba ko ubwo burenganzira bwubahirizwa, rukagira agaciro karwo nk'abantu na bene igihugu, kandi batagishaka urubumbambaga rushingiye ku butoneshwe"²⁷⁶.

Ariko kugira ngo ibyo bigerweho, bariya bayobozi ba Kiriziya hari inzira zimwe bemeraga n'izindi bahakanaga. Bityo bakemeza ko impinduka zagombaga gukorwa buhorobuhoro. Uretse n'ibyo kandi, ngo abaturage bateye iyo ntambwe bagombaga kubishimira u Burayi. Abepisikopi ba Ruanda-Urundi basubiyemo ibyo bitekerezo mu ibaruwa yabo rusange yo mu mwaka wa 1957 bagira bati: "Bene igihugu baragenda barushaho gusaba ko mu gucunga ibintu byabo bagira uruhare rwisumbuye. Ntidushobora kurota tubanengera ko bashakira kugira imyanya yisumbuye mu buyobozi bw'igihugu. Cyakora ibyo ntibishatse kuvuga ko Kiriziya yifuza ibisubizo bihutiweho kimwe n'amashyamba amwe yifuza kwifashisha imyivumbagatanyo yaturuka muri ibyo bitekerezo, ikabona urwaho rwo gukandamiza abaturage, ikabasubiza mu gisa n'ubuja"²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁵ Van Bilsen, vers l'indépendance du Congo-Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, Bruxelles, 1958, p.164

²⁷⁶ Lettre pastorale des ordinaires du Ruanda-Urundi, 25 août 1959

²⁷⁷ Lettre pastorale des ordinaires du Ruanda-Urundi, avril 1957.

Abepisikopi ba Ruanda-Urundi basabye uburenganzira bwo “kugira ijambo mu gihe imiyoborere cyangwa imyifatire imwe n’imwe yaba inyuranye n’iyobokamana cyangwa umuco wa gikirisitu”. Abepisikopi ntibahishaga impungenge zabo zo kubona igikorwa cya Kiriziya gatorika gihigikwa n’inzego cyangwa amategeko anyuraniye n’ubukirisitu²⁷⁸. Mu mwanya turerekana ukuntu bashyize mu bikorwa ubwo burenganzira.

b. Inzego nshya z’imibereho myiza y’abaturage

➤ Uburezi kuva Intambara ya Kabiri y’Isi irangiye kugera ku bwigenge

Nyuma y’intambara habaye iyunguranabitekerezo ku byerekeye umurongo uburezi bwagombaga guhabwa, n’ibitekerezo bishya byagombaga kubuminjiramo. Ibibazo by’amashuri byagirwagaho impaka mu ruhamu²⁷⁹. Amategeko yo mu mwaka wa 1948 yavugaga ko uburezi bugomba gutegurira umwenehugu wo muri rubanda rugufi kurwana ku nyungu ze n’iz’abo baturanye, akigisha kandi agateza imbere abantu bashobora gufasha abaturage. Ubwo burezi bufite akamaro kandi bushinze imizi aho abantu batuye, bugatsindagira ubushobozi buri karere gafite bwo kuzamura ubukungu bw’abahinzi. Uburezi bwo mu rwego rwo hejuru bwagombaga guhabwa abasore, ariko batari benshi kuko bagombaga kujonjorwa hakoreshejwe ibizamini bitoroshye, bakaba barateganyirizwaga kwigisha abaturage, tutibagiwe n’igitsina gore cyagombaga gutegurirwa kubahiriza inshingano z’abari n’abategarugori.

Imfashanyo zagenerwaga za vikariyati n’imiryango y’abihayimana zagendanaga n’imirimo izo nzego zifite. Ibigenderwaho kugira ngo izo mfashanyo zitangwe byaranonosowe: kugira ibikoresho bya ngombwa, abakozi bujuje ibyangombwa, ubwitange, umubare w’abanyeshuri utari muni y’utegetswe, ururimi rwa kavukire n’ururimi rw’u Bubirigi, gushyiraho umurimo w’amaboko wa buri muni, kugira porogamu zemewe, amanota abanyeshuri babonye, kwemera abagenzuzi ba Leta (ab’amashuri, abayobozi n’abaganga). Ku bugenzuzi hiyongereyeho umumisiyoneri ushinze iby’amashuri (ugomba kuba ari umubirigi) n’abagenzuzi ba Leta. Minisitiri Godding wo mu Ishyamba Riharanira Ukwishyira Ukizana yaharaniye ko na misiyoni z’abaporotesitanti zitemewe

²⁷⁸ Lettre collective des vicaires apostoliques du Ruanda-Urundi, 25 aout 1959.

²⁷⁹ reba mu binyamakuru nka *Kinyamateka*, *l’Ami*, *Kurerer’Imana*, *Hobe*, *Servir*.

mu rwego rw'igihugu zahabwa imfashanyo ariko hakurikijwe ibintu bimwe na bimwe : abakuru b'amashuri bagombaga kumara umwaka mu Bubirigi bakurikira amasomo arebana no kwigisha, ay'ibirebana n'ubukoroni n'ay'igifaransa)²⁸⁰.

Dore imiryango y'abihayimana n'ibigo bya Ruanda-Urundi byahabwaga imfashanyo mbere y'umwaka wa 1948: Abapadiri Bera, Ababikira Bera, Ababikira b'Ababerinaridina, Ababikira ba Mutagatifu Farasisiko w'Asizi (batangiye bitwa Abapenitanti), Ababikira ba Mutagatifu Agusitini, Ababikira ba Mariya na Sosiyete mbirigi ya za Misiyoni z'abaporotesitanti. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1948 hiyongereyeho: Misiyoni y'Ababatisita ikomoka muri Danemariki, Church Missionary Society, Abametodisiti, Misiyoni yigenga ikomoka muri Suwedi, na Friends African Gospel Mission.

Intumwa za Loni, muri raporo z'inzinduko zakoze, ntizashyigikiye ko uburezi bugira ishusho ishingiye ku madini: igihe cyose, mu nama zatangaga, izo ntumwa zavugaga ko "mu guha imfashanyo amashuri yigenga, Leta igomba kuzirikana ko kwigisha idini nta gahato kagomba kubamo, ahubwo biva ku bushake bwa buri shuri". Intumwa za Loni zari zishyigikiye ko amashuri menshi ya Leta atagomba kugira aho abogamiye, kandi amashuri y'ubwarimu akaba menshi.

Igishya cyazanywe n'amabwiriza yo mu mwaka wa 1948 nuko mu mashuri y'abahungu abanza habamo ibyiciro bibiri: ikiciro cya mbere kigisha abana benshi, n'ikiciro cya kabiri cy'abatoranijwe bazavamo abayobozi bo mu gihe kizaza. icyo kiciro cya kabiri cyagombaga kumenyerezwa imyuga isanzwe mu gihugu, kandi kikaganisha uburezi mu bintu bifatika. Igitekerezo k'ingenzi cy'abakoroni cyari uko umwana wese babaga batizewe ko afite ubushobozi yagombaga kwiga gusa ubuhinzi n'imyuga. Ubwo kandi bwari uburyo bwo guha umwanya uburezi bwo mu rwego ruhanitse.

Amashuri makuru arimo ikiciro kiringaniye k'imyaka 4 kigenewe kwigisha abazakora mu biro, n'abarimu bo mu kiciro cya mbere n'icya kabiri by'amashuri abanza, hakaba n'ikiciro k'imyaka 6 giha abakigezemo ubumenyi rusange bubahesha imirimo yo mu rwego rwo hejuru ishimishije kurushaho kandi

²⁸⁰ Abayobozi b'amashuri bagombaga kujya mu Bubirigi bakahamara umwaka biga inde-rabarezi, iby'ubukoroni, n'igifaransa.

abagiciyemo bakagira amahirwe yo gutoranywamo abaziga amashuri yo mu rwego rwa Kaminuza. Muri ibyo byiciro harimo amashuri makuru yihariye (igice cya mbere k'imyaka itatu yigisha ibijyanye n'ubumenyi n'igice cya kabiri k'imyaka itatu gitegurira abagiciyemo imirimo isaba ubumenyi bujyanye n'ibyo bakora), hakaba n'amashuri yisumbuye atanga ubumenyi rusange, nk'ikiratini n'andi masomo atuma abayize bajya muri Kaminuza.

Amashuri ya tekini n'afite imirimo ategurira abayize yarebwaga nk'afite umwanya w'ibanze. Mu by'ukuri aza nyuma y'ayandi kubera impamvu zikurikira: abashinzwe amashuri usanga kenshi batumva ibirebana na tekini, abanyeshuri usanga bene iyo mirimo itabashimishije bakihitiramo inyigisho zisanzwe, ugakubitiraho ko na kenshi umutekinisiye ahembwa amafaranga make kurusha umukozi wo mu biro. Gahunda y'imyaka icumi yateganyaga amashuri abiri ategurira abanyeshuri imirimo bazakora.

Ayo mashuri yagombaga kuba i Bujumbura n'i Kigali. Ishuri ryitiriwe Léon Classe ry'i Kigali ry'imyaka ine ryigishaga ubudozi n'ububaji, n'ishuri ry'imyuga ry'i Nyanza ni byo bigo bya mbere byigishije imyuga ku buryo bugaragara. Inyubako y'ishuri ry'imyuga rigezweho ry'i Kigali yatangiye ku Kicukiro.

Gahunda yo mu mwaka wa 1948 yateganyaga ko kuva mwaka wa kabiri w'amashuri abanza, abahungu n'abakobwa bazagira imyigire itandukanye. Abakobwa barangije amashuri abanza bateganyirizwaga amasomo azabafasha gutunganya neza imirimo yo mu rugo. Mu rwego rwo hejuru na none hateganywaga amashuri y'imyuga, akabanzirizwa n'umwaka umwe wo gutegura abazayigamo, kandi hagakorwa ikizamini nyuma y'amashuri abanza. Abarangije uwa gatandatu n'uwa karindwi bashoboraga kujya mu mashuri y'ubwarimukazi. Iruhande rw'amashuri abanza, abana b'abakobwa bakuze, nyuma y'umwaka wa kane n'uwa gatanu, bateganyirizwaga amasomo ajyanye n'imirimo yo mu rugo, hagateganywa n'andi masomo nk'ayo agenewe abagore basheshe akanguhe bifuza kuzuzwa amasomo y'ibanze batarangije. Amasomo yose y'abakobwa yaganishaga ku bintu bifatika.

Impinduramatwara yo mu mwaka wa 1948 ntiyateganyirizaga abakobwa amasomo yuzuye nk'ay'abahungu. Dore impamvu batangaga: "Kuba abakobwa b'abirabura bafite ubukererwe mu myumvire bibabuza guteganyirizwa porogaramu y'amashuri nk'imaze gukorerwa abahungu. Rero igishishikaje ubungubu (...) nuko amashuri y'abakobwa agira gahunda y'amasomo ibafasha kwitegura imirimo yabo y'abagore n'ababyeyi; ibyo kandi bakabifatanya no kwigisha umuco abakobwa, cyanecyane barwanya ibitekerezo n'imyumvire bibangamiye amajyambere kandi bikiganje mu baturage; bityo bagashinga ingo zakira inyigisho zacu zibacengezamo amatwara ya kijyambere"²⁸¹. Gahunda y'imyaka icumi yerekanye ukuntu uburere bw'igitsina gore bwadindiye, bikaba ari n'inzitizi ikomeye.

Impinduramatwara yo mu mwaka wa 1948 yahuriranye n'uburere bw'abana b'abazungu mu bigo bifite porogaramu mbirigi (ibigo birimo abana badahuje uruhu). Ibigo byabanje, byaba ibya Leta cyangwa iby'abantu ku giti cyabo, byashingwaga mu migi, bikayoborwa n'Ababirigi kandi bigakurikira porogaramu mbirigi. Byari bigenewe mbere na mbere abanyeshuri b'abanyaburayi, ariko babyemereragamo n'abana b'Abanyarwanda cyangwa b'abanyaziya babaga bemejwe ko babikwiye bahereye ku mabwiriza yagengaga ubuganga n'uburezi, kandi bakaba bujuje ibya ngombwa bisabwa abanyaburayi. Ibirebana n'ubukungu ni byo byakemuraga byose. Kudahuza uruhu n'inkomoko ntibyahabwaga agaciro cyane.

Amashuri yari afite porogaramu mbirigi ni yo abaturage bafataga nk'intangarugero. Abaturage bose bifuzaga ko abana babo barerwa nk'ab'abazungu. Ibyo byatumye muri Kongo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi haduka imyumvire ituma bafata porogaramu y'u Bubirigi. Abasirimu barwanyaga abashakaga gushyiraho porogaramu y'uburezi nyafurika kandi buhuje n'imibereho nyafurika kuko bakekaga ko abakoroni bashakaga kubagumisha mu ntera iri munsu y'iyabo, bagashyiraho za diporomu ziri munsu y'iz'i Burayi, bityo bagatuma batagera vuba ku majyambere agezeweho. Ni gutyo abanyafurika bifuje kohereza abana babo kwiga i Burayi no muri Amerika. Ibyo byagendanaga no kurwanya abazungu bashakaga guhindura umuco w'abanyafurika.

²⁸¹ Van Hove J., 1983, *op. cit.*, p.159

Abakoroni b'Ababirigi bitaye cyane ku kwigisha rubanda. Ariko ibirebana no guha bene igihugu abantu bazi ubwenge babigenzemo buhoro. Kwemera guha u Rwanda amashuri makuru yo mu rwego rwa Kaminuza byafashe igihe kirekire. Igihe cyo kubyemera kigeze, Abongereza bo bari bamaze imyaka 30 y'ubunararibonye mu gushinga no gucunga za Kaminuza nyafurika zigezweho. Abakoroni b'Ababirigi bagize ugushidikanya hagati yo kohereza abanyeshuri mu Bubirigi, gushinga ishuri rimwe kandi ridafite aho ribogamiye, no gushinga ayo mashuri amadini. Inzitizi zaturutse ku mashyari ashingiye kuri poritiki yo mu gihugu hagati y'abapadiri n'abadafiti aho babogamiye, hagati y'Abafurama n'Abawaro, no hagati ya za Kaminuza zo mu Bubirigi. Kaminuza ya Lovanium y'i Kinshasa yatangiye mu mwaka wa 1954 yari iteganyirijwe gushingwa i Kisantu. Kugira ngo bacubye ubwiganze bw'abagatorika, hemejwe ko hashingwa indi Kaminuza idafite aho ibogamiye (bakurikije imiterere ya Kaminuza yigenga y'i Buruseri). Iyo ni "Kaminuza ya Leta ya Kongo na Ruanda-Urundi" yashinzwe Elisabethville (Lubumbashi). Iyo Kaminuza yagombaga kwegurirwa Ruanda-Urundi, ariko u Bubirigi ntibwemera kuyishingira mu ngengo y'imari yayo. Iyo Kaminuza yabayeho icumbagira igihe kirekire bitewe no kubura abanyeshuri, hagakubitiraho n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku ngengabitekerezo zituruka mu Bubirigi.

Mu Rwanda, mu ntera ya mbere umwami yari yishimiye ko abanyeshuri ba Kaminuza bishyurirwa. Mu mwaka wa 1957 hari abanyeshuri 117 bari mu mahanga. Kiriziya gatorika yari imaze igihe yarafashe akamenyero ko kohereza mu mashuri hanze abapadiri n'abandi bihayimana. Ibyo byatumye abakoroni batera icyuho mu burere bw'abasiviri bari gufasha igihugu mu rwego rwo hejuru igihe byari bikenewe cyane.

Ku rwego rw'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye, mu gihe u Rwanda rwari indagizo ibyo byiciro byariyongereye cyane: hagati ya 1949 na 1960, umubare w'abanyeshuri bo mu mashuri abanza wavuye ku bihumbi ijana na cumi na bibiri ugera ku bihumbi magana abiri na mirongo itandatu na bitanu, muri bo mirongo itatu n'umwe ku ijana bakaba abakobwa. Ku rwego rw'amashuri yisumbuye ni ho umubare wiyongereye cyane. Hakurikijwe gahunda y'imyaka icumi, hongerewe amashuri y'ubwarimu²⁸². Mu rwego rw'amashuri afite imirimo ategurira

²⁸² Cyanecyane abahungu mu Byimana, i Save, i Butare, mu Ruhengeri, ku Gisenyi, i Nyamasheke, iShyogwe, no ku bakobwa: i Muramba, mu Byimana, i Kigali

abayiga n'ay'imyuga, hashinzwe ibigo bigera ku icumi kuva mu mwaka wa 1948. Amashuri yisumbuye yateye imbere cyane ubwo hafungurwaga ibigo bya Koreji bikomeye (Bujumbura, Gisenyi, Nyanza, Kigali). Mu rwego rwisumbuyeho, mu mwaka wa 1955 hafunguwe ikiciro kibanziriza Kaminuza, abakirangije bakajya muri za Kaminuza zo muri Kongo. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1957 kugera mu wa 1959 i Butare hari ikiciro cya Kaminuza kigisha ubuhinzi n'ibirebana n'ibinyabuzima. Havuzwe cyane ko kuva mu mwaka wa 1950 hari gushingwa Kaminuza, ariko uwo mushinga wakomwe mu nkokora n'abakoroni, ntiwigeze utangira.

Mu Kuboza kwa 1954 minisitiri ishinzwe ibihugu byakoronijwe yashyize ahagaragara raporo ishyushye yise "Impinduka y'uburezi muri Kongo mbirigi". Abanditse iyo raporo (Coulon, Deheyn na Renson) bari boherejwe na Minisitiri wo mu Ishyamba ry'Ukwishyira Ukizana kwa Rubanda, A. Buisseret, bashinzwe kumwereka uko uburezi bwatangijwe n'abakoroni bwifashe. Guverinoma mbirigi nshya igizwe na ririya shyamba n'irindi ry'abasosiyarisiti ntiyashimishijwe n'amategeko agenga uburezi yari yarashyizweho n'abapadiri.

Raporo Coulon ntirwanya gusa ibyagezweho, ahubwo irananenga uko ayo mashuri ahagaze. Iyo raporo ivuga ko uburezi butangwa na za misiyoni buhendutse, ko ariko ari uburezi bwa nyirarureshwa kandi butangwa n'abatabifitiye ubushobozi. Misiyoni zadindije inyigisho y'igifaransa no kugikoresha mu mashuri abanza kandi abaturage baragishakaga, uko kudindira kugaterwa n'abamisiyoneri b'abafurama batinyaga ko ururimi rw'igifaransa rwatuma ibintu bihinduka, bityo abakoronijwe bakihungura ivu, bakabona uko bashyikirana n'abari hanze y'u Rwanda. Abari bashinzwe kugenzura iby'imyigishirize yari yahawe inshingano yo gushyiraho vuba na bwangu kandi ahantu hose amashuri adafite aho abogamiye, naho abategetsibo hejuru n'abamisiyoneri baba batabishaka.

Minisitiri yumvaga yagira vuba, agashinga amashuri manini ya Leta n'adafite aho abogamiye. Iriya komisiyo yari yegeranije amabaruwa y'abashefu n'abasirimu b'abanyafurika basabaga ko hatangizwa amashuri adafite aho abogamiye; amabaruwa amwe yari agamije kwipakurura ubuhake bwa za misiyoni.

Abamisiyoneri babyakiranye ubukana, barakaye cyane²⁸³.

²⁸³ R.P. Brys, 1956, p.129

Umupadiri umwe yemeje ko ku mwirabura wabatijwe kutagira aho abogamiye bidashobora kumvikana. Mu nyandiko zari zigenewe abasirimu, icyo kibazo cyagiweho impaka zikaze zigira ziti: “Icyo dukwiye gutinya kurusha ibindi, si ukwinjira mu buzima udafite ubwenge buhagije, ahubwo ibyago bikomeye ni ukutagira umuco”²⁸⁴. Ibaruwa yanditswe na Musenyeri Deprimoz afatanije na Musenyeri Bigirumwami mu Kuboza 1954 iraburira Abanyarwanda ibamenyesha “ ibyago byototera uburezi bwo mu Rwanda”. Baragira bati: “Icyaruta ni ukugira amashuri make, wenda atari meza, aho kugira ngo abaturage bacu bahitanwe n’icyorezo cyo kutita ku iyobokamana no kwicamo ibice”. Ariko hariho n’abasirimu bari bashyigikiye igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho amashuri adafite aho abogamiye, babitewe no gushaka kwipakurura ubuhake bw’abamisiyoneri.

Muri Nyakanga 1954, komite ihoraho y’abasenyeri ba Kongo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi bashyize ku mugaragaro inyandiko isobanura ikifuzo cya Kiriziya gatorika: “Umunyafurika muri kamere ye akeneye iyobokamana. Kuvanaho imyemerere ye idahwitse utayisimbuje imyemerere y’ukuri, ni ugushyira abanyafurika mu kajagari, umunsi umwe bagasanga bagabijwe abakomunisiti. Uburere bavuga ko nta ho bubogamiye ntibwubahiriza imiterere y’umunyafurika, ahubwo buranayirwanya”. Abepisikopi bisobanuye bongeraho ko “nibiba ngombwa batazazuyaza mu gukora ibishoboka byose kugira ngo barwane ku burere bwa gikirisitu bw’abaturage b’Afurika mbirigi no ku nyungu zabo z’ikirenga”²⁸⁵. Berekanaga ingaruka zitagira uko zingana iyo ntambara y’amashuri ibangamiye amahoro rusange yakurura.

Mu kurwanya amashuri ya Leta, inyandiko z’abamisiyoneri zerekanaga ubukene buri mu mashuri; bashakaga kumvisha abazisoma ko mu gihe amashuri yugarijwe n’ubukene kandi abaturage nta bushobozi bafite bwo kuburwanya, bidakwiye gushinga ibyo bigo bidafite aho bibogamiye kandi bihenze cyane kurusha iby’abamisiyoneri.

Ikibazo cy’amashuri ya Leta cyajyanywe mu Nama Nkuru z’u Rwanda n’u Burundi. Inama Nkuru z’ibihugu byombi byarwanyije ikemezo cyo gushinga amashuri ya Leta kubera ko ingaruka

²⁸⁴ *Grands Lacs*, no 175, 1954

²⁸⁵ Reba «La question de l’enseignement en Afrique belge», in *Revue du Clergé africain*, novembre 1954, pp.632-638.

iyo ntambara y'amashuri yagira ku mahoro rusange zitagira umubare. Mu Rwanda, abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu 19 batoye ko amashuri atagira aho abogamiye atajyaho, 3 barayemeza, naho 5 barifata. Nubwo umubare munini wayahakanye, ayo mashuri adafite aho abogamiye yaje gushingwa i Bujumbura; ku ruhande rw'ubutegetsi, Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yashoboraga kugishwa inama, ariko u Bubirigi nta tegeko bwari bufite ryo kwita ku byifuzo byayo. icyo kemezo cyatumye abari aho bagwa mu kantu.

Mu mwaka wa 1958 hasohotse indi raporo yiswe "Ikibazo cy'uburezi muri Ruanda-Urundi". Iyo raporo yanditswe n'abaporofeseri batatu bo muri Kaminuza ya Liège (Madamu Dubuisson-Brouha, Bwana E. Natalis na J. Paulus), babisabwe na Visi Guverineri Jenerari, J.-P. Harroy washakaga gukemura ikibazo cy'umubare munini w'abasore barangizaga amashuri ntibabone akazi bifuza kandi kabahemba neza. Ku bwe amashuri ntiyari yarageze ku ntego yayo, yari yarabuze byose: ntiyareraga abantu bazaba mu cyaro cyangwa ngo arere abanyabwenge bakwiye koko iryo zina.

Raporo yashimye ukwihata kwabaye, ariko inanenga kuba barahisemo kuzana mu nyigisho porogaramu z'u Bubirigi. Nyuma yatinze ku buryo habaho imyigishirize ikwiranye n'Afurika, itarenganyije rubanda cyangwa ngo ihutaze abanyabwenge. Mu by'ukuri yari igamije gukosora ikerekezo cyafashwe cyo guterura porogaramu y'u Bubirigi bakayiterekana muri Afurika. Mu kiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri abanza, uburezi bwagombaga kwibanda ku bidukikije kugira ngo babihuze n'ubuzima bwa buri munsu (guha agaciro imirimo y'amaboko). Mu kiciro cya kabiri cy'amashuri abanza, iriya raporo yasabye ko bareka gutandukanya ikiciro gisanzwe n'ikiciro kijonjorwamo abazakomeza.

Mu mwaka wa gatandatu ubanziriza amashuri yisumbuye, hari hakwiye kwemerwa umubare muto w'abanyeshuri hashingiwe ku bushobozi bwabo. Abanyeshuri bajya mu mashuri y'ubwarimu bagombye kujonjorwa ku buryo bwitaweho cyane. Iriya raporo yashimye uburere butangwa mu bigo bitegura abanyeshuri bateganyirizwa imirimo bazakora. Yasabye gushyiraho ibitabo n'ibikoresho bijyanye n'ubuzima bwa kinyafurika, kandi abarimu b'abanyaburayi bakigishwa imibereho n'imiterere y'abo bagomba kwigisha. Abaje muri buriya butumwa banenze ishingwa rya za Kaminuza kuko babonaga hakiri kare, ahubwo

bagahitamo ko abanyafurika barihirirwa za Kaminuza zo hanze. Batsindagiye uburere bw'igitsina gore gisa naho kitarebwa n'uburezi kandi kikishyiramo ko nta cyo gishoboye. Iyo raporo yaranzwe n'umutima wa gikoroni, nta cyo yagezeho gifatika kandi nta n'icyo yahinduye kuri poritiki y'uburezi. Kuva mu mwaka wa 1958, muri rubanda hari higanje impaka za poritiki y'uburezi. Igihe iriya komisiyo yasabaga ko uburezi bwaba ubunyafurika, yavuguruzanyaga n'abaturage basabaga ko uburezi bwagendera kuri porogaramu y'u Bubirigi.

Mu myaka yabanjirije ubwigenge, uburezi bwakuruye impaka nyinshi kandi zishyushye. Mu gihe biteguraga intumwa zihoraho za Loni, abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bashyize ahagaragara inyandiko bise icyo "gushyira ibintu ku murongo". Bifuzaga ko uburezi bwa Leta mu mashuri makuru no muri Kaminuza bwakwihutishwa. Manifeste y'Abahutu yo ku wa 24 Werurwe 1957 yamaganye ukuntu Abahutu bahawe akato, yemeza ko ibigo by'amashuri makuru bihagije, ndetse ko mu Rwanda kaminuza atari ngombwa. Iyo manifeste yemezaga ko hakwiye gutezwa imbere amashuri y'imyuga, ategurira abanyeshuri imirimo bazakora ay'ubumenyi ngiro, na za fuwaye zigenewe abakobwa n'abategarugori²⁸⁶. Runari yasabaga ko amasezerano arebana n'amashuri yakozwe hagati ya Leta na za misiyoni yasubirwamo ku buryo bwihutirwa kugira ngo igihugu kigire uruhare runini mu gutunganya amashuri no kuyayobora, hagashyirwaho porogaramu nyarwanda ifite agaciro nk'ak'iy'u Bubirigi, Kaminuza y'Asitirida igashyirwamo amashuri yose kandi indangagaciro z'umuco w'u Rwanda zigatezwa imbere. Abepisikopi gatorika bamaganye uwo murongo wa Runari bavuga ko wegereye ibitekerezo bya gisosiyarisiti, bya gikomunisiti n'ibya gisiramu, kandi Runari igashaka kuvana za misiyoni mu mashuri, bityo ikinjiza urubyiruko mu kintu gisa n'urubyiruko rw'ishyaka rya Runari²⁸⁷.

Parmehutu yo, muri Manifeste yayo yo ku wa 18 Ukwakira 1959, ivuga ko mu burezi hagomba kubamo demukarasi: gukwiza kuri bose porogaramu y'uburezi bw'amashuri abanza, abana bose bari hagati y'imyaka 7 na 15 bakiga kandi bakiga baturuka muri kirometero ziri muni y'esheshatu, hagashingwa amashuri y'imyuga y'imyaka ibiri, kandi mu mashuri hakaba iringaniza ry'amoko, "ifishi y'umunyeshuri ikandikwaho ubwoko bwe

²⁸⁶ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, pp.20-29 ; Mgr Bigirumwami, in *Témoignage chrétien* du 6 septembre 1958 ; Cyimana G., in *Rwanda politique, op. cit.*, p.63.

²⁸⁷ Circulaire du 24 septembre 1959.

(hutu, tutsi, twa) kugira ngo abarwanya isumbanyamoko mu burezi babibonere ikimenyetso”. Ishyaka rya Rader ryifuzaga ko kwiga amashuri abanza biba itegeko ku bana bose kandi bakiga ku buntu, naho amashuri yisumbuye na Kaminuza bakabirihirirwa.

Mu gihe cy’ubukoroni bw’Ababirigi, uburezi bwahariwe abamisiyoneri n’imiryango y’abihayimana. Iyo mikorere yatumaga ubutegetsu bwongera amashuri nta mafaranga menshi butanze, bukagira ikizere ko umuco uzubahirizwa, imyemerere ya gakondo igasimbuzwa iyobokamana rishya, bityo imiterere y’amashuri y’igihugu gikoroniye igasa n’iy’ay’ikigikoroniye. Kiriziya gatorika yashakaga kwiharira uburezi, igafungiranira Leta mu gutanga imfashanyo kandi igakumira abakeba bayo b’abaporotesitanti. Igikorwa cya ba minisitiri bo mu Ishyaka rihararira Ukwishyira ukizana kwa Rubanda (Godding na Buisseret) nticyageze ku bintu bihambaye. Mu mwaka wa 1961, Leta y’u Rwanda yarazwe imiterere isa n’iy’igipadiri; muri rusange amashuri yari mu maboko y’amadini kandi abayobozi b’igihugu bose bari barahawe uburere bwa gikirisitu bwimbitse. Kiriziya (gatorika) yikubiye byose ku buryo bwatesheje agaciro intumbero yayo, kuko uko kwikubira byose kwabangamiye ubutabera, umutima nama w’Abanyarwanda n’ubwigenge bw’ababyeyi.

Mu marembera y’ubukoroni, ikibazo cyari gihangayikishije ni icy’urubyiruko rw’u Rwanda rwarangije amashuri abanza rwifuzaga kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye ndetse no muri Kaminuza, ariko ibyo byifuzo bikaza kuyoyoka. icyabonekaga ni ikifuzo cyo kwigisha abantu benshi, ariko mu myumvire ugasanga intumbero yaragumye ku rwego rwo kwigisha agatsiko k’indobanure.

➤ **Ikibazo cya ba evoluwe**

Uburezi bwo mu mashuri bwabyaye igice gito cy’abaturage bazwi ku izina rya “evoluwe” cyangwa abirabura bateye imbere. Uwo bitaga “evoluwe” yabaga ari umuntu wujuje ibintu bimwe na bimwe: gutura mu nsisiro, kuba atakigendera ku muco wa kinyarwanda, kuba afite umugore umwe kandi wemera imyitwarire ya gikoroni. Ikindi kimenyetso kwari ukuba umuntu yarize amashuri yisumbuye akitandukanya n’abaturage basanzwe cyangwa kuba afite ubundi buhanga bwa tekiniki. Umuntu “evoluwe” atandukana na rubanda rw’abaturage basanzwe iyo akora umwuga wa kizungu nko kuba umukarani

mu butegetsi bwa Leta cyangwa mu bigo byigenga, cyangwa akaba ari mu rwego rw'abakorera imishahara iri mu rwego rwisumbuye. Iyo yabaga yujuje ibyo byose yabaga akenshi afite umushahara utubutse kurusha umutungo w'umuturage utarize.

Umukozi wa Leta w'umukoroni n'umumisiyoneri w'umuvaburayi babaga bose bakeneye abakozi b'Abanyarwanda babafasha mu mirimo y'abo bamisiyoneri bakoraga mu bintu bitandukanye. Buri wese yitoranirizaga bene abo bakozi akurikije ubushobozi bwabo mu rwego rw'imirimo akoramo. Byatumye ibishingirwaho mu kwita uyu n'uyu "evoluwe" bihindagurika bitewe na buri mukoroni na buri misiyoneri.

Ni muri urwo rwego, ku bw'umumisiyoneri, "evoluwe" yagombaga kuba mbere na mbere umuntu w'umukirisitu. Naho ku mukozi w'umukoroni, "evoluwe" yagombaga kuba ari umukarani witanga muri byose, wubaha cyane kandi ufite ubushobozi bwo gukora. Naho ku bwa adiminisitarateri wa teritwari, umukozi uzi gukoresha abandi na we yashyirwaga mu rwego rwa "evoluwe" kuko yatangaga umusaruro mwinshi mu byo gukoresha ku gahato. Ikindi nuko kubasha gukoresha ururimi rw'umukoroni no kugerageza kwambara nka we byari ikimenyetso, ku muturage usanzwe, kerekana ba "evoluwe"²⁸⁸. Abantu bitwaga ba "evoluwe" bari bararenze urwego rwo kuba abanyamusozi: bari mu rwego rwihariye: urw'aba "evoluwe".

Nubwo ariko bari muri urwo rwego, ba "evoluwe" ntabwo bari bafite ubwisanzure busesuye, urwo rwego barimo ntirwababuzaga gukorerwa ivangura mu butegetsi bwa gikoroni. Bashoboraga gufatwa no gufungwa nta mpamvu. Hari amangazini, resitora n'ahandi hantu rusange abo ba "evoluwe" batashoboraga kujyamo kuko ari abirabura. Ba "evoluwe" bonyine bafite ikarita y'imyitwarire ya kizungu ni bo batahezwaga aho hantu.

➤ **Iteka ryo ku wa 17 Gicurasi 1952 ryemerera abantu gufatwa kizungu**

Iteka ryo kuwa 17 Gicurasi 1952 rirebana n'uburenganzira bwo kuba umunyekongo yashyirwa mu rwego rwa kizungu ryubahirijwe muri Ruanda-Urundi n'itegeko teka ryo muri

²⁸⁸ Ndikumana I., *Les Evolués et l'évolution socio-politique du Rwanda (1945-1959)*, Mémoire de Licence, UNR, Butare, 2000

Ruanda-Urundi no 11/123 ryo ku wa 10 Nzeri 1952²⁸⁹. Ubwo burenganzira bwo gufatwa kizungu bwavugwaga n'ubutegetsu mbirigi muri aya magambo: "gufatwa kizungu ni urwego rutuma Abanyekongo bamwe na bamwe bashobora gufatwa nk'umuzungu ku bijyanye n'imibereho bakagengwa n'amategeko ya gisiviri agenga abazungu²⁹⁰. Ugiye muri urwo rwego ava mu rwego rw'abaturage basanzwe. Uwageze muri urwo rwego yagengwaga n'amategeko agenga abazungu kandi akagira uburenganzira bungana n'ubwabo. Ariko ntiyabonaga ubwengehugu bw'Ababirigi. Kugira ngo umuntu ashobore kujya muri urwo rwego, yagombaga kuba yujuje ibi bikurikira: ibaruwa ibisaba yagombaga guherekezwa n'ibi: "ikemezo cy'amavuko, ikemezo k'imyitwarire n'imibereho n'imyifatire, impapuro zose zerekana amashuri yize n'uko yitwara, rimwe na rimwe akavuga izina rishya yifuzwa kwitwa"²⁹¹.

Iyo kubisaba byemerwaga, uwabisabye yabaga ashyizwe mu rwego rw'ababonye ikarita y'uburenganzira bwa kizungu, yafatwaga nk'Ababirigi ariko akagumana ubwengehugu bwe. icyo gikorwa cyo kubona ikarita ya kizungu kerekana ko nyirukuyibona yemeye ko umuco gakondo we usuzuguritse. Uwanditse muri uru rwego yabaga umwirabura wakwitwa ko yakataje mu iterambere. Ni umuntu wavuye ku rwego rwa gisenzi, agahinduka akagera ku rwego rwa "evoluwe". Agakomeza akagera ku rwego rushya rwo kubona ikarita imushyirisha mu rwego rwa kizungu. Kugira ngo agere kuri urwo rwego rwo hejuru yagombaga kuba yarahindutse ngo agere ku rwego rwo kubona ikarita. Urwo rwego rwa nyuma rwasabaga nibura imyaka 25 yo kwihangana. Uretse ko abari bafite ikarita y'imyitwarire inoze batari bafite uburenganzira bwose bwemerewe abazungu, uwabaga afite indi ntera we yafatwaga nk'umuzungu kuri ibi: yaturaga mu bice byagenewe guturamo abazungu, abana be bakiga mu mashuri y'abana b'abazungu, agashobora no kuguza amafaranga muri banki n'ibindi. Bene ubwo burenganzira bwahabwaga bene abo bagizwe nk'abazungu, bwatumye ba "evoluwe" bifuzwa kuzamuka muri urwo rwego rushya rw'abarengera inyungu z'abakoroni.

Kugira ngo umuntu abone ikarita y'imyitwarire ya kizungu inoze, yagombaga guhindura imyitwarire ye yose: kureka ibijyanye n'umuco gakondo byose bigasimburwa n'ibijyanye

²⁸⁹ Leroy P. et J. Westhof J., *Législation du Ruanda-Urundi*, Bruxelles, 1954, p.18

²⁹⁰ Piron P., *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge*, Tome I, Bruxelles, 1954, p.156

²⁹¹ Piron P., *Codes et Lois du Congo Belge*, Tome I, Bruxelles, 1954, p.17

n'umuco wa kizungu. Umukoroni yari agamije kurema ingirwabazungu, bivuga abirabura ku ruhu gusa ariko bitwara muri byose nk'abazungu. Ariko ku myumvire y'Ababirigi ntabwo Abanyarwanda n'Ababirigi bari bakageze kuri iyo ntera²⁹². Kugeza mu wa 1959 nta muntu muri ba "evoluwe" ba Ruanda-Urundi wari wakabonye iyo karita y'imyifatire ya kizungu ariko muri Kongo mbirigi hari abantu bagera ku 1500 bafite bene iyo karita. Ku bw'Ababirigi, Abanyekongo barushaga Abanyarwanda ba Ruanda-Urundi kuba "evoluwe".

- **Urugero rw'abantu bari ba evoluwe: indatwa**

Ishuri ry'indatwa ry'Asitirida ryashinzwe mu wa 1929 n'abafurere b'urukundo bari bafite ikicaró i Gand (mu Bubirigi). Iryo shuri ryashyirihwe kwigisha abazafasha ubutegetsí bw'Ababirigi, ishuri ryatangiyé muri Mutarama 1932, aba mbere baharangije babonye impamyabumenyi yabo mu 1940. Iryo shuri ryakiraga buri mwaka abanyeshuri: harimo 50% b'Abanyarwanda na 50% b'Abarundi. Uretse ibyiciro bine byari bihari (ubuvuzi bw'inka, ubuganga, ubuhinzi n'ubuyobozi) hari n'ikiciro kijyanye n'ubuhanga cyakundaga kuzamo abazajya muri kaminuza, hari n'ikiciro cy'ubwarimu.

Iyo barangizaga kwiga abasisita b'abaganga, abavuzi b'amatungo n'abagoronome ndetse n'abize iby'ubuyobozi (b'abakarani, n'abakandida shefu) ni bo hamwe n'abapadiri b'abirabura n'abize muri za seminari bari intiti z'Abanyarwanda mu wa 1959. Barababwiraga ngo: "mugomba kuba abasore cyanecyane intiti kubera uburezi budasanze mwahawe mu ba mbere hamwe n'abapadiri b'Abanyarwanda"²⁹³.

Kugeza mu mwaka w'amashuri wa 1960-1961 bivuze mbere y'umwaka umwe ngo u Rwanda n'u Burundi bibone ubwigenge, ishuri ry'indatwa ry'Asitirida ryari ryarasohoye abanyeshuri bafite diporome 450 bari mu byiciro bikurikira: impamyabumenyi 152 z'abasisita b'abaganga, impamyabumenyi 73 z'abavuzi b'amatungo, impamyabumenyi 132 z'abagoronome n'impamyabumenyi 58 z'abize iby'ubuyobozi²⁹⁴. Uwo mubare, urareba gusa impamyabumenyi z'abize ibya tekini ntureba abize iby'ubuhanga no kwigisha.

²⁹² Ndikumana I., 2000, *op.cit.*, p.21

²⁹³ Amwe mu magambo yavuzwe na padiri wari ushinze iby'iyobokamana muri iryo shuri mu nama y'abahoze ari abanyeshuri ba Shariti, tariki ya 10 Ugushyingo 1951, in *Servir*, no 3, 1954, p.314

²⁹⁴ *Servir*, Astrida, no 24, 1961, p.4

Izo ndatwa zashimwaga ko zizi umwuga wazo kandi zahembwaga umushahara watumaga babaho neza. Kandi bari barateteshejwe mu birebana n’amacumbi. Kuko iyo “indatwa” yacagurirwaga ahantu, imaze kurangiza amashuri, yabonaga inzu nini irimo ibya ngombwa byose mu gihe abari baravuye mu iseminari, bakora na bo mu buyobozi bwa Leta, batabonaga bene ayo macumbi. Abize mu ndatwa babaga ahitaruye rubanda rusanze, mu nkambi zitwaga iz’indatwa (Inkambi mu ntara zose z’u Rwanda, zari inzu zubatse neza bahabwaga n’ubuyobozi bw’Ababirigi: amafoteye, intebe, aho babika imyenda, ibitanda n’ibindi. Nk’uko byavuzwe bagenzi babo bize mu iseminari ntibahabwaga amacumbi na Leta. Ndetse bo bahuraga n’ingorane zo kubona akazi muri Leta kuko batari bafite ubuhanga bwihariye bw’umwuga w’akazi. Mu birebana n’amacumbi birwanagaho nta ho amazu yabo yabaga ahuriye n’ay’abanyasitirida”.

Ntabwo bigoranye kubona icyo ubuyobozi bw’Ababirigi bwari bugamije, bubakira bamwe mu babafasha imirimo, amazu yitaruye aya rubanda rusanze, ari hamwe mu nkambi z’insisiro. Icyamba yari poritiki yo kurata abakozi babo, kuko ubuyobozi bw’Ababirigi bwashakaga ko abo banyasitirida (indatwa) bagaragara mu maso ya bene wabo, nk’abantu biremeye, nk’abantu bateye imbere mu majyambere kandi muri ibyo byose bagamije ko bakorana babungirije. Ni yo mpamvu abo banyeshuri babaga barize ayo mashuri yo kubarema yitwa Shariti yagombaga gushishikariza abanyeshuri isuku mu myambaro, buri mushariti yagombaga kwerekana: “mumenye ko umuzungu ahita amenya abo muri bo ahereye ku myamabarire yanyu, yerekana ko uyambaye akiri inyuma cyangwa agifite umwanda usa n’umuvukano”²⁹⁵. Icyamba kabiri, Ababirigi bashyiraho inkambi y’abashariti bari banagamije kugenzura ibyo abashariti bakora nyuma y’amasaha y’akazi. Kuko ubutegetsi bw’Ababirigi bwari bufite inyungu z’uko abo birereye batakwivanga n’abatari “evoluwe” bashoboraga kugira ishyingirye ryavamo kwanga umukoroni.

- **Uko ba “evoluwe” babonwaga n’abandi bantu n’abazungu**

Abirabura bakoreraga ubutegetsi bw’abazungu, abarimu ba gatigisimu, ndetse na buri munyarwanda wese wakoreraga umuzungu yari afite icyubahiro imbere y’abatari ba evoluwe.

²⁹⁵ Bourgeois R., *Cours de déontologie et politique indigène à l’usage des candidats chefs et les candidats commis de la section administrative au Groupe Scolaire d’Astrida*, Astrida, 1951, p.11

Bagaragaraga nk'abantu batoneshejwe kuko batakoraga imirimo y'agahato y'ubukoroni kandi ntibakubitwe. Ikindi nuko abenshi bavugaga ururimi rw'umukoroni, bakambara nk'abazungu, bikabashyira hejuru ya rubanda rusanze, rukabubaha. Iyo bajyaga mu mirimo y'igenzura muri za sheferi, abakozi ba teritwari bajyanaga n'abakarani babaherekeje, abasisita b'abaganga, abavuzi b'amatungo, n'abagaronomu. Abo ba "evoluwe" baganiraga n'abayobozi bakuru abaturage babireba, bazanywe guhabwa amabwiriza cyangwa kwishyura imisoro cyangwa indi mirimo isabwa n'ubukoroni. Abo bayobozi bakuru kimwe n'abo bashariti babaga bambaye neza cyane. Kandi bakavuga mu rurimi rutumvwa na rubanda rw'abanyacyaro.

Muri buri sheferi hari byibura inzu y'icumbi imwe yateganyirijwe abakozi b'abakoroni bagiye mu butumwa. Ibijyanye n'ibibatunga byose byatangwaga n'abaturage, bavuzwe n'umuyobozi w'aho. Iyo abaturage bazanaga amaturo yasabwe, babaga bazi ko agenewe umuzungu ndetse na mugezi we w'umwirabura ubifitiye uburenganzira nka shebuja w'umuzungu. Ni yo mpamvu iyo babishakaga, abo birabura b'abakozi bungirije abazungu, na bo babahaga amaturo yabo. Iryo kandamizwa ry'abaturage ryaje kwamaganwa n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu mu wa 1956: "abari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, kuva kuri komi kugeza ku mukarani w'abakora imihanda abo bantu bose bakandamiza umuturage bamwaka cyanecyane amaturo, bamusaba ibitemewe n'amategeko, banamukoresha imirimo adahemberwa"²⁹⁶.

Iyo abo ba "evoluwe" bajyaga aho bakomoka byafatwaga nk'ikintu kidasanzwe mu baturage. Sushefu waho hantu yagombaga kubafata neza kubera urwego barimo: bahabwaga inkoko, amagi, amata n'ibindi. Na shefu na we akabakira akabaha amaturo. Abo bayobozi bari bafite inyungu mu gufata neza ba "evoluwe", kuko hari bamwe muri bo bagishwaga inama n'abakozi b'Ababirigi bashaka kugira ibyo bamenya ku bashifu cyangwa abasushefu.

Nubwo mu mibereho yabo bari bisumbuye kuri benshi muri rubanda rusanze, abo bunganiraga abazungu akenshi abazungu barabasuzuguraga: hari imyanya yaharirwaga abazungu, ntigerwemo n'abo Banyarwanda biyitaga ba "evoluwe".

²⁹⁶ Conseil supérieur du Pays, Procès-verbal de la Réunion du Conseil Supérieur du Pays tenue à Nyanza du 9 au 24 janvier 1956, p.42

Ku birebana n'imibanire y'abo ba "evoluwe" n'abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda batize (batageze mu mashuri yisumbuye) hagaragaragamo ibintu bibiri: hari igice cy'aba "evoluwe" na benshi mu bize muri za seminari na bamwe mu ba shariti babasuzuguraga, bakabafata nk'abasigaye inyuma. Bamwe ndetse nka Bwanakweri, bangaga gukomera amashyi umwami aho bahuriraga hose. Ntibahaga agaciro kanini ubutegetsu bwe kuko bemeraga gusa ubutegetsu bw'abazungu. Hari ikindi gice cy'abo ba "evoluwe", abenshi mu bashifu n'abasushifu bize muri Shariti y'Asitirida n'abandi bake bize mu iseminari bubahaga umwami w'u Rwanda cyane. Bamufataga nk'umuyobozi w'ikirenga ugomba kubahwa. Ni igice cy'abo bantu cyahimbye, mu wa 1959, ishyaka rya Unar²⁹⁷.

Abo ba "evoluwe" b'Abanyarwanda basuzugurwaga n'umukoroni, bahuriraga akenshi muri za serikere (cercles) n'amashyirahamwe atagamije inyungu. Nubwo hari habujijwe rwose ibiganiro bya poritiki, uko guhura kwa buri gihe kwabahaga umwanya wo kuganira ku birebana n'igihugu cyabo. Ishyaka ryo guharanira u Rwanda ryavukaga, ryavukiye muri bene izo serikeri n'amashyirahamwe ya ba "evoluwe", ryigaragaje ku manywa y'ihangu cy'amashyaka ya poritiki.

- **Serikeri n'amashyirahamwe ya ba "evoluwe" kuva muri za 1950**

Mu by'ukuri serikeri z'aba "evoluwe" zari ahantu bakorera imirimo yo kwidagadura no gufashanya, ahantu abasirimu bakurikiranirwaga ngo bakomeze gukorana n'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni²⁹⁸. Mu wa 1950, ba "evoluwe" bari bamaze kuba benshi, bihagije mu Banyarwanda ku buryo igihe cyari kigeze ngo bakurikiranirwe hafi n'ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi. Ni icyo gihe, ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bubifashijwemo na Kiriziya gatorika, bwiyeje gushyiraho mbere na mbere za serikeri, hanyuma hajyaho amashyirahamwe ya ba "evoluwe". Izo serikeri za ba "evoluwe" zarigengaga, buri yose mu biyibireba, abanyamuryango bahuriraga mu misiyoni cyangwa muri santeri zahurirwagamo na ba "evoluwe" benshi. Aho inama za serikeri zaberaga ni icyumba k'inama gifite aho babika ibitabo, aho bakorera imikino n'inama, aho berekarina sinema bakahakorera n'ibiganiro

²⁹⁷ Kayihura M., Ikiganiro cyo ku itariki ya 10/2/1998 na P.-J. Mungarurire, Ikiganiro cyo ku itariki ya 12/2/1998 in I. Ndikumana, 2000, *op.cit.*, p.28

²⁹⁸ Karekezi T., *Les Partis politiques aux Rwanda ou l'accélération du processus de décolonisation: 1959-1962*. Mémoire de licence, Université du Burundi, 1982, p.29

rimwe na rimwe, hakaba n'ikibuga k'imikino inyuranye y'abantu benshi, ndetse hakaba n'aho bicira inyota²⁹⁹.

***Imbonerahamwe ya 5 : Urutonde rw'amatsinda ya ba
Evoluwe mu Rwanda mu wa 1954***

Amazina y'ahantu	Aho ibarizwa	Teritwari
1. cercle Bigirumwami	Kigali	Kigali
2. cercle Pie	Rwankuba	Kigali
3. cercle	Kisenyi	Kisenyi
4. cercle	Byumba	Byumba
5. cercle	Shangugu	Shangugu
6. cercle	Rwinkwavu	Kibungu
7. cercle	Nyarubuye	Kibungu
8. cercle	Kibungu	Kibungu
9. cercle	Rwaza	Ruhengeri
10. cercle	Ruhengeri	Ruhengeri
11. cercle	Runaba	Ruhengeri
12. cercle	Mubuga	Kibuye
13. cercle	Nyanza	Nyanza
14. cercle	Nyakibanda	Astrida
15. cercle	Astrida	Astrida
16. cercle	Gitarama	Gitarama
17. cercle	Kabgayi	Gitarama
18. cercle	Kabgayi	Kabgayi

Aho byavuye: Anonyme, "Cercle et associations des évolués du Congo Belge et du Ruanda-Urundi, in temps Nouveaux d'Afrique, 15 janvier 1956, pp. 3-4

Za serikeri zimwe zayoborwaga na Kiriziya gatorika, urugero ni nka serikeri y'i Kabgayi, serikeri yitiriwe Papa Piyo wa XII y'i Rwankuba, serikeri Piyo wa X y' i Rwaza, abasaveri b'i Runaba. Izo serikeri zose zari zigizwe n'abagatorika bakibikomeyeho, bagakurikiranwa n'ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya, bakagerageza gufasha Kiriziya mu gikorwa cyayo k'iyamamazabutumwa. Bari bagamije ibintu bibiri: kwitagatifuza k'umuntu ku giti ke kwa buri munyamuryango, no kogeza ubutumwa by'iyobokamana ku buryo bunyurane. Abayoboze b'izo serikeri bagombaga kuba byanze bikunze abanyagatorika, akenshi bakaba abahoze mu isembari n'abize mu ishuri ry'abarimu ry'i Zaza

²⁹⁹ Kamanzi T., Ikiganiro cyo ku itariki ya 20/2/1998 na Muswahili P. n'ikiganiro cyo ku itariki ya 4/3/1998, in Ndikumana I., 2000, *op.cit.*, p.29

n'ishuri ry'abarimu ryo mu Byimana. Ni muri urwo rwego serikeri yitiriwe mutagatifu Pawulo ya Nyakibanda yatangiye mu 1945. Nubwo yashyizwe mu mubare wa za serikeri z'aba "evoluwe" bwose, iyo mu Nyakibanda ntiyari yo rwose. Yari urubuga rw'ibitekerezo ruhuriramo na bamwe mu ba padiri b'Abanyarwanda baharaniraga kurengera umuco wabo. Ni yo yaje kuvamo inkundura y'ibitekerezo yaje kwitwa "ivuka ry'umuco nyarwanda" ryaje gukura kuva aho abene gihugu batangiriye kwandika ku Rwanda rwa mbere y'abakoroni muri za 1940 rikomeza gukura mu miryango y'abihayimana.

Bitanyuranyije n'abahoze mu iseminari bari baratashye iwabo bitewe no kumara igihe kinini mu iseminari, abihayimana bamwe bagarukiye cyane umuco gakondo wa Kinyarwanda. Ni muri serikeri ya mutagatifu Pawuro abantu bakomeye, nka Padiri Kagame, Byusa, Kabarisa na Sebakiga bakoreye inyandiko zabo za mbere. Ni muri iyo serikeri kandi abanyamuryango bayo (abari abafaratiri bose) batangiriye gukusanya imigani, ibisakuzo, imiziririzo, ibisigo by'u Rwanda rwo hambere³⁰⁰.

Ibitekerezo bya serikeri ya Mutagatifu Pawuro byakwiriyeye hose mu bantu bize binyujijwe mu nyandiko zitandukanye kandi bigira ingaruka nini cyane³⁰¹. Iyo nkubiri abapadiri bera bayise iyo kurwanya abanyamahanga. Raporo yabo yo mu wa 1950 nubwo atari mbi bwose ariko ntibuze gutera ubwoba kuko yashyiraga ibikorwa byose mu mibanire hagati y'abazungu n'abirabura. Ku bagize iyo nkubiri, bo bashakaga gukomeza bajya imbere kuko nta terambere rizima kandi rikomeye rishoboka ridashingiye ku mizi ikomeye. "Hakwiye iki ngo ibintu bijye imbere ku buryo bwumvikana? Mu yandi magambo twakwifata dute ngo dukore ibyo tugomba gukora? Ni ngombwa kureba kure, ariko ni na ngombwa kureba imbere yacu ku murage utagira uko usa twasigiwe n' ibihe byashize mu byo byari bifite byiza, kandi iterambere ry'abantu badafite imizi bashingiyeho ntiryaramba"³⁰².

Uretse serikeri z'aba "evoluwe" zayoborwaga n'abihayimana, zikagibwamo n'abagatorika byanze bikunze, hari n'izindi serikeri zayoborwaga n'abayobozi b'Ababirigi: ni izari ku

³⁰⁰ Muswahili P., Ikiganiro cyo kuri 4/3/1998, in Ndikumana I., 2000, *op.cit.*, p.32

³⁰¹ Ikiganiro na padiri Muzungu B. cyo kuri 12/11/2008

³⁰² Kagame A., "Evolué du Rwanda et les ancêtres", in *La voix du Congolais*, no 7, janvier-février 1946, p.250 in Ndikumana I., 2000, *op.cit.*, p.32

biro bya za teritwari (Nyanza, Astrida, Gitarama, etc) n'izindi serikeri zikomeye (Rwinkwavu, Nyamabuye, Mubuga, n'izindi); kugira ngo umuntu abe umuyoboze wazo, byari bihagije kuba "evoluwe", ikimenyetso cyo kuba umuyoboze w'idini nticyazagamo. Izo serikeri zari zigamije kurera abanyamuryango bayo mu myitwarire n'ubwenge.

Ibibazo by'imibereho byarahavugirwaga: kunoza imibereho yabo, iby'akazi, n'iby'imyigire y'abana babo n'ibindi.

Mu gihe k'intambara y'isi yose, abanyafurika bashishikarijwe kujya kurwana hamwe n'abakoronu, nyuma y'intambara abo banyafurika basabye ko imibereho yabo yaba myiza nk'igihembo kuko bafatanyije, ibyo basabaga ni byo byagombaga kugeza ku bwigenge bwa burundu. Ni muri urwo rwego, u Bubirigi, kugira ngo bahunge ko bene izo mvururu zagera muri koroni zabo na teritwari z'indagizo, bwagerageje kuyobora ibitekerezo bya ba "evoluwe", bitwaga ko ari bo bashishikariza abantu imvururu, barema za serikeri n'amashyirahamwe ya ba "evoluwe" yaje gukurikiranirwa cyane hafi. Inyandiko z'abo ba "evoluwe" b'icyo gihe zerekana ko bashakaga sitati yihariye yabatandukanyaga n'abaturage basanzwe, kandi bashakaga kwigira nk'abazungu. Mu byo basabaga byose bigaragara ko bashakaga icyo sitati ariko bafite n'ipfunwe ryo kwitandukanya n'abaturage. Ni yo mpamvu biruhije kumenya neza icyo bifuzaga. Ni abantu ubona basa nk'abashidikanya, babona ko ari ngombwa kuvuga, ariko ntihagire ugira ubutwari bwo kuvuga icyo atekereza, ngo bagenzi be batamurega agahanwa na shebuja.

Abatinyukaga kwandika bari bafite ubwoba bwo kunyuranya n'abarezi babo, bakagerageza gusubiramo gusa inama bahawe n'abo barezi. Ni muri urwo rwego mu wa 1945 ikinyamakuru *L'Ami* (inshuti) cyanditse ibi: "mwirangazwa n'inzozi z'ubwigenge ziri mu bitekerezo byanyu kurusha uko ziri mu bwenge bwanyu. Ubwigenge uko buvugwa kenshi ni umwirato kandi umwirato akenshi uganisha ku rupfu, nimuyoboze Imana, yo mu bwitonzi bwayo iyobora imiryango y'abantu"³⁰³.

Ariko buhorobuhoro, muri ba "evoluwe", haje kuvukamo igice cy'abatari bafite ubwoba bwo kuvuga ibyo batekereza, bagahangana n'ikibazo uko giteye kose. Ku bwabo ntabwo igikuru kwari ukurengera ibyifuzo by'agace gato k'abaturage (aba "evoluwe") kwitwa ko kateye imbere gakandamije abaturage,

³⁰³ « Intentions du mois de septembre 1945 », in *L'Ami*, no 8 et no 9, août-septembre, 1945, p. 82

ahubwo ari ukugira ubutwari bwo gukora ibishoboka byose ngo urubumbambaga rwose rw'Abanyarwanda ruhinduke ku buryo bugaragara³⁰⁴.

Mu bazungu cyanecyane mu b'abapadiri bera, hatangiye kuboneka impungenge, kuko igice kimwe cya ba "evoluwe" cyatinyukaga kwanga amabwiriza y'abarezi babo bakita ku bibazo bitari bishimishije na gato ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni. Impungenge zavutse nuko batangiye gutanga "gasopo". Bimaze kumera gutyo serikeri za ba "evoluwe" zatangiye kubererekera amashyirahamwe kuko abakoroni babonaga ko ari yo ashoboye gukurikiranira hafi abize batangiye kurwanira uburenganzira bwabo. Ariko izo serikeri ntizasheshwe, abanyamuryango b'ayo mashyirahamwe bakomeje kuba abanyamuryango bazo. Ariko ibibazo bikomeye byavugwaga ahatari muri za serikeri.

Ba "evoluwe" bakundaga kujya muri za serikeri mu gihe babonye umwanya bigengaho. Abakundaga gusoma, bahasangaga ibitabo n'ibinyamakuru bahabashyiriye. Abandi biciraga inyota muri kantini: hari n'abahakiniraga amakarita, umukino wa esheki, tenisi yo kumeza n'ibindi. Naho ku birebana n'ibiganiro byabateganirizwaga, byakorwaga n'abakozi b'Ababirigi cyangwa abapadiri: hari na za sinema zerekanwaga rimwe na rimwe. Nta muntu watinyukaga gushoza ibiganiro byerekeranye na poritiki: byari ngombwa kudahubuka, kuko muri ba "evoluwe" harimo abaregaga bagenzi babo ku bazungu bababwira ibivugirwa muri za serikeri, cyanecyane iyo byabaga bijyanye no kunenga ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi cyangwa Kiriziya gatorika.

Hari ubwo abagize serikeri, bitanyuze mu nama zayo zisanzwe, bateraniraga mu rugo rw'umwe mu banyamuryango bayo. Bene izo nama zabaga kenshi kandi abantu barushagaho kwishyira bakizana. Bakavugiramo ibibazo byose bijyanye n'ubuzima busanzwe n'ibijyanye cyanecyane n'iterambere mu mibereho na poritiki by'igihugu cyabo: ikirebana n'akarengane n'ubutindi muri rusange n'ukuntu bafashwe nabi, no kutumvwa na ba shebuja, ukuntu ibyifuzo byabo biburizwamo ku ngufu, n'uko batinya kuvuga ibibababaje n'ibindi³⁰⁵.

Muri rusange ntabwo serikeri za ba "evoluwe" zakemuye ibibazo

³⁰⁴ Karekezi Th., 1982, *op.cit.*, p.50

³⁰⁵ Rukundo E., *Elites et éveil socio-politique au Marangara (1945-1962)*, mémoire de licence, U.N.R., Ruhengeri, 1987, p.69.

by'abazishyizeho kandi nta ruhare rwa poritiki rugaragara zagize. Abanyamuryango bazo bari bafite uburere butandukanye, ni yo mpamvu amashyirahamwe ya ba "evoluwe" cyangwa amashyirahamwe y'abahoze ari abanyeshuri yarushijeho gukora, kuko bene yo bumvaga ari nk'abavandimwe.

➤ **Amashyirahamwe ya ba evoluwe**

• **Ishyirahamwe ry'abize muri shariti Asitirida (ASSADA)**

Iryo shyirahamwe ryaremwe mu wa 1951 rishyigikiwe n'Abafurere b'Urukundo. Umugambi waryo wari uwo kunoza ubumenyi n'ubuhanga n'imyitwarire ku kazi by'abahoze biga muri Shariti. Intebe yaryo ihoraho yari Asitirida. Ryahuzaga Abarundi n'Abanyarwanda bize muri shariti Asitirida. Ariko kugira ngo uribere umunyamuryango ntibyari bihagije kuba warize muri Shariti wagombaga no kwishyura umusanzu, kwinjira muri iryo shyirahamwe no kurengera imyitwarire myiza ya gikirisitu³⁰⁶.

ASSADA yitaga cyanecyane ku bibazo by'abayobokeye bayo: nk'urugero kubona icumbi ryiza, kubona akazi, kubona aho abana bacumbika biga n'ibindi. Ikindi kandi nuko abayobokeye bayo baganiraga ku bibazo bya poritiki n'imibereho byari bigzeweho. Twavugaga by'urugero nk'ukuntu iryo shyirahamwe ryavuze uko rihagaze mu birebana n'ikibazo cy'amashuri atagendera ku idini³⁰⁷. Assada yagize ibibazo bikomeye. Muri ryo harimo ibice bibiri bihanganye. Hari igice gito, kirangwa n'amatwara y'ishyaka ry'igihugu, cyari gishyigikiye gukorana n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu bw'Abanyarwanda nubwo kemeraga ko inzego gakondo z'igihugu zigomba guhinduka nk'uko amatwara ya demokarasi abyifuza.

Ikindi gice kinini muri ASSADA cyari gishyigikiye shefu Bwanakweri. Kifuzaga gukorana n'abazungu ariko banifuza ko habaho sitati yihariye ya ba "evoluwe". Nubwo ntawavugaga ko ASSADA yabaye intangiriro yo kwivumbagatanya kwa poritiki, ariko abayishinze babaye intandaro yatumye bamwe mu banyamuryango bayo bahisemo gushyigikira abahoze ari abarezi babo bumvaga ko ari bo bagomba guhora babayobora, abandi bahitamo kwishyira bakizana kuko ku bwabo igihe cyari kigeze ngo bipakurure ubukoroni babonaga ko bubabangamiye.

³⁰⁶ Mungarurire P.-J. na Runuya S., Ikiganiro cyo ku wa 12/2/1998

³⁰⁷ Bwanakweri P., "ASSADA", in *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique*, 5 décembre 1954, p.3

Bene iyo myumvire yanabaye mu ishyirahamwe ry'abize mu iseminari, uretse ko byari bitandukanijwe n'uko ababareze bo bari bazi neza aho igihugu kigana, biyemeje gushyiraho agace k'impirimpanyi zigamije kurwanya n'ingufu nyinshi inzego z'ubutegetsi gakondo zari zisanzweho. Ni yo mpamvu ubutegetsi gakondo bwasaga n'ubugenda inyuma y'izo mpirimpanyi nubwo imivugururire y'ubutegetsi zavugaga yari yarateganijwe kuva kera.

- **Ishyirahamwe ry'abize mu iseminari**

Iryo shyirahamwe ryagiyeho kuri 31 Mutarama 1954 ribishyigikiwemo n'umukuru wa seminari nto y'i Kabgayi. icyo ryari rigamije kwari ugukomereza abayoboze baryo uburere baboneye mu iseminari bakabukomereza mu buzima bwa gikirisitu, no mu mirimo bakorana umutima nama wose³⁰⁸. Iryo shyirahamwe ryarakoze cyane. Uretse ko n'abanyamuryango bahanganaga n'ibibazo byabo, ariko n'ibibazo bya poritiki n'imibereho byahabwaga umwanya munini wo kugibwaho impaka. Ariko hari ikibazo cy'umwihariko ubuyobozi bwakomeje kukigezwaho ubutitsa ngo bukibonere igisubizo, cyari ikibazo cy'umushahara kuko batari bafite uburenganzira bwo kubona impamyabushobozi.

Abize mu iseminari bumvaga barengana, kuko hatitabwagaho urwego rw'ubuhanga bafite. Abantu bose bemeraga ko bajijutse, ariko kuba badafite diporomu izwi ntibyabarengeraga. Ni yo mpamvu bo ubwabo bitaga kuri icyo kibazo batajuyaje kuko cyabashyiraga mu rwego rwo hasi ugereraniye n'abandi bari bafite diporomu ariko bafite ubwenge buri mu rwego rwo hasi y'urwabo. Muri uko guharanira ko icyo kibazo cyakemuka, abize mu iseminari bangaga iteka ibisubizo bidafite ireme. Insinzi yabo yatangiye kwigaragaza guhera mu wa 1957.

Icyo gihe, ashingiye ku ibaruwa y'abize mu iseminari yo ku wa 23 Werurwe 1958 yavugaga ko babona akazi mu buyobozi n'amashuri bibaruhije, J.-P. Harroy yashubije ko guverinoma yitaye ku kibazo cy'abize mu iseminari ibaha uburenganzira bwo gukora ibizamini by'amashuri yisumbuye imbere y'inteko bitaga "jury z'ibihugu". Ikindi kandi nuko Leta yishingiraga kuriha amafaranga yose y'abakandida harimo n'ay'ingendo

³⁰⁸ Missionnaires d'Afrique centrale (Pères Blancs), *Rapport Annuel: 1954-1955*, p.634

z'indege i Léopoldville n'amafaranga abatunga muri uwo mugu ku babaga batsinze ibizamini by'ijonjora, ibyo bikaba ari inyungu zifite akamaro kandi byiyongereyeho bikaba bisa n'ibiba mu Bubirigi³⁰⁹”

Icyo gisubizo Leta yatangaga cyafashaga bake gusa mu bize mu iseminari kuko kugira ngo ugire uburenganzira bwo gukora ikizamini cya “Jury y'igihugu” ngo ubone impamyabumenyi y'amashuri yisumbuye byabaga ngombwa ko uba wararangije amashuri yisumbuye yose. Ntabwo icyo gisubizo cyakemuraga ibibazo by'ababaga baracikirije amashuri mu iseminari bagombaga kwemererwa mu yandi mashuri, batemererwagamo. Abamisiyoneri ntibasibaga gusukuma ibyo bibazo no kubishyigikira iyo babonaga ko ari ngombwa. Ndetse no ku birebana n'abapadiri, akarengane abize mu iseminari bahuraga na ko kari mu bindi byinshi nko gutuma inyigisho zidashingira gusa ku iyobokamana³¹⁰.

Ishyirahamwe ry'abize mu iseminari ni ryo shyirahamwe, nta gushidikanya, ryashoboye kurengera inyungu z'abayobokeye baryo kandi ikabikorana ubuhanga. Ikiciro cya mbere cy'abagiye kwiga i Kisantu kigizwe n'abize mu iseminari. Kandi ibizamini bya “jury” na byo ntibyaheje abize mu iseminari kuko mu bize muri Kaminuza ba mbere harimo umubare wabo munini.

Hari ibindi bitekerezo byavuye muri iryo shyirahamwe. Hari benshi mu bayobokeye baryo bitaye ku bibazo bya poritiki n'imibereho y'abaturage. Ni muri uwo rwego hari igice cy'abakoraga mu ibanga, ariko bakomeye. Ibitekerezo bishyigikiye iterambere rya rubanda byaravugwaga, cyanecyane mu binyamakuru (urugero ni urwo muri *Kinyamateka*) mu gihe k'inama babaga baharanira ibibazo rusange by'abize mu iseminari. Izo nyandiko zari nk'igerageza ariko nyuma byaje kugaragara ko nta kuzuyaza ko zagombaga kurwanya ubutegetsi bwariho³¹¹. Twibutse ko ishyirahamwe ry'abize mu iseminari ryavutse mbere ho ukwezi kumwe ngo Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu itangire muri Gashyantare 1954. Iyo nama yaje kwibasirwa na bamwe mu bize mu iseminari.

Iryo shyirahamwe ryaje gushwana ryicamo ibice bibiri. Igice cya mbere kigizwe n'intagondwa zaharaniraga amajyambere ya rubanda ariko zibanda ku Bahutu n'igice cya kabiri cyaharaniraga

³⁰⁹ *Cor Unum*, Bulletin de l'Association des Moniteurs du Rwanda, no 1, 1958, pp. 4-5

³¹⁰ Alvoet W., “J'en ai marre”, in *Cor Unum*, Kabwayi, no 1, 1958, p. 12

³¹¹ Kamanzi Th., Ikiganiro cyo ku wa 20/2/1998

iterambere rya rubanda rugufi muri rusange. Ibyo bice byombi byaje gushyigikirwa na misiyoni gatorika. Abenshi mu bayobozi baryo bari abakozi ba vikariyati n'inyandiko zabo zasohokaga mu binyamakuru gatorika. Ibyitwa *L'Ami*, *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique* na *Kinyamateka* byarushanwaga kwamamaza ibyo bitekerezo bishya cyanecyane Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique na Kinyamateka byari bifite abanditsi bakuru bose bahoze mu iseminari. Twavugaga Aloyizi Munyangaju wari umwanditsi mukuru muri *Temps Nouveaux d'Afrique* y'i Bujumbura na Gerigori Kayibanda wabaye umuyobozi mukuru wa *Kinyamateka* i Kabgayi.

Inama y'abamisiyoneri, ubufatanye bw'Abatutsi bamwe barwanyaga umwami, inkunga y'ubuyobizi bw'Ababirigi cyanecyane itangazamakuru gatorika ni byo byashyigikiye iyo muvoma binayigeza ku nsinzi.

- **Ishyirahamwe ry'abarimu bo mu Rwanda (AMR)**

Ishyirahamwe ry'abarimu bo mu Rwanda ryagiyeho muri Nzeri 1951, rishinzwe n'abapadiri bera. Ryari rigamije kurengera inyungu z'umwuga w'abarimu, iterambere n'ubufatanye bw'abarigize no gushyiraho uburyo ababyeyi n'abarimu bazajya bakorana mu nyungu z'abana³¹².

Mu byukuri ryari ihuriro wasangamo abigishaga bose baba abafite diporomu cyangwa abatayifite. Akenshi babaga ari abigeze kwiga mu ishuri ry'ubwarimu n'abize mu iseminari, wongeyeho abari barize amashuri abanza (ni bo bari benshi icyo gihe) bakoraga umwuga wo kwigisha. Muri rusange abarimu bose bagombaga kuribera abanyamuryango.

Mu wa 1958, iryo shyirahamwe ryari rifite abanyamuryango 3.102 bari mu gihugu cyose. Iryo shyirahamwe mu mikorere yaryo ryari ryarashyizeho uturere dutatu: Kabgayi (ari ho ryashingiwe), Nyundo na Kigali.

Hari abanditsi batekerezagaga ko kujijura mu birebana na poritiki byagize uruhare mu birebana na A.M.R³¹³. Bikaba ari byo bisobanura ukuntu abanyamuryango b'iryo shyirahamwe baje nyuma (1958-1961) kugira uruhare mu ishingwa ry'amashyamba ya poritiki. Hafi ya bose bagiye mu Mouvement Social Muhutu,

³¹² Murego D., 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 682

³¹³ Murego D., 1975, *op.cit.*, p.683

kandi bamamaza ibitekerezo bya Parmehutu.

Mu nama z'iryo shyirahamwe, abarimu bajyaga impaka ku bibazo birebana n'umwuga wabo, umushahara, ibibazo by'uburezi muri rusange n'ibindi. Izo nama kandi zahaga abanyamuryango uburyo bwo guhura. Bwabaye uburyo bw'aba «evoluwe» bagize AMR bwo guhura bitari mu nama z'ishyirahamwe nyirizina, bakunga ubumwe hagati y'abo Gerigori Kayibanda yitaga aba «evoluwe bo mu cyaro».

Nubwo itari urubuga rwo guhangana, A.M.R yafunguye umutwe wa beneyo mu bitekerezo ituma abarimu bagira uruhare rugaragara mu iterambere, mu kumva ibibazo bya poritiki y'igihugu. Ni bo babaye mu ba mbere no kumva ibibazo bya poritiki byavugwaga mbere gato y'ubwigenge. Nyuma bagize uruhare rukomeye rwo kubishishikariza abaturage.

Muri rusange abayoboke ba za serikeri n'amashyirahamwe twavuze yagize uruhare runini mu ihinduka rya poritiki yo mu myaka ya za 1950 mu Rwanda.

C. Abanyarwanda bize batangira kwivumbagatanya

Kimwe n'ahandi muri Afurika, abize bo mu Rwanda ari abari baratoneshajwe n'ubutegetsi bw'abakoronu n'abamisiyoneri cyangwa abatari batoneshejwe batangiye kwivumbira no kurwanya ubutegetsi bwa poritiki bwariho mu ntangiriro za 1950. Gushaka kwiyegereza no kwikundisha bene abo bantu byari ibintu biriho kuva intambara ya kabiri y'isi yose yarangira cyanecyane mu bari bashinzwe Kiriziya gatorika yo mu Rwanda. Ni bo akenshi bavugaga ko ari ngombwa kwiyegereza ba «evoluwe» no gukurikiranira hafi ibitekerezo byabo ari na ko babigenzura³¹⁴.

Nk'uko byavuzwe, impinduka zazanywe n'ivugururwa ryakurikiye itegeko teka ryo kuri 14 Nyakanga 1952 ryazanye mu bize inkubiri yo gukangukira ibya poritiki. Izo mpinduka zakozwe cyanecyane hagamijwe gukingura amarembo ya demokarasi, hashyirwaho inzego zihagarariye abaturage (ku rwego rwa susheferi, sheferi, n'igihugu) zavuyemo ubutegetsi bwihariwe gusa ku nzego zose n'Abatutsi bize. Ndetse no kugerageza kubikosoza amatora rusange akozwe n'abagabo ku rwego rwa susheferi nta cyo byatanze. Abize b'Abahutu babonye imyanya iri hagati ya 30 na 80 % by'amajwi yose yo mu nama za susheferi. Ariko bigeze mu nzego zo hejuru

³¹⁴ Mgr Deprimoz, in Rapport annuel du Vicariat, 1945-1946, p.216; *Théologie et Pastorale*, no 2, 1957, pp. 90-99 ; Ndikumana I., 2000, *op.cit.*

ntihagira igihinduka. Ubutegetsu bw'inzeho zifasha ubukoroni³¹⁵ busigara buri mu miryango mike y'Abatutsi ndetse no mu nzego zatowe biba uko. Ingaruka mbi z'izo mpinduka zashyizwe ku butegetsu bw'Abanyarwanda, ziza gushingirwaho n'abanyaporitiki b'Abahutu n'ababateraga inkunga bese.

- **Akababaro k'abaturage kagezwa muri Loni**

Bigitangira ntabwo kurwanya akarengane byari bifite isura y'ironakoko. Buri muntu wese ukangukiye impinduramatwara yashoboraga kunyurwa n'ibyo baneguraga ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi. Mu wa 1946, Padiri A. Kagame ubwe yavugaga agasuzuguro abazungu bagiriye abirabura³¹⁶.

Mu wa 1948, nubwo umwami Mutara yageragezaga gukumira ibirego Abanyarwanda bagezaga ku ntumwa za Loni zazaga gusura u Rwanda, abantu bamwe bashoboye kuzigazaho ubutumwa bw'akarengane kabo. Hari umuntu utarashatse kuvuga izina rye, ariko wari ufite amakuru yose ku mibereho mibi y'abaturage, washyize hamwe ibishinjwa ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi mu gihe bumaze imyaka 32 yose mu Rwanda: bwarangwaga nk'uko yabivugaga no gukandamiza no kudindiza u Rwanda mu majyambere, yavugaga ko ibyagezweho ari ibyakozwe n'abamisiyoneri, bakorana ubwitange, naho abakozi ba Leta ya gikoroni mbirigi nta cyo bakoze uretse gukandamiza abaturage babakubita ikiboko, babakoresha imirimo y'agahato, itaretse kwiyongera, ku buryo abaturage basigaye bahitamo gusuhukira muri za teritwari zitegekwe n'Abongereza muri Afurika y'u Burasirazuba. "Kuva intambara yarangira, u Rwanda mu kababaro karwo, rwari rubategereje n'igishyika kinshi: murakaza neza! Murebe u Rwanda, mushishoje, ntimurebe ibyo hejuru nka ba mukerarugendo bigendera gusa mu muhanda. Ni muge mu baturage mwirebere akababaro kabo ko ku mutima no ku mubiri. Ababirigi bageze mu Rwanda mu wa 1916. Kuva icyo gihe bakandamiza Umunyarwanda kugeza magingo aya. Mu wa 1923 hatangiye gukora umuhanda Usumbura-Kigali: wakoze ute? Hejuru y'ikiboko ku kabuno no kudahembwa, ari akazi k'agahato gusa. Nta gihembo cyatanze kuri uwo muhanda. Mu

³¹⁵ Ku bashyamba 45, 31 (ni ukuvuye 68,5%) bari abo mu bwoko by'Abanyiginya, ubwoko bw'Abega bwari bufite gusa 11,2% by'abashyamba (ni ukuvuye 5 gusa). Ni ukuvuye ko 80% bavuye mu miryango iri ku ngoma. Reba na Maquet J.-J., *Elections en société féodale. Une étude de l'introduction du vote populaire au Ruanda-Urundi*, ARSC, vol. XXI, Bruxelles, 1959

³¹⁶ *Grands Lacs*, 15 Mars 1946, p.34

wa 1923 abaturage batangiye gusuhukira Uganda. Impamvu: 1) ikiboko 2) akazi k'agahato 3) ubukene. Iryo suhuka ryarakomeje kugeza na n'ubu ndetse nahamya ko ibihugu bindi byi Burayi nibidatabara ngo bidukize aba Babirigi, twese tuzanyura ku mupaka w'u Rwanda tuge Uganda"³¹⁷.

Yozefu Habyarimana Gitera na we yemeje ko abaturage batanyuzwe n'ibyakoze n'u Bubirigi³¹⁸. Yavugaga ko ikibazo ari imibereho y'abaturage ba teritwari zatijwe u Bubirigi kuko batazitayeho. Loni kandi ibifitemo uruhare kuko yaragije izo teritwari igihugu kitabifitiye uburyo n'ububasha. Undi Munyarwanda yungagamo ati: " aba Babirigi mu gukandamiza umuturage, baramunyunyuzwa, kuva kera kugeza ubu, ku buryo iyaba hari guhitamo hagati y'u Bubirigi na Shitani, umuturage yahitamo gutegekwa na za shitani izo ari zo zose aho kuguma gutegekwa n'aba Babirigi badashobotse. Umubirigi si umugome cyane ariko nta cyo ashoboye, kuko naho yakwicamo ibice bingaha nta cyo yashobora. Ni yo mpamvu dusaba Loni kuza idatinze ikaturamura ku buryo bufite akamaro kandi bushoboka vuba ikadushyira mu maboko y'abaturage b'igihugu kinini, tukava muri manda, bitabaye ibyo tuzaguma inyuma ku buryo buhoraho. Ababirigi bakijijwe n'inka z'u Rwanda n'umutungo kamere warwo, aho kugira ngo bagirire u Rwanda n'abaturage barwo akamaro. Igihe kirageze rero ngo umwanya uhabwe igihugu kinini kandi gifite ibitekerezo bifatika kandi byiza byo guteza imbere u Rwanda. U Bubirigi bwakoze iki ngo buteze imbere u Rwanda? Ntakigaragara kandi birumvikana.

Ababirigi bafite agahugu gato kandi bakagira n'ibitekerezo bito. Turanifiza ko kujyanwa kw'Abanyarwanda muri Kongo byahagarara: ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda bari hagati ya 20 na 30 byahatiwe kujya gutura i Gishari (Kongo) none sosiyete yitwa "Union minière" iriho irategura abakozi i Gatumba (mu majyaruguru ya Kabwayi) ngo nibamara kwigishwa bazajyanwe muri Katanga mu ndege, ari ibihumbi n'ibihumbi, gucukurayo amabuye y'umuringa. Bazajyanwa mu ndege kugira ngo abaramuka bifuje kugaruka iwabo (mu Rwanda) batazashobora kumenya amayira. Ese abaturage bari mu gihugu k'intizo bashobora kwimurirwa mu mahanga, hatabayemo akarengane? Byaba ari akarengane ku gihugu cyatanzwe nk'intizo, bwaba ari n'ubwibyizi bukorewe ibihugu byashinze u Bubirigi icyo gihugu. Kugira ngo Abanyarwanda bimurirwe mu mahanga hakwiye

³¹⁷ Urwandiko rw'umuturage w'u Rwanda, 31 Nyakanga 1948; Urwandiko rwa Karekezi n'abandi, 1950

³¹⁸ Urwandiko rwa Jozefu Habyarimana Gitera, Asitirida, 25 Gicurasi 1953.

kubaho ubwumvikane mu bihugu bigize Umuryango wa Loni ubwabyo”³¹⁹.

Ikibazo gikuru cyari uko ubwo Bubirigi budafite ubushobozi bwo guteza imbere u Rwanda, umwanzuro waba ko u Rwanda rwaragizwa ikindi gihugu gikomeye kandi gikize kurusha u Bubirigi.” Abaturage barakandamijwe cyane, kandi birumvikana: ni gute u Bubirigi buto kandi bukennye bwashobora guteza imbere Ruanda-Urundi? Gushyira u Rwanda mu ndagizo y’u Bubirigi buto ni ugutuma u Bubirigi bukandamiza u Rwanda. U Bubirigi bwashobora gute kwihaza ubwabwo na Kongo mbirigi na Ruanda-Urundi³²⁰? Ntibishoboka kandi ntawaburenganya ariko niba u Bubirigi butabyemera kwaba ari ukwirarira gusa”. Iyo mvugo yuko u Rwanda rukwiye kuragizwa ibindi bihugu yongeye gusubirwamo n’amashyaka ya poritiki yari ahanganye n’u Bubirigi muri za 1960-1962.

- **Ikibazo cy’amashuri**

Rukeba Francois wahengeraga iteka intumwa za Loni zije gusura u Rwanda akavuga ibitagenda yamaganye ironwabwoko ryakorwaga mu mashuri muri aya magambo. “Ndibaza impamvu iyo umusore afite amafaranga ngo age mu ishuri, kandi mu buto bwe yarakoze ikizamini cya Shariti agatsindwa, adashobora kongera gusubiramo ubwa kabiri cyangwa kuki atakwemererwa kwiga yiyishyurira. Iyo abana ba shefu bagiye gukora ibizamini hamwe n’abandi bana batari aba bashefu, bese bagatsindwa, tubona abana b’abashefu bemererwa kujya muri Shariti. Kuki izo mpuhwe zikorera abana b’abashefu bonyine?”³²¹”

Muri rusange abagezaga ibibazo ku ntumwa za Loni bavugaga ikibazo cy’amashuri adahagije. Kandi amake ahari akigwamo n’abana b’abakire. Abarimu bafatwa nabi; ni bo basuzugurwa kurusha abandi; nta gaciro na mba bafite mu gihugu “kandi ari bo bateza imbere igihugu³²². By’umwihariko hagombaga kwitabwaho uburezi bw’umwana w’umukobwa no kwigisha imyuga abanyeshuri bafite imyaka 18 n’irenga: “turasaba ko abasore bakoherezwa mu mahanga kwiga ibijyanye n’imyuga inyuranye.” Ni ko Rukeba yavugaga mu wa 1951³²³. Guverinoma

³¹⁹ Urwandiko rw’umuturage w’u Rwanda, 31 Nyakanga 1948

³²⁰ Urwandiko rw’umuturage w’u Rwanda, 31 Nyakanga 1948; Gusoma n’urwandiko rwa Alexander Boatenger rwo ku wa 7 Mata 1953

³²¹ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 3 Kanama 1948

³²² Urwandiko rwa Kangabo J., umwarimu ku Kamonyi, 4 Kamena 1951

³²³ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 4 Kamena 1952

yagombye gushyiraho amashuri ya Leta, kugira ngo uburezi bwo kwiharirwa na misiyoni gatorika. Leta kandi yagombye gutegeka ababyeyi b'abayisiramu kohereza abana babo mu mashuri; no kwita ku bana babyawe n'Abanyarwanda kazi ku bazungu, kuko bene abo bana batitabwagaho na Leta nk'abazungu cyangwa abirabura kandi na Kiriziya gatorika ntibe yabemerera kuba abapadiri cyangwa ngo babe abihayimana³²⁴.

- **Imivugururire y'ubucamanza**

Ni ngombwa ko ubucamanza buvugururwa kubera imiterere yabwo, kimwe no mu bihugu byateye imbere mu bucamanza, ntabwo umwami yagombaga kwivanga mu birebana n'ubucamanza.” Tuzi ko mu bindi bihugu byaba ib'i Burayi cyangwa ibyo muri Afurika, umwami adakora akazik'ubucamanza kuko atari inshingano ze. Areba ibikwiye n'ibidakwiye. Mu bindi bihugu hari abacamanza n'abazungu bashinzwe ibibazo by'abaturage; kuki umwami ari umucamanza mu Rwanda? Umwami si Imana, ntashobora gutahura ibinyoma byose kandi ashobora kubeshywa n'abanyabinyoma. Umaturage azabigenza ate naramuka arenganyijwe n'ikemezo cy'umwami? Ndabona umwami atari akwiye gukora imirimo y'ubucamanza³²⁵. Ivugururwa ry'ubucamanza kandi ryaterwaga n'akarengane kenshi no kutubahiriza amategeko byabonekaga ku mugaragaro ariko ntibihanirwe. Urugero ni “ibikorwa by'urugomo byakorwaga n'abazungu ku baturage badafite kirengera”³²⁶.

Mu buroko abantu bicwaga urubozo, bagafungirwa ubusa, kandi abana bagafungirwa hamwe n'abantu bakuru³²⁷. Abakozi b'Ababirigi birukanaga rubanda rugufi ruje kubatakambira kubera akarengane rukorerwa kandi muri rusange ubucamanza burengera abazungu bukarenganya abirabura: abirabura bahanwaga nabi kurusha abazungu, kandi bagahabwa ibihano bikomeye badaciriwe imanza, ingo zabo zikavogerwa, amasambu yabo agatwarwa n'abazungu nta ndishyi n'ibindi. Ibyo byose biteza urubwa Leta ku buryo twibaza “niba dufite Leta yacu ukwacu n'abazungu bakagira iyabo muri Ruanda-Urundi ituma amategeko atandukanye³²⁸.”

³²⁴ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955

³²⁵ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 3 Kanama 1948

³²⁶ Urwandiko rwa Habyarimana Gitera J., 25 Gicurasi 1953

³²⁷ Urwandiko rwa Karekezi na bagenzi be, 1950; gusoma n'Urwandiko rwa Habyarimana Gitera J., 25 Gicurasi 1953.

³²⁸ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955; no gusoma Urwandiko rwa Fr. Rukeba, 4 Kanama 1951

Ikibazo cyumvikana cy'ukuntu Ababirigi batubahiriza sitati y'igihugu k'intizo cyabajijwe muri aya magambo: “kuki Ababirigi badutegeka kandi bakaduhana kimwe n'Abanyekongo kandi tutari Abanyekongo?”³²⁹. Koko kandi Ababirigi bashyize u Ruanda-Urundi mu mitegekere ya Kongo ndetse bagira iyo teritwari nka porovensi ya Kongo kandi binyuranije n'amategeko agenga ibihugu by'intizo.

a) Gusaba ivugururwa mu bya poritiki

Umwami n'abashefu ntibigengaga: “kugeza ubu umwami afatwa nk'umukozi usanzwe w'Ababirigi, abashefu bo ntiwareba. Asitirida, furere Secondien aratoza abantu umuco wo kwivumbagatanya ku mwami w'u Rwanda”³³⁰. Abashefu barakora nk'abakozi gusa bake muri bo bumva ingorane igihugu kirimo. Ntibavugira abababaye; batinya abategetsu b'Ababirigi ahubwo bakita ku nyungu zabo bwite. Kugira ngo akarengane bakora kagabanuke bari bakwiye kugenerwa umushahara uhoraho (ntigume kubona amafaranga atangwa hakurikijwe imisoro itangwa mu ma sheferi n'amasusheferi)³³¹.

Kurwego rw'igihugu, “Inamay'umwami” yari ikwiye kuvugururwa: aho kugira ngo igirwe n'abantu (abashefu bakuru) batoranijwe n'umwami ubwe mu bantu bemewe n'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi, igahinduka inama y'igihugu kandi abaturage bakarushaho guhagararirwa³³². Abakoroni bifuje kujya mu nzego zifata ibyemezo zose bitwaje ingingo y'ironakoko isanzwe ivuga ko ari bo babishoboye kuko ari abazungu bateye imbere mu majyambere, kandi ko ngo ari bo bashoboye kujya mu buyobozi bw'igihugu. Ngo abirabura ntibumva icyo kugira uruhare muri poritiki bivuga³³³.

Mu matora yo mu wa 1956 mu nama (za sheferi, susheferi, teritwari no mu rwego rw'igihugu), igihe ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwavugaga ko ari intambwe iganisha kuri demokarasi, Rukeba F. yamaganaga ayo matora. Impamvu nkuru yavugaga yari ko abazatorwa yitaga “aba evoluwe b'abasenzi” yavugaga ko

³²⁹ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955

³³⁰ Urwandiko rw'umuturage w'i Rwanda, 1955

³³¹ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 4 Kanama 1951; no gusoma Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955

³³² Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 4 Kanama 1951

³³³ Urwandiko rwa Maus M., perezida w'Ishyirahamwe ry'Abakoroni ba Ruanda-Urundi, 8 Ukuboza 1951

bakorera gusa Leta y' ubukoroni, ibyo bigasubiza u Rwanda inyuma³³⁴.

- **Gusaba uburenganzira bwo kuvuga icyo umuntu ashaka**

Rukeba F. ni umwe mu bantu bake basabaga ko itangazamakuru ryigenga. Abaturarwanda bagombaga gushobora kuvuga icyo bashatse imbere y'intumwa za Loni zaje gusura u Rwanda. Abatinyukaga kuvuga bafatwaga nk'abashinjabinyoma³³⁵ kandi bagafatwa nk'abazahanwa nibiramuka bigaragaye. Kuri ibyo Gitera yavugaga ati: “akanama ka Loni gashinzwe ibihugu byatanze nk'indagizo ntikayobewe ibibazo n'ingorane byugarije abatinyuka kwandikira Loni”³³⁶. Nzamwita Jovite na we wari mu bandikiraga Loni b'ikubitiro, yari yarabihaniwe. Amaze koherereza intumwa za Loni ibaruwa mu wa 1948 yagombye kwivana ku kazi kuko yatotezwaga n'ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi. Yafashwe nabi n'abaporisi, bamwima ikarita ye y'imikorere myiza (carte de mérite) kandi yari yarayiboneye ikemezo gishyigikiye ko akwiye kuyihabwa. Ndetse by'akarusho, se wari shefu yategetswe kwegura ku kazi: Nzamwita yemeraga ko iryo yegura ryari rifitanye isano n'igikorwa ke cyo kwandikira Loni³³⁷.

- **Akababaro n'ibyasabwaga bijyanye n'ubukungu**

Mu birebana n'ubukungu, ikigaragara nuko amahoro yari akabije kuba hejuru cyane kandi amafaranga yatangwaga ngo haboneke ipatanti y'ubucuruzi yari yarashyiriweho guca intege abacuruzi b'Abanyarwanda. “Ababirigi ntibashaka ko dukira, ni yo mpamvu bashyiraho amahoro ari hejuru cyane ngo abirabura bayatinye, bareke ubucuruzi kuko bashaka ko tuguma mu bukene”³³⁸.

Hari kandi n'imikorere igaragaramo ivangura mu kubona inguzanyo n'ubutaka bwo guhingaho. Abanyamahanga (Abarabu n'abazungu) baratoneshwaga, abirabura bakarenganywa: hari ndetse n'abatakaje ubutaka bwabo kubera iyo poritiki yo gutonesha. “Kuki umuntu ushaka gucuruza no kubona ubutaka nk'ubw'umwarabu atabyemererwa? Abarabu

³³⁴ Teregaramu yohererejwe Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa Loni, 5 Ukwakira 1956

³³⁵ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 4 Kanama 1951

³³⁶ Urwandiko rwa Habyarimana Gitera J., Astrida, 25 Gicurasi 1953 Rukeba F.

³³⁷ Urwandiko rwa Nzamwita G.-J., 17 Werurwe 1951

³³⁸ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955

n'Abahinde bacuruza babona inguzanyo za banki iyo babyifuzza ngo bakomeze ubucuruza bwabo. Ayo mafaranga bayaheshwa n'amasanduku ya sheferi, inyungu zivuyemo zigarukira abo banyamahanga bonyine. Niba amafaranga y'amasanduku ya sheferi adakoreshwa ngo afashe abenegihugu mu bucuruzi bwabo amaze iki? Kuki iyo umuntu avuye aho yacururizaga akajya ahandi, kuki iyo agarutse asanga aho barahahaye abandi? Kuki abura ahantu he kandi atarahagurishije? Batubwira ko ubutaka bwiza buba mu gisambu kitahinzwe, kandi ni byo. Kuki tudafite uburenganzira bwo kuhakorera iyo tubifitiye ubushobozi? Kuki umuzungu ushaka kugura ubutaka yemerewe bene ubwo butaka, bagategeka ababutuyeho kuhava no kujya ahandi? Abanyarwanda ntibemerewe kugura ubutaka bwagurishijwe abazungu iyo buriho zahabu, gasegereti, umucanga n'ibumba ry'amatafari"³³⁹.

Ikindi cyavugwaga nuko ivanwaho ry'ubuhake ryacyiye intege aborozi bamwe na bamwe bari batunzwe n'inka zabo, basigaye aho nta kindi bafite. Hari kandi impuha zidashira zavugaga ko inka zimwe zizavanwaho: bavugaga ko zizashyirwaho ikimenyetso, hanyuma zikagurishwa bene zo batabyemeye. Iyo mikorere yari gutuma haba igihombo kinini ku mutungo³⁴⁰. Mu gushaka guteza imbere igihugu, F. Rukeba yasabaga ko hahabwa ingufu inganda zikora ibitumizwa mu mahanga, zigakorera mu Rwanda, ibyo dukeneye mu gihugu, bitumizwa mu mahanga ari byinshi³⁴¹.

Ironwabwoko ry'abakoroni, gukandamizwa, agasuzuguro n'imikorere mibi y'abakozi ba Leta na byo byagarukaga kenshi mu nyandiko zoherezwaga muri Loni. Ku bigendanye n'imikorere mibi n'ifatwa nabi ry'abaturage, hari uwohereje urwandiko agira ati: "turabamenyesha ko dufashwe nabi nk'abacakara kandi dukubitwa. [...]. Baradukubita cyane"³⁴². Abanyarwanda bize bahembwa nabi ugereraniye n'abazungu batarangije ikiciro cya mbere cy'amashuri rusange yisumbuye.

³³⁹ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 3 Kanama 1948

³⁴⁰ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F. na Gitambaro K., 1955. Izo mpuha zavaga ku bintu bifite ishingiro: urugero, mu 1949 inka zigeze ku ijana z'umworozi w'i Rwamagana zapfuye zimaze gukingirwa na Bwana Bixy. Ankete yagaragaje ko urukingo rwari rufite ikibazo kandi ko veterineri yari abizi. Ntiyahanwe kandi n'umuturage ntiyashumbushijwe (Urwandiko rwa Kibibiro J., Rwamagana, Mutarama 1958)

³⁴¹ Urwandiko rwa Rukeba F., 4 Kanama 1951

³⁴² Urwandiko rwa Ndababara A., Munyinya, 1948

- **Ibyasabwaga bifite isura y'amoko**

Tariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1957, bamwe mu bagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu batangaje inyandiko yitwa: " La mise au point": yari igenewe ubutegetsu bw'abakoroni kandi yasabaga ko:

- Uburyo bwo kwigisha abana bwarushaho gushyirwamo ingufu (hakajyaho Kaminuza);
- Guha ububasha bwisumbuye umwami n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu;
- Gushyiraho porogaramu igaragara yo guteza imbere igihugu mu birebana n'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza;
- Gukuraho irondabwoko (hagatiy'abazungu n'abirabura)³⁴³.

Iyo nyandiko yagaragaraga nk'ituje kandi icishije make kuko itarwanyaga ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni. Yasabaga gusa ko ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni buhindura imikorere kandi bukarushaho gukorana n'Abanyarwanda bamaze kubitegurirwa.

Disikuru yavuzwe n'umwami Mutara Rudahigwa yakira intumwa z'Ababirigi zari zaje mu mirimo mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu, tariki ya 29 Mata 1959, na yo ni nk'ibyo yavugaga: yagiraga iti "ndifuza kandi, ibi nizeye ko ari ikifuzo cy'Abanyarwanda bose, ko impinduka zizatugezwaho zizaba zishimishije buri wese, ko imiterere yazo, ibyiza byazo n'impinduramatwara zizaba zifitiye igihugu, hashyirwaho inzego nshya gikeneye, zizashimangira amahoro kandi zikakerekeza mu majyambere arambye. Ndemeza, bwana Rezida, ko u Rwanda rwifuza kugira uruhare rugaragara mu micungire yarwo, no kwiyoborera ubwarwo ikerekezo cyarwo. Ndumva icyo kifuzo gifite ishingiro kandi ndifuza ko u Bubirigi bwamaze kuduha byinshi, butwumva neza kandi buzadufasha kubaka u Rwanda rw'amahoro n'ubuvandimwe". Twavugaga ko iyo nyandiko yiswe "La mise au point" "iyo disikuru yabaye intandaro z'inzangano z'u Bubirigi n'ibyaje gukurikiraho byafashe intera ikomeye mu wa 1959.

Iyo nyandiko ya «La mise au point» nta gisubizo cya Leta mbirigi yahawe ku mugaragararo. Igisubizo gikomeye cyatanzwe n'agaco k'aba "evoluwe" biyise abayobozi b'Abahutu. Batangaje tariki ya 24 Werurwe, inyandiko yiswe «Manifeste y'Abahutu cyangwa inyandiko ireba imibanire ku kibazo cy'amoko mu Rwanda»³⁴⁴. Iyo

³⁴³ Conseil Supérieur du Pays, "Une mise au point (1957) », in *Document ONU*, T/402, Annexe II, New York 1958

³⁴⁴ *Le manifeste des Bahutu. Note sur l'aspect social du problème indigène au Rwanda* (24 mars 1959), Document ONU, T/1402, New York, 1958. Reba n'ibyanditswe na CRISP, *Rwanda Politique*, p. 24.

nyandiko yahise ihindura isura y'impaka za poritiki zariho, zarebaga gusa ikibazo cy'ubukoroni maze igihindura ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi cyangwa ikibazo k'ikandamizwa Abahutu bakorerwa n'Abatutsi. Kuva imyaka amagana n'amagana hirengagijwe ibibazo byinshi bya poritiki n'imibereho myiza Abanyarwanda bose basangiye, hatanitawe ku ruhare u Bubirigi na Kiriziya gatorika bifite mu guteranya imibanire y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Iyo nyandiko irimo ibirego byumvikana birebana no kwiharira ubutegetsi bwa poritiki, imibereho myiza n'ubukungu byikubiwe n'imiryango y'imfura z'Abatutsi kimwe n'ibirebana no kujya mu mashuri kw'Abahutu (cyanecyane ayatumaga abayarangije bajya mu buyobozi nka Shariti), guteza imbere imyuga n'ubukorokori no guteza imbere imibereho myiza y'abaturage n'ibindi. Aho itagera kandi ibera mbi ni mu irondakoko yinjije kandi yateje mu bibazo bya poritiki kandi ikabishyiramo ingufu ku bushake. Byumvikane ariko ko iyo mikorere y'irondabwoko itari iy'aba «evoluwe» b'Abahutu gusa. Abanyarwanda bose bari barize icyo gihe ni byo babagamo, bagendera ku magambo ngirwabuhanga arebanan'iturwa mu Rwanda n'imibanire hagati y'Abanyarwanda (imigani yitiriwe hamite n'iyitiriwe bantu). Niba ba «evoluwe» b'Abahutu bamwe barayakoresheje ngo berekane irondabwoko bakorerwaga no kugira ngo nyuma basimbure Abatutsi, habayeho n'igice k'imfura z'Abatutsi bakoze nk'ibyo ngo barengere inyungu bari bafite³⁴⁵.

Batitaye ku bibazo yatezaga, Manifeste y'Abahutu yaramamajwe cyane mu binyamakuru bya Kiriziya gatorika kandi iza kugira ingaruka zikomeye kurusha iyiswe «La mise au point». Mu by'ukuri Manifeste y'Abahutu yari nk'igisubizo cya *La mise au point* kuko yayivuguruzaga. *La Mise au point* yanengaga u Bubirigi, kandi yari yishyize mu murongo w'abaharanira ubwigenge. «Manifeste» yo yasingizaga Ababirigi kandi ibibazo ikabyerekeza ku Bahutu bahanganye n'Abatutsi.

Ayo mayeri yaje gutsinda ashyira igorora abagendera ku ironde bwoko ryaje ari ryo Leta ishingiraho bigeza ku itsembabwoko ryo mu wa 1994. Kuba kandi amatariki izo nyandiko zombi zatangarijweho yari yegeranye (22 Gashyantare 1957 kuri «La mise au point» na 24 Werurwe 1957 ku bireba «Le manifeste des Bahutu») no kuba byaravugaga ibintu bifite aho bihuriye, byatumye byumvikana ko izo nyandiko zombi zifite isano hagati yazo.

³⁴⁵ Gusoma inyandiko ebyiri zandikiwe i Nyanza, imwe kuri 17 indi kuri 18 Gicurasi 1958: iya mbere yari yashyizweho umukono n'abantu 12 biyitaga «Abagaragu bakuru b'ibwami», indi yari yanditswe n'abantu 14 biyise « Abanyarwanda bari i Nyanza».

Inkomoko ya “Manifeste y’Abahutu” iracyagibwaho impaka. Hari abayitwerera nta gushidikanya abamisiyoneri. I. Linden, wifashishije cyane mu bushakashatsi bwe inyandiko n’imyumvire y’igice cy’abamisiyoneri yita ab’abademokarate n’imibereho myiza, yemeza ko padiri Shanwani Ernotte na padiri Dejemeppe bagize uruhare rw’iyandikwa rya “Le Manifeste”³⁴⁶. Rene Lemarchand avuga ko iyo nyandiko yaba yarakozwe n’umumisiyoneri w’umunyagatorika³⁴⁷. Abandi nka J. Karibwami, bemeza ko ari iy’abayishyizeho umukono ubwabo bayanditse³⁴⁸.

Uko byagenda kwose, abenshi mu bayishyizeho umukono ni abize mu iseminari (6 ku 9), bajyaga kenshi muri misiyoni y’i Kabgayi kubera ibintu by’akazi (abakozi ba misiyoni) cyangwa iby’idini. Kandi ni ba kavukire b’i Gitarama (uretse babiri b’i Butare, Gitera na Isidore Nzeyimana). Biraruhije gutekereza ko musenyeri Perraudin n’abafasha be ba hafi batamenyeshejwe, niba batabigizemo uruhare, icyo gikorwa gikomeye cyashozwaga n’abakozi n’abandi Kiriziya ifiteho uruhare³⁴⁹. Ikindi nuko hari amagambo amwe agaragara muri iyo nyandiko aboneka mu nyandiko nyinshi z’abakoroni n’abamisiyoneri, cyanecyane mu ibaruwa y’igisibo ya Perraudin yo mu wa 1959 iza kuvugwa imbere aha.

Twavugaga rero ko mu wa 1957, hari ibitekerezo bibiri bihanganye bivugaga uko u Rwanda rugomba kubaho. Igitekerezo cya mbere gihagarariwe n’Inama Nkuru y’Igihugu, cyanengaga bikabije uburyo u Bubirigi bwayoboye u Rwanda. Cyasabaga ko haba impinduramatwara igaragara, kugira ngo bitegure igihugu kuzabona mbere na mbere ubwigenge bucagase n’ubwigenge bwuzuye nyuma.

Igitekerezo cya kabiri, cyari gihagarariwe n’abantu bamwe bize, bashingiraga ku bwoko, cyashimaga ibyagezweho n’Ababirigi mu Rwanda, kikagaya akarengane n’imitegekere mibi Abatutsi bakoreraga Abahutu. Ibyo bitekerezo byombi byerekanaga ko hari ukutumvikana gukomeye. Birerekana ko uko gushaka ibintu binyuranye byashoboraga kubyara amakimbirane akomeye, igihe bitabonewe igisubizo nyacyo.

³⁴⁶ Linden I., *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1978, p.249. Hari inyandiko mu rurimi rw’igifaransa y’icyo gitabo yitwa (*Christianisme et Pouvoirs au Rwanda (1900-1990)*, Karthala.

³⁴⁷ Lemarchand R., *Rwanda and Burundi*, Washington, London, Praeger Publishers, 1970, p.108

³⁴⁸ Karibwami J., 1982, *op. cit.* pp. 375 et 386

³⁴⁹ Lugan B., *Histoire du Rwanda de la préhistoire à nos jours*, Bartillat, 1997, p. 374

- **Uko abanyabwenge b'Abatutsi babyifashemo**

Mu wa 1957, abategetsi b'abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri bagombaga guhitamo ibintu bibiri: gukomeza igihango cya kera bari bafitanye n'abayobozi b'Abatutsi, bakabageza ku bwigenge bucagase, ndetse nyuma bakazabaha ubwigenge, cyangwa gufata abandi bantu bakorana amasezerano mashya arushaho kubamara impungenge.

Bisabwe n'umwami ikibazo cya gahutu na gatutsi cyagejewe imbere y'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu mu nteko yayo, kuva kuri 13 kugeza kuri 29 Kamena 1956, ntikemerwa. Ahubwo hatangwa ikifuzo cyo gukuraho imvugo umuhutu, umututsi, umutwa. icyo kifuzo cyashakaga kuburizamo abantu bose bakoresha inyandiko zabo bashaka kumvikanisha no kwerekana ko Umunyarwanda atabaho mu by'ukuri ahubwo ko hari ibice by'amoko: umuhutu, umututsi n'umutwa.

Inyandiko y'ikifuzo cyo gukuraho imvugo z'amoko mu nyandiko za Leta iteye itya: "abantu bamwe batabizi neza cyangwa babigira nkana bavuga cyangwa bakandika babishaka ko Abatutsi baje mu guhugu nk'abagifashe ku ngufu, bakaba barambuye Abahutu ibintu byabo kandi bakabashyira ku rwego rwo hasi. Iyo mvugo ishingira ku gushaka kubona gusa uruhande rubi rw'ibintu. Abayikoresha bibagirwa ko ibitanoze mu mitegekere y'Abatutsi byakosorwaga n'ikizere abagaragu bari bafite cyo kurindwa nk'abantu bo mu muryango. Ubwiza bw'iyi mibanire ntawabuhakana kandi ntawahakana ko bufite akamaro. Birumvikana ko iyi mitegekere itakiri ku gihe kigezweho, itagihuje n'aho ibintu bigeze bitera imbere, ko ahubwo yari ihuje n'ibihe bya kera n'ibyari bikenewe icyo gihe. Abahutu bagiye iteka bashobora kugira ubukungu n'ibyubahiro. Naho ku birebana n'ubutegetsi bwa poritiki, Abahutu ndetse n'Abatwa bamwe na bamwe bagizwe abashifu n'umwami w'u Rwanda. Niba byaribagiranye, niba byarashushe n'ibyemerwa ko Abatutsi bonyine bari bihariye ubutegetsi bw'igihugu nuko gushyingirana kw'abo batware b'Abahutu n'Abatwa n'Abatutsi byakuyeho ibyabatandukanya byose birebana n'imibereho n'ubwoko ku buryo kubatandukanya byari bitagishoboka. Kuri iyi ngoma ho, hari amahirwe angana kuri twe, bitewe n'ubushobozi n'ubuhanga bwa buri wese bwo gushobora kujya mu myanya idafite abayirimo.

U Rwanda ni igihugu cy'abaturage bahuje byose, bagomba kugira uburenganzira bumwe, ntabwo ari umurima barwanira w'uduce tw'amoko cyangwa abantu. Turasaba Abanyarwanda bose kutagwa mu mutego y'icyo gitekerezo kidafite ukuri ahubwo kigamije guca Abanyarwanda mo ibice. Twese dufite umugambi umwe tugamije: amajyambere y'igihugu ku buryo bwose kandi dufite n'abanzi babiri tugomba kurwanya twivuye inyuma: ubukene no gusubiranamo. Ingufu zacu zose zigomba gukomeza kwerekeza ku ntego imwe ivugwa n'intumbero y'u Rwanda: imbaga y'inyabutatu ijya mbere. Ijambo ry'Ivanjiri riracyari ryo: ingoma yajemo ibice irasenyuka"³⁵⁰.

Ikibazo cya gahutu na gatutsi cyavuzwe na none na A. Maus wari umukoroni uhagarariye ishyirahamwe ryahuzaga abazungu n'abirabura³⁵¹. Muri Gicurasi 1956 mu nama ya visi guverineri, Bwana Maus yasabye ko Abanyarwanda n'Abarundi bahagararirwa muri iyo nteko bishingiye ku ngero z'imibereho yabo cyangwa bikurikije inzego z'ubuhutu, ubututsi n'ubutwa yitaga amoko³⁵².

Inama yanze yose icyo gitekerezo, cyarwanyijwe cyanecyane n'umwami Rudahigwa na Musenyeri Martin wa diyosezi ya Ngozi. Rudahigwa yavugaga ko nta bimenyetso byizewe byashingirwaho ngo hamenyekane ku buryo budakuka iyo myirondoro, bitewe n'uko amoko y'Abanyarwanda yagiye ashyingirana.

Muri Werurwe 1958, ikibazo hutu-tutsi cyagejejwe mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu bisabwe n'umwami Rudahigwa n'abari baranditse "Manifeste y'Abahutu". Hashyirwaho komite yo kukiga. Yari igizwe ku ruhande rw'abanditse "Manifeste" na Gitera, Murindahabi, Niyonzima, Bendantunguka, Ndahayo na Bicamumpaka. Abo ni bo bahuye n'abo Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yari yashyizeho ari bo Bagirishya (wari Perezida w'iyi Komite), Bwanakweri, Gashugi, Mbanda, Rwagasana, Kagiraneza na Mungarurire (wari umwanditsi). Iyo komite yatangiye imirimo yayo mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa gatatu no mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi

³⁵⁰ Conseil supérieur du Pays, Actes de la 14e session du CSP

³⁵¹ Inyandiko mvugo z'abagize Inama yabereye i Bujumbura ku matariki ya 5,6 na 7 Gicurasi 1956, p.10

³⁵² Ibaruwa ya Maus kuri Visi Guverneri yo ku itariki ya 25 Mata 1956. Twakwibutsa ko uwo Maus wari warabogamiye bikabije ku ruhande rw'Abahutu mu Burundi mu matora y'Inteko Ishinga amategeko yo mu wa 1961 yiyahuye amaze kumva ko Uprona yatsinze. Na Bwana Harroy wari washyigikiye ku buryo bweruye abarwanyaga Uprona yahisemo kuva mu Burundi muri Mutarama 1962.

kwa kane 1958³⁵³. Twagerageje kuvuga mu magambo make izo mpaka z'amateka zabaye ku kibazo hutu-tutsi mu ngingo nkuru zikurikira.

- **Ihagararirwa ry'Abahutu mu nzego**

Imwe mu mahame ubwami bwari bushingiyeho yanzwe n'abatangaga ibibazo (b'Abahutu) nuko umwami atari Umuhutu, ntabe n'Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa: ni umubyeyi wa bose. Abatangaga ibibazo, cyanecyane Gitera, bo bavugaga ko umwami abogamiye ku ruhande rumwe: "Abahindiro bagerageza kwikubira byose"

Abatangaga ibibazo bitwa "Ba petisiyoneri" basabaga ko Abahutu bagira "Umuhutu" ubahagarariye ibwami. Ese ni byo Mbanda yita gushyira demokarasi mu nzego kandi muri iyi nama ikigwa gusa ari "gushyiraho abahagarariye Abahutu ibwami" (Murindahabi, Niyonzima) nk'intambwe y'agateganyo. Abatutsi bafite ababahagarariye, ari ba shefu n'abasushefu, bahura buri gihe n'umwami mu kazi bashinzwe. Abatwa bafite ubahagarariye ari we Harerinka. Uwaba ahagarariye Abahutu ibwami mu byo yakora yajya aha umwami abakandida (shefu na sushefu) b'Abahutu. Igitekerezo cyari icyo gushyiraho "abantu batatu bahagarariye abandi" (Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa).

Icyo gitekerezo cyo guhagararirwa kw'Abahutu ibwami (ku mugaragaro cyangwa mu ibanga) cyanzwe n'abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bavugaga ko ihagararirwa rya buri bwoko ryaba riremeye ikintu kidasanze mu Rwanda ruri imbere, byaba biteye ikibazo gikomeye kuko ihagararirwa rishingiye ku bwoko ryashobora kubyara amakimbirane mabi ashingiyeye ku bwoko" (Mungarurire)³⁵⁴. Ni ngombwa kuguma gukorera hamwe, hatagize ikintu cyose gishobora gutandukanya Abanyarwanda". Icyo gitekerezo kandi nta musaruro cyazana (Bwanakweri)³⁵⁵ kuko abo batatu baba bahagarariye abandi batakorerwa iteka hamwe, ahubwo buri wese yajya ashaka gusa guhaha inyungu abo ahagarariye; gutanga imyanya bishobora gukorwa ukundi binyuze muri demokarasi, naho ubundi iryo hagararirwa ntiriyaba rishingiye ku buhanga cyangwa ubundi bushobozi". Ahubwo ni uburyo butanyuze mu kuri kandi bubangamiye demokarasi". Ni uburyo bwo gucamo ibice bitandukanye abantu bo mu gihugu kimwe".

³⁵³ Comité d'étude du problème social Muhutu-Mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-avril 1958

³⁵⁴ Ibidem., p.3

³⁵⁵ Comité d'étude du problème social Muhutu-Mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-avril 1958

Kayihura yerekanye ububi bw'icyo gitekerezo: kwaba ari ugusubira inyuma mu majyambere kuko ubwo buryo bwaba budashingiye ku bushobozi ahubwo bwaba bushingiye ku mpamvu z'ubwoko, bwatera rero amacakubiri bukanarema impaka hagati mu gihugu kandi ibyo bitandukanye n'ibitekerezo bya kijyambere bigezweho kandi bisobanutse³⁵⁶.

Icyo kibazo k'ihagararirwa rishingiye ku moko ryifuzwaga n'ababazaga ibibazo cyaje kubyara izindi mpaka ku cyo amagambo Abahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa ashatse kuvuga. Mu gushaka gusobanura ayo magambo Bicomumpaka yagize ati: "Gahutu bivuga imibereho, umututsi wakennye aba ari nk'umuhutu"³⁵⁷. Undi "petisiyoneri" arasobanura ko Umuhutu ari umuntu w'umukene uri muri rubanda rugufi, hatabariwemo umuhutu mu bwoko ariko wahindutse mu mibereho Umututsi. Umututsi kuri twe ni umuntu wo hejuru, w'igitangaza, wirata mu mibereho ye kandi agasuzugura. Umututsi udukunda, ukunda kuvugana natwe twese ntabwo aba ari Umututsi mu myumvire yacu" (Bendantunguka unavuga Umuhutu ku buryo bw'ibisekuru). Shefu Bwanakweri yasubije avuga ko iyo myumvire ari mibi kandi ifite ibibazo bikomeye iteza. Yagize ati: "mushingiye kuri ibyo by'amoko, muriha akazi kadashoboka: kwita ku bwoko bumwe, mudashobora gutandukanya n'ayandi".

Ikindi kibazo Bwanakweri yavuze cyari icyo kutita ku mututsi ukennye: "niba mutitaye ku mututsi ukennye, ni ugushyigikira intambara y'abakize n'abakennye. Ndumva ku bwange mwareka kwita ku bishingiye ku moko byose, mugashingira ku butabera ku mibanire y'abantu"³⁵⁸. Shefu Mungarurire yarwanyaga iyo mvugo Muhutu-Mututsi kuko yakoreshwaga n'abashakaga gutandukanya Abanyarwanda, babacamo ibice bishingiye ku moko. Ibyo bice byombi byumvikanye ko bigomba gushakira igisubizo ahandi, hatari mu gushyiraho abantu bahagarariye amoko (na Gitera arabyemeza) ndetse bumvikana ko ikibazo cyo guhagararira Abahutu cyaba kivuyeho haramutse habaye impinduka cyangwa isubirwamo mu mitegekere.

- **Kwikubira kw'Abatutsi mu butegezi n'ubucamaza**

Ikindi kibazo kizwe n'iyi komite ni icyo kwiharira kw'Abatutsi mu butegezi no mu bucamanza. Ikibazo cy'uko "ibice uko ari bitatu by'Abanyarwanda bidasangira kimwe umunani w'igihugu

³⁵⁶ Ibidem, p.21

³⁵⁷ Ibidem, p.59

³⁵⁸ Ibidem , p. 60

cyabo n'inyungu zimwe, ko ahubwo bamwe muri bo bikubira uwo murage" (Gitera). Ubutegetsu bw'igihugu bwihariwe n'igice kimwe cy'Abatutsi. Abahutu bake bari mu butegetsu na bo bavuga ko batakiru Abahutu (Niyonzima). Nta muhutu nyawe uri mu butegetsu bw'Abanyarwanda, umuhutu nyawe yemera izina rye, bitandukanye n'ikibazo k'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yo gukuraho ayo mazina.

Ikibazo cy'uko Abatutsi bihariye ubutegetsu nticyahakanywe mu Nama Nkuru y'Igihugu. Ahubwo hemejwe ko icyo kibazo kitazanywe n'Abatutsi. Muri rusange nta tegeko ribuzaga ko abantu bose bagira amahirwe angana, rikaba ribuzaga abantu kubona imyanya mu butegetsu, ariko biragaragara ko ari ko bimeze: nta Bahutu bagaragara mu butegetsu (Mungarurire). Uko kwiharira ubutegetsu bose babyumvikana ho ko bitabagaho mu Rwanda rwa mbere ya gikoroni. Abazungu bamaze kwigarurira u Rwanda, umwami yagombye gutoranya abatware mu bantu gusa bari barize mu ishuri ry'i Nyanza ryemeraga gusa Abatutsi no muri Shariti ya Asitirida yari ifite igice kigisha abakandida bazavamo abashifu kandi bari Abatutsi gusa bateganirijwe iyo mirimo.

Gitera avugaga ko ibyo biterwa n'ibintu bibiri: kuba nta Bahutu baba ibwami no kuba Abahutu bitinya. Shefu Mbanda we avugaga ko impamvu nkuru itava ku mwami ushyiraho abatware, kandi itava ku muco, ahubwo iterwa n'uko umwami ategetswe gutoranya abo agabira mu bantu babyigiyeye, ize nyigisho zikabazarahawe Abatutsi gusa»³⁵⁹. Gitera muri rusange yemeye ibyo bisobanuro. Ariko agakomeza kuvugaga ko umwami yagombaga kuba yaragoroye iyo mikorere itari mu kuri: "sinshobora guceceka mbona banyicira umurimo»³⁶⁰. Bwanakweri yamushubije avugaga ko umwami atari ashoboye kugira icyo ahindura, kuko ububasha bwo kugabira abantu abubonye vuba, bwatangiye mu 1943, mbere yapfaga kwemera abashyizweho na guverineri. Umuzungu ntabwo yashoboraga guhita akuraho ibyo yasanze mu Rwanda ni yo mpamvu yahisemo gukoresha Abatutsi: impinduka z'ako kanya zari guhungabanyaga igihugu.

Impamvu z'uko nta Bahutu bari mu butegetsu zavuzweho na shefu Gashugi ngo nuko banga gutwara: "abayobozi bamwe b'Abahutu banze imyanya bari bagabiye (yavuze urugero rwa

³⁵⁹ Comité d'étude du problème social Muhutu-Mututsi, *Rapport*, Nyanza, Mars-avril 1958 ,p.6

³⁶⁰ Comité d'étude du problème social Muhutu-Mututsi, *Rapport*, Nyanza, Mars-avril 1958,p.6

Kayibanda, Petero Muzungu na Angero). Umuti wo kurangiza ubwikubire bw'Abatutsi mu butegetsi bw'igihugu no kurangiza akarengane waratanzwe. Gushyiraho komite itorwa ku rwego rwa sushefu kandi bikaba no ku rwego rwa sheferi. Abakandida batowe bagashyikirizwa umwami ngo abemeze (Murindahabi). Bwanakweri we yavugaga ko amatora kuri izo nzego yatera ihindagurwa rya buri kanya ry'abayobozi, bikaba byagira ingaruka mbi mu gushinga imizi k'ubuyobozi. Bikaba byagabanya ubutegetsi bw'umwami; igikwiye nuko abategetsi baja bakorerwa igenzura rikabuza ko ibibi bikorwa, kandi ubwo bugenzuzi bugakorwa n'inama za sheferi na susheferi. Gitera we yatanze igisubizo rusange kemewe n'abarenze kimwe cya kabiri cy'abagize komite (abantu 7): gushishikariza Abahutu kujya mu bakandida baba basabwa kujya mu nzego z'ubuyobozi, gukuraho akazi, kwiga neza ibisubizo bikwiye kurusha ibindi mu bijyanye na demokarasi mu butegetsi.

Ku bijyanye no kwikubira ubuyobozi bw'inkiko byagaragaraga ko impamvu ari zimwe n'izavugwaga mu butegetsi (Kayihura). Ariko Murindahabi avuga ko bidakwiye kurenganya amashuri kuko habaye itoneshwa mu bazi kwihakirwa. Mungarurire yamushubije ko ibyo ari ibintu bikorwa na bake, bidakwiye gufatwa muri rusange, we yongera guhamya ko nta tegeko ribuza Abahutu kuba abacamanza. Bamwe mu bari aho bavugaga ko iyo ibizamini by'abakandida juji bigiye gukorwa, abashefu b'Abatutsi batabwira Abahutu itariki bizakorwaho cyangwa bakayibabwira igihe cyararenze. Indi mpamvu yatanzwe na shefu Gashugi: "Abatutsi ndetse batize basa n'abajijukiwe guca imanza kurusha abavandimwe babo b'Abahutu batize. Abahutu bafite imanza buri gihe bitabaza iteka Abatutsi. Abagize Inama nkuru y'igihugu bavuze ko guverineri yanze gusezerera abajuji bageze mu za bukuru. Itegeko teka n° 348/AIMO rigenga inkiko z'abaturage ryemeza ko igenzura ryabo rishinzwe rezida w'u Rwanda. Ntabwo abari bazanye icyo kibazo bitaga kuri icyo ngingo.

Hari uwatanze igitekerezo cy'uko igisubizo cyo guca umwihariko w'Abatutsi mu nkiko waba ko inama za sheferi zajya ziha umwami urutonde rw'abakandida b'inkiko za sheferi. Shefu Kayihura yatanze ibindi bitekerezo byaje kwemerwa na benshi mu bari bagize komite : gushyira imbere ubushobozi, gukoresha ikizamini, kumenyekanisha binyuze mu itangazo itariki ikizamini kizakorwaho, gutandukanya ubutegetsi ngengamikorere n'ubutegetsi bw'ubucamaza kugira ngo hashobore kujyaho ubutegetsi bw'ubucamaza bwigenga. Yongeyeho ko ikibazo

gikomeye kubera ko inshingano zihurirwaho n'abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda n'abakoroni (Kayihura). Igitekerezo cyo gutorwa kw'abacamanza binyuze mu nama cyaranzwe. Abantu bane gusa ni bo bagitoye.

- **Icungwa ry'umutungo rusange**

Umutungo uvugwa ni uwacungwaga n'umwami (isanduku y'igihugu) n'amasanduku ya sheferi (CAC). “Abapetisiyoneri bavugaga ko batazi icyo ayo masanduku amara, uretse kugirira akamaro Abatutsi bari bayafiteho ububasha (Niyonzima). Yashubijwe ko nta faranga rishobora kuva muri ayo masanduku bitemewe na Rezida (ayinjira n'asohoka). Adiminisitarateri wa teritwari atanga uruhushya ku birebana n'isanduku ya teritwari (CAC), nta mushifu n'umwe uretse shefu Nshogoza, wacungaga isanduku ya sheferi. Itegeko teka ryo mu wa 1952 ryahaga umwami n'abatware babifashijwemo n'Inama y'igihugu n'iza sheferi ububasha bagacunga ayo masanduku, umwami agacunga Isanduku y'igihugu, abashifu bagacunga iza sheferi. Mu mikorere ya buri muni bakoraga imirimo yo guteganya ibikenewe. Kuki abashifu batacungaga ayo masanduku? Byaterwaga n'uko abakoroni bakekaga ko batabishoboye, ikindi nuko hose hatari ibya ngombwa bikenewe nk'amazu n'amasanduku y'ibyuma yabikwamo ayo mafaranga (Kayihura). Murindahabi yaneguye imicungire y'isanduku ya sheferi: “bene kuyakoresha babona ibintu bibituye imbere, bagasinyira ibyateguwe na shefu bikanemezwa na adiminisitarateri (urugero ingengo y'imari). Yanabonaga ko imicungire y'isanduku y'igihugu ikabije kuba mibi, amafaranga yo kwiga yahabwaga Abatutsi gusa.

Gitera we yabonaga ko abazungu ari bo bacunga ayo masanduku ku buryo buziguye, Abatutsi bakayacunga ku buryo butaziguye: Abatutsi bahembwa imishahara, bagatuma ari bo bonyine bafite inyungu kuri ayo mafaranga. Yakomezaga avuga ko niba abashifu bataragize uruhare mu gusaba gucunga ayo masanduku, baregwa kuba bashyira umukono ku bintu bahatiwe; kandi iyo mikorere yabo iba igambanira igihugu, kuko badaharanira uburenganzira bwabo kugeza mu nzego mpuzamahanga. Kurega umuzungu ni ukutagira ubutwari. Ikosa ni iry'abashifu, umuzungu yabashyiriyeho itegeko, ariko ntibashake kuryubahiriza (Niyonzima)³⁶¹. Shefu Mungarurire yashubije ko hari ibitekerezo muri urwo rwego byatanzwe mu Nama Nkuru y'igihugu mu wa 1955 n'abashifu mu nama y'abayobozi yabaye mu wa 1956 ariko nta gisubizo byabonye.

³⁶¹ Comité d'étude du problème social Muhutu-Mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-avril 1958, p.14

Byaje kurangira impaka kuri icyo kibazo nta cyo zigezeho: “abapetisiyoneri” bakomeza gushyira uruhare kuri shefu n’umwami, abagize Inama Nkuru y’Igihugu bakavuga ko atari bo mu by’ukuri bacungamari b’ayo masanduku. Gitera abasubiza yuko mu by’ukuri Abatutsi ayo masanduku nta cyo ababwiye kuko nta nyungu babona³⁶². Ibitekerezo byatanzwe ntibyashoboye kubona ubwiganze bw’abagize komite: byavugaga ko hagomba gukurikizwa nta kunyura ku ruhande ibiteganywa n’itegeko no guhuza amasanduku yose agahindurwamo imwe gusa (Kayihura, Mungarurire) hakanashyirwaho komisiyo igizwe n’Abahutu n’Abatutsi n’Abatwa ikurikirana imicungire n’imitegekere y’amafaranga y’amasanduku ya sheferi. (Gitera)

- **Ikibazo cy’uburezi**

Ikibazo cy’uburezi kizwe mu nama ya komite yateranye ku itariki ya 9 Mata 1958. Ikibazo cyatanzwe n’aba “petisiyoneri” cyavugaga muri rusange ko Abatutsi biganje cyane ugereranije n’Abahutu mu burezi bw’amashuri abanza, ayisumbuye ndetse n’amakuru. Gitera na Niyonzima bavugaga ko icyo kibazo gitangirira mu mashuri yisumbuye (“mu mwaka wa mbere amoko yose uyangamo”)³⁶³. Abandi bagize ako kanama bashatse kumenya imibare nyayo ijyanye n’icyo kibazo uherye mu mashuri abanza (Bwanakweri, Kagiraneza), bagiye Asitirida mu ishuri ry’indatwa rya Shariti gushaka iyo mibare; bagiye kandi n’i Save (mu ishuri ry’abarimukazi ry’Abenebikira). Umuyobozi w’iri shuri ntabwo yabahaye iyo mibare kuko, nk’uko yabivugaga, “amafishi yabo atariho ubwoko ni na cyo gisubizo bahawe muri Shariti (Rwunge rw’Amashuri). Ibaruwa yohererejwe amashuri yose yo mu gihugu isaba gutanga amakuru ku mibare ya buri “bwoko”.

Ikibazo cyongeye kuvugwaho mu nama yabaye ku itariki ya 4 kugeza ku ya 7 Kamena. Bamaze gusuzuma imibare yatanzwe n’abayobozi b’amashuri, byagaragaye ko ku bigo by’amashuri abanza 29 byashubije ku 114 (25%) 67,81 % by’abanyeshuri bari Abahutu, 31,7 Abatutsi naho 0.01% bakaba Abatwa. Shefu Bwanakweri yamenyesheje ko iyi mibare atari yo, ariko ntiyavuga aho ahera yemeza ibyo. Yavuze ko no mu mashuri abanza Abatutsi ari bo benshi. Abandi bese bemeranya na we. Mu mashuri yisumbuye, ku bigo 29 byasubije kuri 47 byose hamwe, 39.20% by’abanyeshuri bari Abahutu, 6 0.80% ari Abatutsi naho Abatwa ari nta bo³⁶⁴.

³⁶² Ibidem, p. 19

³⁶³ Ibidem, p.24

³⁶⁴ Comité d’étude du problème muhutu-mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-Avril 1958,p.32

Bamwe mu bayobozi b'ibigo batangaje ukuntu bigoranye kubona iyo mibare no gusubiza ibibazo byabajijwe n'ako kanama byo gutanga umubare w'Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa mu mashuri. Umuyobozi y'Urwunge rw'Amashuri (Shariti) yavuze ko bitamushobokera kubona iyo mibare kuko: "abenshi bavuga ko ari Abatutsi, kubera ishema baterwa no kwitwa gutyo. Ubuyobozi bw'iki kigo bwamenyesheje ko butahagarara ngo bwemeze ukuri kw'iyi mibare. "Kuri twe umunyeshuri ni umunyeshuri yaba Umunyarwanda, Umurundi, Umuhutu cyangwa Umututsi, nta vangura dukora yaba ku binjyanye n'amasomo cyangwa imyitwarire. Ibizamini byo kwinjira muri iri shuri ntibyita ku miryango baturukamo kandi ni Leta ibikurikirana. Ubuyobozi b'Urwunge nta ho buhurira na byo. Bigaragara ko mu gashami kiga iby'ubutegetsi nta Muhutu usangamo nubwo abanyeshuri bose iyo barangije ikiciro rusange, bose baba bafite uburenganzira bwo guhitamo ishami bashaka gukomeza. Ikigaragara nuko kugeza ubu Abahutu badashishikajwe no gukomeza mu Ishami ry'Ubuyobozi"³⁶⁵. Ibi bisobanuro ntibyemewe n'aba "petisiyoneri" ariko nta mpamvu batanze zo kubihakana.

Ibisubizo byatanze na Vikariyati ya Kabwayi na byo byagarazaga iki kibazo ku imibare yashakagwa. Umupadiri wayoboraga amashuri yavuze ati: "simbona ukuntu amakuru mudusaba azafasha gukemura ikibazo muriho mwigira. Ku rundi ruhande, ntibyanshobokera kubona imibare munsaba ku byiciro bimwe na bimwe. Mu gihe cyo kwemerera abanyeshuri muri seminari no muri novisiya, nta we tubaza ubwoko. Kiriziya ntishishikajwe no kumenya amoko y'abayigana, Imana ni yo yihitiramo abayo haba muri novisiya cyangwa mu iseminari. Nta muntu wigeze yirukanwa kubera ubwoko bwe". Ku binjyanye n'abarayiki boherezwa na Vikariyati kwiga mu mahanga, ntabwo iyo mibare tuyisaba. "Nzi neza amazina yabo ariko ntabwo nzi ubwoko bwa muri muntu. Ntabwo mbere yo kubohereza kujya kwiga mu mahanga, Vikariyati ikenera kubanza kumenya ubwoko bwabo. Bose ni Abanyarwanda"³⁶⁶. "Ibi bigaragara kandi no mu mashuri abanza: "twemerera umunyeshuri uwo ari we wese wujuje imyaka y'ishuri nk'uko Leta ibiteganyaga, kandi akaba akurikira amasomo ye uko bikwiye". Mu kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye hakorwa ibizamini kandi bikosorwa n'abagenzuzi b'amashuri hakanubahirizwa ibisabwa byose"³⁶⁷.

³⁶⁵ Ibidem

³⁶⁶ Comité d'étude du problème muhutu-mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-Avril 1958, p.33

³⁶⁷ Ibidem

Umuyobozi w'ikigo cya Mushishiro yoherereje akanama ubuhamya bwe ati: “mvugishije ukuri ntibyanshobokera kubona ayo makuru kuko tutigeze twita ku kumenya ibyiciro by'imibereho abana bacu barimo. Kuri twe bose ni Abanyarwanda nta tandukaniro. Dushingiye ku mahame yacu, twirinda no kuba twagira icyo tuvuga ku bijyanye n'amoko y'abana bacu kuko dushaka ko bose bumva bisanzuye ku ishuri kandi ko bakwiriye gushyira imbere imyitwarire myiza n'ubumenyi bakura mu ishuri mbere yo kwimukira mu kiciro gikurikira cyangwa no kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye”³⁶⁸.

Mu biganiriro mpaka byakozwe ku birebana n'impamvu z'ubwiganze bw'Abatutsi mu mashuri, aba “petisiyoneri” bibanze ku bwiganze n'ubundi busanzwe bw'Abatutsi muri poritiki, mu bukungu no mu mibereho rusange: Umututsi kubera urwego rw'imibereho arimo biramworohera kubonera umwana we ishuri; abana b'Abatutsi buzuzwa ibisabwa byose, cyanecyane mu mashuri yisumbuye, kuko ababyeyi babo bakize bityo bakabasha kwishyura amafaranga asabwa (Ndahayo, Murindahabi).

Perezida w'inama (umwami) yabajije abagize akanama niba ari ikibazo cy'ubwoko cyangwa cy'ubukire gitera ubwo bwiganze. Ni padiri Kagiraneza, wagize uruhare mu mateka y'uburezi mu gihe cya gikoroni, watanze igisubizo cyanyuze benshi mu bagize inama.

Ubusumbane mu moko, nk'uko abivuga, buterwa n'ibintu byinshi³⁶⁹. Guhera mu wa 1917, imiyoborere y'abaturage igendera ku gika cya nyuma k'ingingo ya 4 y'itegeko ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1917 aho bavugaga bati: “abatware, bahagarariwe na rezida, bakora imirimo yabo y'ubuyobozi n'ubucamanza, bakagendera ku muco w'igihugu cyabo n'amabwiriza atangwa na komiseri w'umwami w'Ababirigi”. Ibi kandi byashimangiwe n'itegeko n° 347/AIMO ryo ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1943 rigashyigikirwa n'itegeko ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952, ryemera ubuyobozi Ababirigi basanze mu gihugu, ubu buyobozi bukaba bwari bufitwe n'Abatutsi, aha rero ni ho haturuka ubu busumbane bwakomejwe n'abakoroni. Amashuri yigishaga abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda yari amashuri ya Leta: iry'i Nyanza, mu Ruhengeri, i Cyangugu na Asitirida. Aya mashuri yemereraga abana b'abatware n'Abatutsi bashoboraga kugira “ingishywa” n'“abanyagihe”³⁷⁰. Kubera iyo mpamvu

³⁶⁸ Ibidem, p. 32

³⁶⁹ Comité d'étude du problème muhutu-mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-Avril 1958, p. 28

³⁷⁰ Idem

ubwitabire bw'abana b'Abatutsi bwariyongereye mu gihe abana b'Abahutu batashishikarijwe cyane kugana ishuri. Ku bwa padiri, ubwiganze bw'Abatutsi bwatewe n'ibikurikira: icya mbere uburyo bw'imiyoborere n'imategekere ya kera, uburyo bwari bukenewe icyo gihe ariko butakomeje kujyana n'igihe, hanyuma n'imihindukire y'imatekerereze mu mitwe y'abaturage: ubwitabire ku Batutsi kubera inyungu bategereje mu kwiga³⁷¹.

Ivangura ryagaragaye mu Rwunge rw'amashuri rwa Asitirida (Shariti), aho mu gashami kiga iby'imiyoborere batakiraga abana b'Abahutu, ryatinzweho n'abagize akanama kubera ibyanditswe n'aba "petisiyoneri". Mu rugendo abagize akanama bakoreye muri iryo shuri ry'Urwunge, umuyobozi w'ishuri yavuze ko bari basigaye bakira amoko yose muri ako gashami. Abazi amateka y'iryo shuri bavuze ko kwinjira muri ako gashami k'ubuyobozi bitashobokeraga Abahutu gusa ahubwo n'Abatutsi basanzwe batari abana b'abatware. Gusa abana b'abatware baba Abahutu cyangwa Abatutsi ni bo bashoboraga kwiga muri iryo shami. Mu gihe k'ibiganiro mpaka ako gashami ntikari kakiriho, kari karasimbuwe n'akandi gashami kiga iby'ubutegetsu ariko kadateye kimwe nk'aka mbere. Agashami gashya kateguraga abanyeshuri gukora imirimo itandukanye y'ubuyobozi bitandukanye n'aka mbere kateguraga gusa kuyobora sheferi (Mungarurire). Aba "petisiyoneri" ntabwo bemeraga iby'iyi mihindukire, bavugaga ko amakuru yatanzwe n'umuyobozi w'ikigo ku bwiganze bw'Abatutsi muri aka gashami bugaragaza ko hakiri ikimenyane n'ikenewabo muri aka gashami.

Ibisubizo bitandukanye byaratanzwe kugira ngo bace ubu busumbane bukandamiza Abahutu bwagaragaraga mu mashuri: gukangurira cyane abana bageze igihe cyo gutangira ishuri ku mashuri abanza, guha buruse abana b'abakene bashaka gukomeza mu kiciro kisumbuye binyuze muri komisiyo ibishinzwe (Bicamupaka, Murindahabi), gushyiraho ikigega kitabogamiye kuri Leta (Kagiraneza), gukuraho ikimenyane n'ikenewabo kigaragara muri Shariti (Urwunge rw'Amashuri), gukangurira abarimu kubuza abana gucikiza amashuri abarangije ikiciro, gushaka ibyumba by'amashuri bihagije mbere yo gutegeka abana bose kugana ishuri. Nta kemezo na kimwe kigeze gifatwa ku bwiganze buhagije keretse ihame rivuga ko abana bose bakwiriye kugana ishuri hatitawe ku ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose.

³⁷¹ Ibidem, p. 28

Akanama kize ibindi bibazo bitandukanye ariko bitafashe umwanya munini nk'ibi tumaze kuvuga. Ni nko ku bijyanye n'abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu kubera ubusumbane bw'amoko bugaragaramo. Nk'uko Gitera abivuga, Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yashyizweho hakurikijwe itegeko ryo mu wa 1952 ariko mu kuri si ko bimeze: ihagarariye gusa Abatutsi. Hari hakwiriye kuba abahagarariye Abahutu ibwami. Abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bavugaga ko bahagarariye Abanyarwanda bose nubwo ari Abatutsi (Kagiraneza, Mungarurire). Abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bagaragaje ko byinshi mu byemezo byafashwe na bo ku bijyanye n'imivugururire y'inzego z'ubuyobozi bitashyizwe mu bikorwa kubera ubuyobozi bwa Leta mbirigi, nyamara ugereranyije n'aho ibihe byari bigeze bari bashyigikiye ko ubuyobozi buvugururwa bugahinduka ubwami bushingiye ku itegeko nshinga (Kagiraneza, Mungarurire, Bwanakweri). Akanama kahisemo kurekera icyo kibazo komisiyo y'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu kugira ngo ikige mu buryo buruseho³⁷².

Abagize akanama kandi bavuze ku makosa akorwa n'abashefu n'abasushefu. Amabaruwa yandikiwe umwami yasomewe mu nama, muri yo hagaragaragamo ihohoterwa rikorerwa Abahutu, urugero ni ku bijyanye n'impano baha abashefu cyangwa abasushefu kugira ngo bandike abavutse cyangwa abapfuye, abahinzi bahingira abategetsu ntibahembwe, gutanga umusoro w'inka mbere y'igihe, ibihano bitangwa mu bikorwa byo kurwanya isuri. Abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bagaragaje ibibi by'akazi, bagaragaza ko bifuzaga ko kakurwaho (Kagiraneza). Ariko batangajwe no kumva Gitera asaba ko akazi kagumaho mu gihe cy'agateganyo³⁷³. "turi abaturage batamenyeranye akazi ni yo mpamvu rero, hakwiriye kugira umwanya uharirwa akazi, n'undi wo kwisanzura." Shefu Mungarurire yagaragaje ko yumiwe kubera icyo gitekerezo cya Gitera, kuko yasangaga akazi ariko ntandaro y'amakimibirane hagati y'abayobozi n'abo bayobora; abantu benshi bibwira ko akazi kazanywe n'abatware b'Abatutsi, ibi sushefu Bicamumpaka ni ko na we abibona aho agira ati: "Abatutsi bari hagati y'Abahutu n'abazungu" bigaragara ko ari imbogamizi yatewe n'abakoroni³⁷⁴.

Umwami yashoje ibiganiro avuga ko ku bwe koko amakosa aturuka ku akazi no ku kibazo cy'ubutaka n'amasambu kitararangira³⁷⁵. Ubutegetsu bw'umwami bwonyine

³⁷² Comité d'étude du problème muhutu-mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-Avril 1958, p.58

³⁷³ Comité d'étude du problème muhutu-mututsi, Rapport, Nyanza, Mars-Avril 1958, p. 61

³⁷⁴ Ibidem

³⁷⁵ Ibidem

ntibwakwishoboza gukemura ibibazo byose bihari. Ibibazo kandi biri mu buzima butandukanye bw'igihugu, mu bice biyoborwa n'abakoroni hamwe na Kiriziya, bese rero bagomba guhagararirwa muri ibi biganiro. Umwami ni we wari warafashe iya mbere mu kuyobora ibi biganiro ku kibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, ibiganiro abategetsu ba Leta mbirigi banze kwitabira. Ntabwo bari biteze ko umwami azafata iya mbere maze agategura ibiganiro bigari.

Twababwira ko mu gihe ibyo biganiro by'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu byabaga, umwami yagiye yakira amabaruwa atandukanye y'Abahutu baturuka mu turere dutandukanye tw'igihugu (Muramba, Buriza, Save, Asitirida, Buganza y'Amajyaruguru, Mugina, Mpara, Mwurire, Kabare, Ngoma, Ruhashya, Mbazi, Shyogwe) bavuga ko bamushyigikiye muri iki gikorwa. Birashoboka cyane ko abanditse izo nyandiko babitegetswe n'abashefu n'abasushefu b'aho batuye (urugero Gitera ni ko yabigenje). Bashakaga kwamagana inyandiko zasohotse muri *Kinyamateka* (Gicurasi 1958) yasebyaga umwami n'ibiranga ubwami. Ibyari bikubiye muri ayo ma baruwa ni ibi muri make:

- Abashyize umukono kuri izo nyandiko bitandukanije na Gitera n'ibitekerezo bye bivuga ko Abatutsi bakandamije Abahutu,
- Batsindagira ko ibyo Gitera avuga ntawabimutumye, kandi ko nta shingiro bifite.
- Nta makimbirane ari hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi, Igihe cyose aya moko yombi yabanye neza mu mahoro, Gitera nta kindi ashaka uretse kuzana amacakubiri mu bavandimwe bakomoka ku mubyeyi umwe (Gihanga).
- Gitera ni umuhemu utishyura imyenda ye, ntiyishyure n'abakozi bamukoreye.
- Abahutu ntibashaka kugera ku butegetsu bica abari babusanganywe.
- Abanditse ayo mabaruwa barashimira umwami ibyo amaze kugeza ku Rwanda, birimo guca ubuhake, guca ikiboko, guca shiku, kunyagwa n'ibindi.
- Umwami aca neza imanza zimushyikirijwe nta ho abogamiye, umwami ni we nkigi y'igihugu.
- Koko hari amakosa n'akarengane ariko si Abatutsi gusa babitera: buri wese abifitemo uruhare;
- Ubufatanye hagati y'abayobora n'abayoborwa ni bwo buzafasha gukemura iki kibazo.

Ibiganiro mpaka ku kibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi byakozwe mu bwisanzure no kwishyira ukizana bihagije ku buryo wabigereranya n'ibibera mu bihugu byateye imbere. Nk'uko bigaragara, ikibazo cy'amoko ntigishobora kuvugwa hatarebwe ibibazo by'imiyoborere mu byiciro bitandukanye by'igihugu (uburezi, ubutegets, icungamari, n'ibindi). Ibi biganiro bigaragaza uburyo bubiri bwo kubona ibintu: ku ruhande rumwe aba "petisiyoneri" bashakaga kubona ibisubizo vuba ku bibazo bahura na byo mu buzima bwa buri muni, ku rundi ruhande abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu batungaga agatoki ubutegets bwa Leta mbirigi bwabashyize mu bibazo by'insobe. Izi mpande zombi hari ibyo zumvikanagaho. Twavuzeho bimwe haruguru. Ibyo ni byo byashoboraga guherwaho kugira ngo bumvikane. Ikindi kandi nuko ibitekerezo by'ubuhezanguni byari bigifitwe n'abantu bake.

Zari inshingano z'ubutegets bwariho icyo gihe gukomeza ibyo biganiro, kugira ngo habonerwe ibisubizo ibibazo byagaragaye, kandi hirindwe gutandukira. Twakwibaza impamvu ku ruhande rumwe atari ko bwabigenje ahubwo bugahitamo kutitabira ibyo biganiro, kandi ari bwo bwivugiraga ko ikibazo cy'amoko cyari ingenzi, ku rundi ruhande ahubwo bugahitamo gushyigikira abanyaporitiki batari bashyigikiye ibyo biganiro.

d. Uko ubutegets bwa Leta mbirigi bwabyitwayemo

Ubutegets bwa Leta mbirigi bwari mu Rwanda, uhereye kuri Visi Guverineri wungirije, bwarebereye imizambire y'ibintu mu gihugu ntibwafata ibyemezo mu gihe gikwiye. R. Bourgeois yaburiye minisiteri ya koroni ku gutandukira kw'aho byaganaga gushoboka: "nihakomeza kureberwa ibintu uko bigenda bizamba, ibi bishobora kuvamo ikibazo gikomeye kidafite igaruriro, ukurikije umubare mwinshi w'Abahutu"³⁷⁶.

Umuyobozi wari ushinze ibya poritiki mu biro bya guverineri mukuru, abyumvikanyeho na rezida wa Ruanda-Urundi, yayoboye ibiganiro ku bijyanye n'ejo hazaza ha poritiki y'ibyo bihugu byombi. Imbanzirizamushiga yashyizwe ahagaragara, ikanagenderwaho mu mpaka zagiwe hagati ya za rezidansi ebyiri, Kigali na Usumbura, yari igamije gushakira ibisubizo ibibazo byihutirwa byagaragaye. Ingingo ngari zari izikurikira³⁷⁷: mbere yo gushyiraho abategets batandukanye no kubakuraho

³⁷⁶ Bourgeois R. na Mr Halleux, 29 septembre 1957

³⁷⁷ Guillaume H., Note synthétique, 4 juin 1957

hagomba kubazwa inama; abagize inama ya susheferi bagomba gutorwa n'abaturage bose ba susheferi b'igitsina gabo; abagize inama ya sheferi batorwa n'abaturage bagomba kungana ishuro ebyiri z'abandi badatorwa; gusesa inama ya teritwari; abagize Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu bakajyaho ku buryo bukurikira: ibyiciro by'abatorwa cyangwa bagashyirwaho na bagenzi babo birasheshwe, inama izaba igizwe n'abahagarariye abandi baturuka mu nama za sheferi (shefu, sushefu n'abatware babiri); abagize akanama gahoraho barahinduwe: izaba igizwe n'abashefu batatu hamwe n'abatware batatu, umwe muri bo, muri buri kiciro, azashyirwaho n'umwami; inshingano z'inama zirasobanutse, cyanecyane mu bijyanye n'ubutaka hamwe no gushyiraho abakozi.

Imbanzirizamushinga kandi yari irimo ibijyanye na tekini: nk'imiterere y'abakozi bakuru b'Abanyarwanda, imicungire y'isanduku ya za sheferi n'ikigega cy'umwami, inshingano z'inama n'ibindi.

Umushinga woherejwe Léopoldville mu Gushyingo 1957, ubuyobozi bwa Usumbura busaba ko wigwaho byihutirwa kuko byihutirwaga, wagiraga uti: "mu gihe imbaga y'abaturage na Manifeste y'Abahutu bamaze gutangaza ibyifuzo byabo; ubutegetsu bugomba kuvugururwa bukajyana n'amahame ya demokarasi ateza imbere umuturage mu kwigobotora ubutegetsu bwa gihake". "Imbaga y'abahinzi yatugiriye ikizere, ntikwiriye gutegereza ubuziraherezo; kuko bigenze bityo bashobora guhindukira bakumva inama z'abashumba babi"³⁷⁸.

Ishami rya tekini rya Minisiteri ya za koroni na ryo ryaritabajwe. Ubuyobozi bwa mbere bw'Ubuyobozi bukuru bwabonaga umushinga muri rusange warajyanaga n'ibitekerezo bigezweho kandi ukavugurura cyane inzego za poritiki zariho. Imivugururire y'inama zariho by'umwihariko yagaragaraga nk'iyitondewe, kandi ihagije kugira ngo isubize by'agateganyo ibibazo byazamuwe na bamwe mu baturage bari bashyigikiwe n'abazungu bamwe na bamwe.

Muri iryo vugururwa ariko basabaga guverinoma kugaragaza byimazeyo imigambi yayo kugira ngo yoroherewe ubuyobozi kugarurirwa ikizere n'abaturage. Kugaragaza inshingano z'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bizafasha kugabanya imigonganire y'inzego z'ubuyobozi bw'Abanyarwanda n'ubw'Ababirigi.

³⁷⁸ Leroy P., Lettre au Gouverneur Général, 25 novembre 1957

Hagomba gushyirwaho itegeko riha ubutegetsi bw'Abanyarwanda ikizere kiruseho kandi rikanakomeza kugaragaza inshingano z'Ababirigi³⁷⁹.

Icyari kigamijwe muri iryo vugururwa byari ukuvugurura byimazeyo imiterere y'inzeho z'ubutegetsi muri rusange n'uburyo ubutegetsi bw'abazungu bukorana n'ubw'Abanyarwanda, aho kureba utuntu duta. Hari hagamijwe mu by'ukuri gusubira gutekereza uko inzeho zihagararirwa no guhuza ubutegetsi ntihakomeze kubaho ubwa kizungu n'ubwa Kinyarwanda. Byari ngombwa kandi gushyiraho ubuyobozi bugendeye ku mahame ya demokarasi butuma abaturage bahagararirwa kurushaho. Ariko ubutegetsi bw'indagizo bwari bugikenewe³⁸⁰. Ntibigaragara ariko ukuntu ubwo ubutegetsi bw'indagizo bwagombaga kujyana n'ubushingiye kuri demokarasi.

Inyandiko ya nyuma y'uyu mushinga yemejwe mu nama yabaye tariki 28 Mutarama 1958 maze woherewe na guverineri mukuru muri minisiteri ya koroni. Muri iyi nyandiko hari ibintu bibiri bishoboka: ubwigenge bwuzuye cyangwa ubwigenge bucagase. Hemejwe ko ubutegetsi bw'abazungu bugomba kugenda bugabanya inshingano zabwo buhoro buhoro buzishyira mu maboko y'ubutegetsi bw'Abanyarwanda: ibyo bigakorwa baha Abanyarwanda bize inkuga mu bijyanye na tekiniiki cyanecyane mu byo badahugukiwemo. Kongerera ubushobozi ubuyobozi bw'Abanyarwanda byagombaga kujyana no kongerera inshingano ubutegetsi bugizwe n'Abanyarwanda, ariko byose bikorerwa muni y'ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi.

Impamvu yatangwaga yari iteka isanzwe izwi: muri Ruanda-Urundi, imikurire y'ibitekerezo n'imyitwarire bya poritiki iracyari hasi ku buryo bitatuma babasha kugira ubuyobozi na guverinoma byiyobora, uretse kuba bufite gusa ubushobozi bwa tekiniiki n'ubukungu. Ni yo mpamvu igisubizo gikwiye ari ukugenda baha abaturage kavukire ubuyobozi buhorobuhoro. Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu ikaba ari yo izajya yita ku bijyanye n'ibibazo by'abaturage, naho rezida abifashijwemo n'inama ihuriweho n'abazungu n'Abanyarwanda ikazajya yita ku birebana n'ibibazo bya tekiniiki³⁸¹.

³⁷⁹ Paulus J.-M., Note pour le Ministre, 21 Janvier 1958

³⁸⁰ Note de la Direction de la 2e Direction générale, 21 janvier 1958.

³⁸¹ 1e Direction de la 2e direction générale; un document non daté préparé par J.-M. Paulus et J. Vanhove

Guverineri mukuru Pétillon yemeye ibyo bitekerezo byatanzwe bijyana n'ryo vugururwa ariko asaba ibintu bibiri: icya mbere ni ukutibagirwa iterambere ry'Abahutu. Yagize ati: “ntabwo gushyikiriza ubutegetsu buhorobuhoro abenegihugu bigomba gukorwa ku nyungu z'Abatutsi gusa. Abahutu na bo bagomba kugaragara muri ubwo butegetsu ku buryo busesuye. Igihe cyarashize cyo gushingira ubuyobozi ku butegetsu bw'Abatutsi gusa nk'uko bimeze ubu. Tugomba gushyigikira Abahutu mu migambi yabo yo kwiteza imbere mu mibereho na poritiki. Muri icyo gikorwa gikwiye cyo kwanga akarengane kandi tuzashyigikirwa n'abantu batandukanye barimo inzego mpuzamahanga, abayobozi bakuru ba Kiriziya n'abaturage b'abanyaburayi. Ibi ariko birasaba kubigenza gahoro, nta guhubuka kugira ngo twirinde umuvuduko n'ihubi bikabije”³⁸².

Guverineri mukuru yongeraho kandi ku bijyanye n'Abahutu, ati: “sinarangiza uru rwandiko ntongeye kwibutsa ko ari ngombwa gushyigikira byimazeyo iterambere ry'imigambi y'Abahutu ariko tubayobora kugira ngo badahubuka bagatera imyivumbagatanyo cyangwa bagatsindwa kubera kutabasha kwifata. Ikibazo gikomeye gishobora kuvuka nuko bakwivumbagatanyo banga imirimo myinshi bakwa n'Abatutsi nk'uko bisanzwe, uko kuyanga bikanafatira n'indi mirimo yose bategekwa cyangwa isabwa n'ubuyobozi kandi ifitiye cyanecyane abahinzi akamaro. Birashoboka cyane ko imyivumbagatanyo y'Abahutu ivamo ibibazo by'akavuyo mu gihugu”³⁸³.

Amabwiriza arumvikana: ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwari mu Rwanda bwagombaga gushyigikira imigambi yavugwaga n'inyaryenge z'Abahutu bize. Ni na ko byagenze. Ikindi Pétillon yasabaga byari ukwirinda kurema za Leta z'abenegihugu zidashinze, aho ubukungu budashoboka, abaturage bicwa n'inzara, buri gace gasamarira guharanira ingirwagihugu ukwako ridafite icyo rimaze”. Bidashobotse gukora igihugu kimwe kigizwe n'u Rwanda n'u Burundi, kubitandukanya ntibyagombye gutuma buri gace kigunga ukwako. Iki kifuzo ariko nticyabashije kugerwaho.

Mbere gato ko habaho impinduka zo mu wa 1959, byagaragaraga ko abantu bose bumvikanaga mu guhindura no kuvugurura bikomeye inzego z'ubutegetsu zariho kugira ngo ziyane n'ibihe haba mu by'ubukungu, imibereho y'abaturage ndetse na

³⁸² Gouverneur général, Lettre au Vice Gouverneur général, 7 mai 1958

³⁸³ Idem

poritiki. Ntabwo ari ukuri rero ko abayobozi b'abenegihugu batari babishyigikiye nk'uko bamwe babivuga ngo kwanga iryo vugurura ni bo bizaturukaho, ko ahubwo "abantu bajijutse bo mu mu migi no mu cyaro barimo Abahutu, Abatutsi n'abandi bose babona ko ingoma ya gihake iri mu marembera bari gushyigikira izo mpinduka". Iyo umuntu ahuje ibyavuye mu biganiro byakozwe n'abategetsi b'abenegihugu hamwe n'abategetsi b'Ababirigi bigaragaza neza ibyo bumvikanagaho n'ibyo batumvikanagaho. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'iyi gahunda ryari rishingiye mbere na mbere ku bushake ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi bwari kubishyiramo. Ese koko ubwo butegetsi bwashakaga kubona ibisubizo binyuze mu biganiro byakozwe n'abahagarariye Abanyarwanda nyakuri" nk'uko byari byifujwe n'abari babishinzwe mbere? Bashyira imbere amoko mu gukemura ibibazo byagaragaye, bateye utwatsi imishinga myiza ya gahunda bari bafite bityo babangamira inyungu z'Abanyarwanda nyamwinshi nubwo bwose izabo bazigezeho.

Mu nama ya cumi y'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yateranye muri Kamena 1958, umuyobozi w'Umubirigi ushinze ibibazo by'abaturage yavuye mu izina rya visi guverineri "ko nta kibazo gihangayikishije haba muri poritiki yacu yo muri iki gihe, haba mu mibanire y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi". Ku bijyanye n'ibyasabwaga n'Abahutu yavuye ati: "biriya ni ibibazo by'abaturage bakennye na byo kandi ubyitegereje wasanga nta n'ibibazo birimo nk'uko bashakaga kubikabya"³⁸⁴. Umuntu ashobora kuvuga ko kugeza icyo gihe abategetsi b'Ababirigi bari batarashwana n'abategetsi b'Abatutsi.

Iryo shwana ryatangiyeye tariki ya 3 Ukuboza 1958. Kuri icyo tariki ni bwo guverineri wungirije Harroy yamaganye inzego z'ubutegetsi za poritiki, imibanire n'ubuyobozi u Bubirigi bwari bushyigikiye kugeza ayo magingo. Mu ijamba yavuye mu nama rusange yagize ati: "ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ni ikibazo tutakwirengagiza muri iki gihugu aho hagaragara ubusumbane bukabije. [...]. Bigaragara ko imyanya myinshi y'ubuyobozi yigaruriwe n'Abatutsi, aho bahohotera abaturage bagizwe ahanini n'Abahutu"³⁸⁵. J.-P Harroy mu gitabo ke yanditse nyuma yemera ko gufata icyo kemezo byamugoye cyane ariko yari yagitekerejeho "kuko u Bubirigi bwari bumaze kwanga ku mugaragaro ibyemezo bya Mutara byo muri Kamena 1958"³⁸⁶.

³⁸⁴ Déclaration devant les membres du CSP, in *Les Rapports du CSP*, Nyanza, 1957, p.8 . A cette séance, l'Eglise catholique était représentée par le Père Verleye

³⁸⁵ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, p.44

³⁸⁶ Harroy J.-P., Rwanda, *De la féodalité à la démocratie 1955-1962*, Bruxelles, Hayez, 1984, p.248.

Visi Guverineri mukuru yirinze kuvuga ijambo ubwoko mu ijambo rye, ahubwo avuga “igice mu mibereho y’abaturage b’Abatutsi n’Abahutu” kuko yari azi neza ko ikibazo kitari ubwoko kandi ko ntawari kwihandagaza ngo yemeze ko Abatutsi bose bari abakire bashinjwa gukandamiza abaturage. Yari azi neza ko abenshi mu Batutsi ari abakene³⁸⁷. Ntiyari ayobewe kandi ko Abahutu bose batari abakene uhereye kuri abo Bahutu bakomeye “bake cyane mu Bahutu bagizwe n’abakozi ba Leta, abarimu, abacuruzi akenshi bashakaga abagore b’Abatutsikazi”³⁸⁸. Hari kandi mu majyaruguru y’igihugu abakungu b’Abahutu bafite ibikingi by’ubutaka yitwaga “abakonde”.

Visi Guverineri kandi yahanaguye icyaha ku butegetsi bw’abakoroni bw’Ababirigi aho ibibazo byose byagaragaraga yabigeretse ku butegetsi basanzeho bwa cyami. Ubutegetsi kandi bw’Ababirigi ubwo bwikuyeho inshingano zo gushyigikira igikorwa cyo kugeza u Rwanda ku bwigenge binyuze ku bwumvikane bw’impande zose byarebaga.

Ntabwo Ababirigi bose bumvikanaga ku kibazo cyo gutanga ubwigenge: bamwe bari bashyigikiye ubutegetsi bwariho bw’umwami aho bumvaga ko nibabaha ubwigenge buhagije amaherezo bazakomeza kugirana umubano mwiza n’u Bubirigi. Abandi bari bashyigikiye ibitekerezo by’Abahutu, abo bari biganje cyane mu bagize ishyaka ryitwa “Parti Social Chrétien Belge”. Abo ni bo bagiriye inama u Bubirigi guhindura uruhande bushyigikira. Naho ubundi ntakemezaga ko Ababirigi bari gushyigikira ako gatsiko k’Abahutu bake bize bazamuwe na Kiriziya. Guhera mu wa 1954 ubutegetsi busanzwe bwa Leta y’Ababirigi ntibwumvikanaga na Kiriziya mu gushinga amashuri adashingiye ku idini. Ikindi kandi J.-P. Harroy ntiyumvikanaga na Kiriziya, yamwitaga “franc-maçon”. Yitangarije ko nubwo yageze aho agashyigikira Abahutu, Kiriziya itigeze imwemera kuko atemeraga ibintu by’amadini cyane. Mu wa 1959, Gerigori Kayibanda igihe yahuraga n’umwami w’Ababirigi, Beaudouin, yaboneyeho kumusaba gusimbuza Harroy undi guverineri gatorika³⁸⁹.

³⁸⁷ Kuri iyo ngingo Harroy J.-P. avuga mu gitabo ke ati :”Bibagirwaga kenshi muri icyo kibazo cy’Abahutu, urwego rw’ubusumbane abantu banyuranye barimo : hari hafi miriyoni ebyiri z’Abahutu bahanganye n’Abatutsi bari mu buyobozi bageze ku bihumbi bingaha, bakaba ari bo bakandamizaga Abahutu, birengagizaga ko hari Abatutsi bato barenze 250.000, batari bafite inyungu barengera ahubwo bari abakene ndetse rimwe na rimwe bikabije. (Harroy J.-P., *op.cit.*, p.248)

³⁸⁸ Ruzindana A., *L’Eglise catholique missionnaire et les débuts de la crise ethnique au Rwanda: 1900-1973*, mémoire, Université d’Ottawa, 2003, p.151

³⁸⁹ Harroy J.-P., *op.cit.*, p.341

Kuba Ababirigi barageze aho bagahindura igice bashyigikiye byari bijyanye no gukomeza kubungabunga inyungu zabo. Gushyigikira abategetsi b'Abahutu byari nk'igisubizo cyo gusimbura abayobozi b'Abatutsi. Ntabwo Abahutu bigeze bashyira mu majwi ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni nk'uko byakorwaga n'ubutegetsi bwariho bw'umwami. Ntabwo bashyize mu majwi ibikorwa bibi byakozwe n'abakoroni nk'akazi", ikiboko, imisoro, gutesha agaciro umuco nyarwanda, gusahura ubukungu bw'igihugu n'ibindi.

Guhindura ibibazo byari mu Rwanda mo ibibazo by'amoko byatumaga abantu batita ku bibazo nyabyo, maze bagashaka igitambo ari cyo "ubukoroni bw'abenegihugu", bwakozwe n'Abatutsi bafashwe nk'abantu bari mu rwego rumwe n'urw'abanyamahanga kandi bese bakaba barakandamije Abahutu igihe kirekire. Ni muri urwo rwego, abari bagize Komite nkuru ya Parmehutu batanze itangazo mu wa 1960 bagira bati: "abaturage ba Ruanda-Urundi barashaka ubwigenge, ubwigenge ku bwoko bubiri bw'ubukoroni: ubukoroni bw'Abatutsi n'ubukoroni bw'Ababirigi. Iyo Abatutsi bavuga ko bahagarariye igihugu ni nk'uko Abafaransa bari bahagarariye koroni zabo mbere y'ubwigenge"³⁹⁰. Mu mihango yo kwizihiza ubwigenge ku nshuro ya 10, tariki 1 Nyakanga 1972, Perezida Kayibanda yongeye kandi gushyira mu gatebo kamwe Abatutsi n'abazungu, banyunyuje amaraso y'Abahutu³⁹¹.

e. Uko Kiriziya yabyitwayemo

Ntibyaba ari byo kwemeza ko Kiriziya gatorika yose hamwe, ihagarariwe n'inzego zayo, yashyigikiye ivanguramoko kuva bigitangira. Harimo ibice bitandukanye. Agace gato gusa kagizwe n'abamisiyoneri bakuriwe na Musenyeri Perraudin ni ko kabitangije karanabyamamaza. Ariko ako gace gato kabishyizemo ingufu ku buryo kabashije kubyumvisha abantu batandukanya batari babishishikariye mbere barimo abamisiyoneri batabyumvaga, ubutegetsi bw'abakoroni bwari mu gihugu, Koroneri Logiest, Visi Guverineri na minisiteri ya za Koroni. Bashoboye kandi no gucamo ibice abapadiri b'Abanyarwanda.

³⁹⁰ Urwandiko rw'intabaza mu Rwanda, 8 Gicurasi 1960: rwashyizweho umukono n'abayobozi b'iryo shyamba, barimo Gerigori Kayibanda.

³⁹¹ Peresidansi ya Repubulika, Ingingo z'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Imyaka icumi y'isabukuru y'ubwigenge: 01-07-1962-01-07-1972, Ibiro by'amakuru muri Perezidansi ya Repuburika, 1972, p.3

Musenyeri A. Bigirumwami, na we wari musenyeri wa Kiriziya gatorika y'u Rwanda icyo gihe, kimwe na Rudahigwa, yamaganaga guha isura y'amoko ibibazo u Rwanda rwari rufite. Kuri we ipfundo ry'ikibazo ryari: "ukurikije ukuntu ibintu byahindukaga vubavuba mu Rwanda, abantu benshi baba Abahutu, Abatutsi, Abatwa barashaka kugira uruhare nyarwo mu miyoborere y'igihugu, haba mu rwego rwa poritiki, imibereho y'abaturage, n'ubukungu (...). Abantu bagomba kubyigaho bagashaka ibisubizo bitarimo amarangamutima ariko batirengagije ukuri nko kuba hariho abakene n'abakire"³⁹². Ibi bitekerezo bye buri gihe byarwanyijwe n'abari bashyigikiye igisubizo gishingiye ku moko. Ni bo buri gihe bafataga Bigirumwami nk'Umututsi mu bandi, udashobora kutabogama mu gutanga ibitekerezo ku bibazo biriho mu gihugu.

Ku rundi ruhande, mugenzi we Musenyeri Perraudin yiyitiriye ko ari we watangije Revorisiyo y'Abahutu. Musenyeri wa Vikariyati ya Kabgayi yasohoye urwandiko, mu bihe byari bikomeye, ku itariki ya 11 Gashyantare 1959, aho yemezaga ko: "mu Rwanda hari amoko menshi yigaragaza (...). Mu Rwanda rwacu (...) ari ubukungu ku ruhande rumwe, ari ubutegetsu bwa poritiki ndetse n'ubw'ubucamanza byose bwihariwe ku buryo bugaragara n'abantu bo mu bwoko bumwe"³⁹³. Ubwo buryo bwo kubona ibintu ni bwo ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwagendeyeho mu byemezo bwagiye bufata mu myaka ya nyuma yegereje ubwigenge. Ni na bwo kandi bwagendeweho n'ingoma zabayeho nyuma y'ubwigenge³⁹⁴.

Ibi bitekerezo bya Myr Perraudin byatangajwe abantu benshi kubera imibanire myiza yari asanzwe afitanye n'umwami n'abatware mbere ya 1959³⁹⁵. Ibi bikaba bisobanura impamvu ibwami ndetse n'abari bagize ishyamba Unar bamwanze urunuka

³⁹² *Témoignage chrétien*, 5 septembre 1958

³⁹³ Kugira ngo hagaragare agaciro gakomeye Myr Perraudin yahaga iyo baruwa, yategetse abapadiri n'abarimu bose ba Vikariyati ko bayisoma muri kiriziya zose, mu bibeho bya gatigisimu n'amashuri kandi bakayisobanura. Ni yo yabaye imfashanyigisho mu masomo adasanzwe ku kuntu Kiriziya yigisha imibanire y'abantu (Amabwiriza yo ku wa 11 Gashyantare na 15 Mata 1959). Nta yindi nyandiko ya Kiriziya yaba ireba u Rwanda gusa cyangwa ireba isi yose yahawe bene ako gaciro.

³⁹⁴ Uruhare rwa Myr Perraudin runagaragarira mu ibaruwa rusange yanditswe n'abasenyeri ba Ruanda-Urundi yatangajwe mbere y'imyivumbagatanyo yo mu Gushyamba 1969. A basenyeri babona ibintu kimwe na we. "Uburyo ibintu bimeze muri Ruanda-Urundi biha umwihariko w'ubutegetsu igice kimwe, ntibugihuye n'ubuyobozi bw'urubumbambaga ruzima" (Ibaruwa y'abasenyeri ba Ruanda-Urundi, 25 Kanama 1959)

³⁹⁵ Kayihura M. avugaga ko umwami Rudahigwa, utarashakaga umusenyeri w'Umubirigi, yashyigikiye padiri Perraudin w'Umusuwisi, akeka ko azagendera kure Ababirigi (ubuhamya, Kamena 1998). Biratangajwe ko u Rwanda rutigeze umusenyeri w'Umubirigi.

ndetse hamwe na hamwe abaturage bakamwikoma ku giti ke (abantu bashatse kumwicira i Gahini bamuteye amabuye), ndetse n’abandi banyamadini nk’abayisiramu n’abangirikani bakabimwangira.

Ijambo yavugiye mu mihango yo guhabwa ubusenyeri, tariki ya 23 Werurwe 1956, Musenyeri A. Perraudin ntabwo yigararagaje nk’umurevorisiyoneri, yaje guhinduka nyuma kubera ikwizabitekerezo y’abamisiyoneri. Muri iryo jambo yagaragaye nk’umuntu wifuza imikoranire myiza, ishingiyeye ku bwumvikane n’ubwizerane hagati ya Kiriziya n’abategetsiki nk’uko abamubanjirije bari barakoze. “Iyo ubutegetsiki bw’abantu bwumvikanye n’ubuturuka ku Mana, isi iba iyobowe neza, ariko iyo butumvikana ntabwo gusa ibikorwa bito bitera imbere ahubwo n’ibinini biradindira cyane”³⁹⁶. icyo gihe yavugaga ubutegetsiki bwariho icyo gihe, si ubwo yafashije gushyiraho mu 1959.

Ni gute umuntu yasobanura iyo mihindukire y’ibitekerezo bya Myr Perraudin? Yatangiyeye guhinduka ryari? Kubonera ibisubizo ibi bibazo biragoye hatari amakuru ahagije. Ibitabo yanditse ku buzima bwe nta kintu gishya byazanye, biroroshye ariko kubona ko kubonamo Abanyarwanda ibice bitandukanye bitari umwihariko we kuko ari ibitekerezo byazanye n’abamisiyoneri ba mbere bagabanyije Abanyarwanda mo amoko.

Uku kuntu aba misiyoneri babonaga imiterere y’Abanyarwanda byafatwaga nk’igisubizo cyo kuzana ubutabera mu mibereho myiza y’abaturage kuko byari bigamije guteza imbere “rubanda nyanwinshi yatsikamiwe”³⁹⁷, maze Abanyarwanda bose bakagira uburenganzira bumwe hatitawe ku bwoko ubwo ari bwo bwose baturukamo”³⁹⁸. Bamwe babigereranyije ndetse n’ibitekerezo byo kurengera abakene byatanzwe n’abahanga muri teworojiya bo muri Amerika y’Amagepfo mu myaka ya za 80. Ukuri nuko uko kubona ibintu koroshyaga cyane ibibazo byagaragaraga mu mibereho y’abaturage, ibibazo byari bihuriweho n’umubare munini w’Abanyarwanda aho kugaragara mu bwoko bumwe gusa. Gushyira mu majwi, kw’abayobozi ba Kiriziya n’abategetsiki b’Ababirigi, “ubukoroni bw’Abatutsi” nkaho bwariho kandi akaba ari bwo bwaba bwarateye bwonyine ibibazo Abanyarwanda bari

³⁹⁶ *Théologie et Pastorale*, no 2, 1957, p.122

³⁹⁷ *Vivant Univers*, no 416, 1995, p.43

³⁹⁸ Karibwami J., 1982, *op.cit.*, p.436

bafite byari uburyo bwo kwirengagiza ibikorwa bibi bya gikoroni n'adini gatorika byakozwe ku mbaraga. Kwinjira cyane muri izo mpaka byari kuba ari ukwisuzuma mu makosa yakozwe, haba ku ruhande rw'Ababirigi, ku ruhande rw'abamisiyoneri ndetse n'urw'imiryango ikomeye y'Abatutsi, kandi ntawari witeguye kubikora.

Ibi bitekerezo by'abamisiyoneri bishobora gusobanurwa ku ruhande rumwe n'uko batigeze bategurwa ngo bigishwe ibijyanye n'ubumenyamibanire ndetse na poritiki. Ku rundi ruhande nuko Ababirigi b'Abafurama bafashe ibibazo babonaga mu gihugu cyabo by'amoko bakabizana mu Rwanda. Abavuga igifaransa iwabo bafatwaga nk'abagize "ubwoko bw'abakire" nk'uko Abatutsi bose bafashwe nk'abagize igice cy'abantu bake b'ubwoko bukize bakandamije abandi babarusha umubare³⁹⁹.

Ariko cyane ni ibijyanye n'intambara y'ubutita byatumye bahitamo igisobanuro k'ibibazo gishingiye ku moko. Abayoboke ba Kiriziya batinyaga ko mu karere hazamo ibitekerezo bya gikomunisiti, cyanecyane mu bice byakoronijwe n'Ababirigi, binyuze mu matwara y'ubunambiragihugu (*nationalisme*). Abamisiyoneri bashakaga kwifashisha abenegihugu bize mu mashuri yabo kugira ngo baburizemo abafite ibitekerezo bya gikomunisiti n'inambiragihugu. Baje kugera ku mugambi wabo. Kuko G. Kayibanda na bagenzi be bari ibiremwa byabo: bigishijwe n'imiryango ya "Agisiyo gatorika mbirigi" (nk'Urubyiruko rw'Abakozi gatorika b'Ababirigi n'Umuryango w'abakozi gatorika (*la Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique belge et Mouvement ouvrier catholique*), itangazamakuru gatorika ndetse n'Ishyaka riharanira demokarasi nkirisitu ry'Ababirigi (*la démocratie chrétienne belge*). Abo bantu batandukanye bababonagamo abahagarariye rubanda nyamwinshi yatsikamiwe, ishobora gutezwa imbere, bagashinga ishyaka rimwe rukumbi rimeze nk'irya demokarasi ya gikirisitu yo mu Bubirigi kandi bakazaguma kubungabunga inyungu z'ababashyize ku butegetsi.

Ku rundi ruhande, mu wa 1959, abamisiyoneri bari bafite impungene ku birebana n'imbere hazaza kuko hatagaragaraga neza kubera uburyo bakoranye cyane n'abakoroni. Inyungu za

³⁹⁹ Linard A., « Rwanda. Les deux erreurs de l'Eglise catholique », in *Coeli*, no 83, 1995, p.16. Abakozi b'Ababirigi bo mu bwoko bw'Abafurama kandi bakaba n'abagatorika bahurijwe mu Rwanda na Harroy J.-P. (franc-maçon). Byaje kuhazana na ho ibibazo by'amoko byabaga iwabo mu Bubirigi (Linden I., 1977, *op.cit.*, p.257)

Kiriziya zari zishyigikiwe n’abategetsu b’abakoroni. Ubu butegetsu bwafashaga Kiriziya mu kubaka amashuri n’amavuriro. Impinduka zagagaraga zashoboraga gutuma izo nyungu zabo zivogerwa. Inyungu rero z’abamisiyoneri n’abapadiri zashyizwe imbere. Ni yo mpamvu guhitamo Abanyarwanda bizeye ko bazakomeza gukorana ari byo byashyizwe imbere.

f. Impinduka zo mu wa 1959-1962

Impinduka zabaye mu 1959-62 zirakibukwa cyane mu mitima y’Abanyarwanda. Kuri bamwe ni ibihe byo kwivuga ibigwi kuko zabohoye Abahutu bari barakandamijwe n’Abatutsi imyaka amagana n’amagana. Ni yo mvugo ngo “revorisiyo ya rubanda yo mu wa 1959” baha iyo mpinduka. Ni bene iyo mvugo yakoresheye kuri Repuburika ya mbere n’iya kabiri, imvugo yashyigikiwe n’inyandiko nyinshi⁴⁰⁰. Ariko indi mvugo ifata izo mpinduka nk’urugero rw’ububabare bwinshi, akarengane, ubuhunzi n’ishyirwaho rya poritiki y’amacakubiri n’irondakoko. Ku bafite bene iyo mvugo ntabwo habaye revorisiyo y’impinduramatwara ngo izane impinduka mu mitegekere n’imibereho myiza y’abaturage. Izo mvugo zombi zitandukanye ziragaragara muri iki gihe: ziracyaboneka mu nyandiko za gihanga, muri disikuru poritiki ndetse no mu baturage basanzwe.

Ndetse n’abashakashatsi bazobereye ntibayivugaho rumwe. Urugero J.-P. Chrétien avugaga revorisiyo y’irondabwoko ryaranzwe n’ingengabitekerezo y’irondabwoko. Cl. Vidal, we, yemeza ko bidakwiye kuvugaga revorisiyo kuko abari bahanganye n’abari babashyigikiye batari bafite umurongo wa poritiki na disikuru zabo byo kubohoza abaturage. Ku bwe habaye kwiba ubutegetsu byakozwe n’agatsiko gato⁴⁰¹. Hejuru y’izo mpaka, ni ngombwa kwibaza ku byabaye, ababikoze, impamvu, uburyo byakozwe, ababirenganiyemo, n’ibindi.

➤ Itanga ry’umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa

Umwaka wa 1959 wagize uruhare rukomeye mu mateka y’u Rwanda. Kuko ari uguhera icyo gihe habaye ibintu bikomeye byabaye intango y’amateka mashya. Tariki ya 25 Nyakanga 1959, umwami Mutara III Rudahigwa yaguye i Bujumbura mu buryo budasobanutse. Ibyateye urupfu rwe na n’ubu ntibirasobanuka.

⁴⁰⁰ Iyamenyekanye cyane ni iri mu gitabo cya Murego D. cyavuzwe.

⁴⁰¹ IRDP, 2006, *op.cit.*

Ibyavuzwe na Leta ubwabyo biranyuranye. Rimwe bavuga ko umwami yazize urushinge rwa penisirini⁴⁰², ubundi bakavuga ngo yazize kuva amaraso mu bwonko⁴⁰³, abandi bakavuga ko yitanze mu bintu by'umuhango. Ku Banyarwanda bamwe, urwo rupfu ni ikintu gisanzwe: “ni abategetsi b'abakoroni na Myr Perraudin wayoboraga Vikariyati ya Kabgayi, bagambanye, bicisha umwami”.

Itanga rya Rudahigwa, ku mpamvu izo ari zo zose, ryateye urujijo mu baturage rinatzeza ikibazo gikomeye mu buyobozi bw'igihugu cyasigaye nta muyobozi gifite. Urwo rupfu rwabaye mu gihe igihugu cyari mu gihe k'impinduka za poritiki zikomeye. Hari hategerejwe impinduka zikomeye kandi imibanire ya Rudahigwa n'abakoroni yari itameze neza. Igihe k'imikoranire myiza hagati y'ubukoroni n'ingoma nyiginya cyari cyarangiyeye. Hari ahubwo hatangiye igihe gikomeye cyagombaga kuvamo impinduka zikomeye z'inze, iza poritiki n'imibanire y'abantu.

Umwami amaze gutanga habaye inama nyinshi ariko mu ibanga: abayobozi b'Abahutu bahuriye mu Ruhengeri bashakaga kumvikana ku mwanzuro babwira Ababirigi urebana n'imiyoborere mishya ya poritiki y'igihugu⁴⁰⁴. Abayobozi b'Ababirigi na bo bari mu nama i Nyanza aho rezida w'u Rwanda yakoresheje inama nyinshi n'abakozi be⁴⁰⁵. Abanyarwanda bari bashyigikiye ubwami na bo bakoze inama. Ababirigi bashakaga ko hacamo igihe gito ntihahite hashyirwaho umusimbura. Mbere yo gushyingura umwami, umwiru yahise avuga izina ry'usimbura Rudahigwa, Yohani Batisita Ndahindurwa, wagombaga kwima ku izina ry'ubwami rya Kigeri V. Hakurikijwe ibyavuzwe na padiri A. Kagame, uwo Ndahindurwa ni we wari wifujwe na Rudahigwa, kandi yaba yari yaramugejejeho ikifuzo ke⁴⁰⁶.

⁴⁰² Harroy J.-P., *op.cit.*, p.261. icyo gitabo cyuzuyemo ibimenyetso bigaragaza ubumenyi buke cyane bwa Harroy J.-P. ku Rwanda: Kwiyahura kwa Rudahigwa by'umuhango wo kuba umutabazi i Burundi nta shingiro bifite : Ibyo bihugu byombi ntibyari mu ntambara kandi u Rwanda ntirwari rufite umugambi wo gutsinda u Burundi.

⁴⁰³ Ibaruwa y'Adiminisitarateri wa teritwari y'Asitirida, Bovy H., Astrida, Nyakanga 1959

⁴⁰⁴ Paternostre de la Mairie., *Le Rwanda, son effort de développement*, Bruxelles-Kigali, De Boeck-Editions rwndaises, 1972, p.209

⁴⁰⁵ Kagame A., 1972, *op.cit.*, pp.258-259

⁴⁰⁶ Ibarwa ya padiri Kagame kuri Myr Perraudin, tariki ya 27 Nyakanga 1959. Avuga neza igihe n'uburyo umwami Rudahigwa yamubwiye ibyifuzo bye. Hari muri hoteri yitwa Bougainvillées, muri teritwari ya Cyangugu (ahagana muri Gashyantare 1959). Rudahigwa yatumije murumuna we Ndahindurwa amubwirira imbere ya Kagame ati: "Ngutegetse kujya ujya kwa padiri Alegisi byibura rimwe mu cyumweru akakwigisha

Ishyirwaho rya Yohani Batisita Ndahindurwa bamwe babifashe nko gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu (ihirikabutegetsu ry'i Mwima), abandi babifata nk'uburyo bwo kongera kubahiriza umuco gakondo wabaye igihe cyose. Abavugaga ko habaye ihirikabutegetsu batangaga ikimenyetso cy'uko Leta mbirigi yabonye gusa ibintu biba, itabigizemo uruhare.

Hashobora kugibwa impaka ku buryo bwakoreshejwe n'abashyizeho umwami mushya, ariko ntawahakana ko icyo gikorwa ubwacyo cyubahirije amategeko. Mu by'ukuri ingingo ya 15 y'itegeko ryo mu wa 1952, rishingirwaho, ivuga ko "aba abaye umwami umuntu wemejwe n'umuco. Ariko ntashobora gukora imirimo ye atarimikwa ku mugaragaro na guverineri". Kwimikwa na guverineri byabaye tariki ya 9 Ukwakira 1959. Mu muhango umwami mushya yarahiriyemo ndetse akanemera ku mugaragaro ko azaba umwami uganje gusa. Ariko ibyo ntibyagaruye ikizere kuko imibanire ya Leta mbirigi n'ubwami yakomeje gusubira inyuma.

➤ **Ivuka ry'amashyaka ya poritiki**

Hashingiwe ku byemerwaga n'itegeko teka n° 11/234 ryo ku wa 8 Gicurasi 1959, rigenga amashyirahamwe ryemejwe mu Rwanda n'iteka n° 111/105 ryo ku wa 15 Kanama 1959, amashyaka ya poritiki yaremewe muri uwo mwaka wa 1959 hagamijwe amatora yagombaga kuba mu mpera z'uwo mwaka nk'uko itegeko teka ryo mu wa 1952 ryabiteganyaga. Kuva muri Nzeri 1952 kugeza muri Gicurasi 1960, habayeho amashyaka makumyabiri ya poritiki, harimwo ane azakorerera mu gihugu cyose, n'andi 16 mato cyangwa amashyirahamwe⁴⁰⁷. Amashyaka manini ya poritiki yari:

ibirebana n'ibitekerezo n'umuco n'amateka y'u Rwanda". Yanahise abwira Kagame ati: "ni ngombwa kumutoza ibireba umutima w'u Rwanda byose, ukamurera". Kagame wari mu ibanga, yisobanuriye ayo magambo atya: "Numvise ko Rudahigwa aramutse atanze adafite umwana, ari Ndahindurwa wamusimbura".

⁴⁰⁷ Amashyaka yo mu rwego rw'uturere yari: Ihuriro rw'Abakiga (ABAKI); Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu bagamije kuvanaho amoko (ABESC); Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahinzi bo mu Rwanda (ACR); Ishyirahamwe ry'Ishyaka ry'abademokarate b'abakirisitu (APADEC); Ishyirahamwe ry'abacuruzi kavukire (APROCOMIN); Ishyirahamwe ryo kuzamura Abatwa muri demokarasi (AREDETWA); Ihuriro ry'u Rwanda, u Burundi na Kongo (ARUCO); Ishyirahamwe ry'aborozi bo mu Rwanda (ASSE-RU); Ishyaka ry'abaharanira ubwami mu Rwanda (MOMOR); Ishyaka ry'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda (MUR); Ishyaka rya kijyambere riharanira ubwami (PAMOPRO); Ishyaka ry'Imibanire ya gikirisitu mu Rwanda (PSCR); Ubumwe bw'aborozi b'Abanyafurika mu Rwanda (UAARU); Ubumwe by'Imbaga y'Abanyarwanda (UMAR); Ubumwe by'Abanyafurika n'abazungu (UNAFREUROPE); Ubumwe

- Ishyirahamwe ryo guteza imbere imibereho ya Rubanda rugufi (Aprosoma) ryagiye mu Gushyingo 1957. Iryo shyirahamwe ryaje guhinduka ishyaka rya poritiki ku wa 15 Gashyantare 1959. Mbere yuko yeruye igafata uruhande rw'Abahutu, Aprosoma yashakaga guhangana abize mu iseminari n'amashuri y'abarimu bagahangana n'ishuri ry'igihangange rya Shariti y'Asitirida hatitawe ku byo bize: abize gutwara, abize ubuvuzi bw'amatungo, n'abasisita n'abandi. Ku kazi kamwe abafite impamyabumenyi ya Asitirida bahembwaga neza kurusha abandi. Perezida wa Aprosoma yari Habyarimana Yozefu bitaga Gitera. Yashingiraga poritiki ye ku bwami n'ibiburanga, Karinga n'ubwami. Yabaye umunyaporitiki wa mbere wasabye uruburako rw'Abahutu gufata imipanga bagatsemba Abatutsi yitaga «igisebe cy'umufunzo, umusundwe ku mubiri na kanseri mu gifu». Yabwiraga uruburako rw'Abahutu ngo: «mwibuke ko uwica imbeba atababarira n'ihaka»⁴⁰⁸. Byatumye abasenyeri bo mu Rwanda bakangurira abapadiri babo kwitondera iryo shyaka ry'imibereho y'Abahutu ryavugaga ibintu by'inzi z'amoko bitandukanye n'umuco wa gikirisitu⁴⁰⁹. Ibyo ari byo byose ni uwo muco w'inzi z'amoko zishingiye ku moko ugaragara muri disikuru Yozefu Habyarimana Gitera yakoreye abayoboke be tariki ya 27 Nzeri 1959 Asitirida⁴¹⁰.

- Ishyaka ry'abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda-Unar ryavutse muri Gicurasi 1959, rishyirwa ku mugaragarar tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1959. Perezida waryo Bwana Rukeba F. yari yaranditse za petisiyo nyinshi azohereza muri Loni. Kuva rikivuka, Ishyaka ry'Abashyirahamwe b'u Rwanda-Unar riyemeje «kurwanya byimazeyo ibintu byose bizana amahane n'ibintu byose bishoza inzi z'amoko zishingiye ku moko», ryamaganaga irondakoko hagati y'abirabura n'abera no hagati y'Abanyarwanda ubwabo⁴¹¹. Unar yavugaga ko Abanyarwanda bose bayiyoboka nta vanguramoko haba k'urwego rw'imibereho cyangwa idini.

- Ihuriro rya demokarasi ridasumbanya Abanyarwanda (Rader) ryaremwe tariki ya 14 Nzeri 1959 na Bwanakweri Prosper, shefu wa sheferi ya Rusenyi (teritwari ya Kibuye) afashijwe na bamwe

bw'abasangiye inyungu bo mu Kinyaga (INTERCOKI).

⁴⁰⁸ Murego D., 1975, *op.cit.*, p.897; ni ibyo bitekerezo bigaragarira mu kanyamakuru *Ijwi rya Rubanda rugufi*, kandikwaga na Gitera

⁴⁰⁹ Ibaruwa yo ku wa 11 Ukwakira 1959

⁴¹⁰ Habyarimana Gitera J., *Umunsi mukuru w'ibohorwa ry'Abahutu ku ngoyi y'ubuja bwa gatutsi mu Rwanda*, Astrida, 27/9/1959

⁴¹¹ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, pp.99, 101.

mu bakoroni n'abamisiyoneri. Rader yashakaga kuba ishyaka ryo hagati ya Unar n'amashyaka y'Abahutu. Hakurikijwe imvugo ya Kagame, «Rader, uyigeraranije n'andi mashyaka, yari ishyaka ry'icyuka: rigitangira ryari rigizwe n'abakozi b'ubutegetsi bw'u Bubirigi bwashakaga guhanganisha na Unar mu gushaka gucamo ibice Abatutsi bashyigikiye umwami»⁴¹². Ndetse na Koroneri Logiest ubwe ntiyemeraga ko iryo shyaka rifite ingufu ; yavugaga ati: «byagaragaraga ko iryo shyaka ritari rifite imizi mu baturage. Inkunga yo mu ibanga ariko igaragara iryo shyaka ryahabwaga n'ubuyobozi bwa Leta n'ibintu ntibyari kuyihesha abayoboze benshi, nange sinemeraga ko iryo shyaka hari ingufu rizagira mu ntambara y'amashyaka yitegurwaga»⁴¹³. Imvururu zo mu Gushyamba 1959 zimaze gutangira, ishyaka rya Rader ryabuze iyo riva n'iyi rijya, rigenda ribura byose, ryamagana Unar ryiyitirira kuba nyirabayazana, rikanamagana abakozi b'Ababirigi bategekaga u Rwanda.

- Ishyaka rya Parmehutu ryavutse tariki ya 9 Ukwakira 1959, riba ishyaka rya poritiki ku mugaragaro tariki ya 18 Ukwakira 1959. Kuva rikivuka, iryo shyaka ryifashishije abazungu, abakoroni n'abamisiyoneri bangaga ubwoko bw'Abatutsi urunuka. Parmehutu yamaganye "ubukoronize bw'Abatutsi" yasabaga ko bwarangiza ngo haboneke ubwigenge; ni cyo yitaga demokarasi itandukanye n'ubwigenge, ari ho havuye imvugo ngo: "mbere na mbere demokarasi, ubwigenge nyuma". Abayobozi "biyitaga bantu-bahutu" bo mu Rwanda basabaga ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi «ko igikorwa cyabo cya nyuma cyaba icyo gukora ibya ngombwa byose ngo harandurwe burundu kandi vuba ubwo bukoroni »⁴¹⁴. Mu wa 1960, Parmehutu yavuze ku mugaragaro ko ubutegetsi bubereye u Rwanda ari ubwa Repuburika ngo hakunde habeho ukwishyira ukizana n'uburinganire imbere y'amategeko n'ihagararirwa mu butegetsi. "Inzira yo kunyura ku butegetsi bwa cyami, cya gikoronize kandi bw'irondakoko ngo habeho gusa ingoma ya cyami iganje ntishoboka. Kandi, «kubohoza igice cy'abantu-bahutu (...) ku bukoroni bwa gatutsi ni ibintu bisaba ko ubutegetsi bushingiye ku ngoma ya cyami buvaho n'imihango yose ya cyami n'irondabwoko yabwo»⁴¹⁵.

Kugira ngo ikibazo cya gahutu-gatutsi kibonerwe umuti, MDR Parimehutu irasaba ko habaho «igice (mu Rwanda) cyatuzwamo

⁴¹² Kagame A., 1972., *op.cit.*, pp.265-266

⁴¹³ Logiest G., *Mission au Rwanda. Un Blanc dans la bagarre Tutsi-Hutu*, Bruxelles, Didier-Hatier, 1988, p.101

⁴¹⁴ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, p.250

⁴¹⁵ Itangazo rya MDR Parmehutu, tariki ya 6 Kamena 1960

Abahutu n'icyatuzwamo abatutsi, bigashobora kugira Urwego rumwe rwa Federasiyo bihuriraho» nk'uko bimeze mu Bubirigi, hagati y'Abafurama n'Abawaro⁴¹⁶. icyo kifuza cyagejejwe kuri Loni kivuga ngo «iterambere mu gihugu na demokarasi ibyiza rusange n'umutekano bishingiyeho bikeneye, hagomba kujyaho ibice bitandukanye buri bwoko bwisanzuramo»⁴¹⁷. Impamvu zishyigikiye icyo gitekerezo zitangwa" nuko bigaragara rwose ko hari itandukanirizo ridasubirwaho ry'ntego, ikerekezo hagati y'igice cy'Abahutu n'ik'igice cy'Abatutsi», imyumvire ya poritiki itandukanye y'ibyo bice byombi: Abatutsi barishakira ubwigenge bucagase n'ubwigenge bwuzuye mu wa 1960-1962, ariko Abahutu bo barashaka ko «u Bubirigi bwaba bugikorera mu Rwanda mu gihe kiringaniye»; Abatutsi barashaka gukomeza imirwano (mu rwego rw'iyatangiyeye kuva mu wa 1959) naho Abahutu bo barishakira gusubira ku mirimo yabo. Abatutsi ntibashaka gutakaza ubutegetsu bwabo ; kandi Abahutu n'Abatutsi «nubwo hari uwakwibeshya arebye ukuntu ingo zabo zisobekeranye muri teritwari zimwe n'ukuntu bagiye bashyingirana, ariko ni ibihugu bibiri muri Leta imwe»⁴¹⁸. Imibanire n'imikoranire by'Abahutu n'Abatutsi birasaba ko «batura mu bice bibiri bitandukanye, bitabaye ibyo hari ubwoko bumwe muri ubwo bwombi buzazima mu nyungu z'ubundi»⁴¹⁹. Imibanire hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ntishobora kubaho. Ubutagondwa bwa Runari ntibushobora gushira: ni ngombwa ko habaho igipande kihariye ubwo butagondwa bwisanzuramo.

Gushyiraho ibice (by'imiturire) bitandukanye ntibigomba gufatwa nk'ivangura nk'iryabaye mu kwiharira byose by'Abatutsi mu mashuri no mu bundi buzima busanzwe. Ntawushaka gukosoza ivangura irindi vangura, ahubwo ni uburyo nyakuri bwo kwimakaza amahoro y'Abanyarwanda no kwishyira ukizana kwa buri bice bituye igihugu. Kurema izo «zone» ni byo bifite akamaro kurusha kubirekera uko byamye bimeze mu miturire isanzwe»⁴²⁰. Imibanire hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ntishobora kubaho. Ubutagondwa bwa Runari ntibushobora gushira: ni ngombwa ko habaho igipande kihariye ubwo butagondwa bwisanzuramo.

⁴¹⁶ *Jya mbere*, no 3, 27 Ugushyingo 1959, *Jya mbere*, no 5, Mutarama 1960

⁴¹⁷ *Jya mbere*, no 3, 27 Ugushyingo 1959, p.2

⁴¹⁸ Kureba urwandiko rw'abagaragu 12 b'ibwami ihakana ubuvandimwe bw'Abahutu n'Abatutsi; iyo nyandiko hari abantu bayibeshyuje ariko nta cyo Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yayivuzeho kandi ari yo yari yandikiwe.

⁴¹⁹ *Jya mbere*, no 3, 27 Ugushyingo 1959, p.2

⁴²⁰ *Jya mbere*, no 3, 27 Ugushyingo 1959, p.3

Ubwigenge bwa buri gice (cy'Abanyarwanda) ariko bakagira urwego rw'ubumwe bahuriraho, bumvikanyeho ku bushake, buruta imibanire ku ngoma ya" gihake itagira gikosora". Kurekera buri gice uburenganzira bwo kwiteza imbere uko bubishaka, ni yo poritiki yo guha buri gace kwishyira akizana, igice k'igihugu cyaharirwa Abatutsi ni : u Bugesera, u Rukaryi, u Buganza (muri teritwari ya Kigali), teritwari ya Kibungo n'u Mutara.

Iyo hakozwe isuzuma rigereranya porogaramu z'amashyaka ya poritiki, bigaragara neza ko izo porogaramu zisa⁴²¹. Itandukanirwo rigaragara gusa mu birebana n'ubwigenge bucagase na independansi. Unar yashakaga independansi ako kanya kandi nta mananiza: iryo shyaka ryamaganaga igitekerezo cyose cy'ubwigenge bucagase bwaba burangwa no "gukomeza gukorana n'Ababirigi", byaba mu by'ukuri ari ugukomeza intambara idashira yarangwa n'ubwicanyi bugenda bugaragara n'amacakubiri mu Banyarwanda. Andi mashyaka yashakaga ko mu gihugu habanza kuba "demokarasi"⁴²². Gitera yerekanaga ko ubwigenge bivuga kimwe no kwirukana abazungu maze hakagarurwa ubutegetsi bw'agahato, gukandamizwa n'ubugome bwa gatutsi⁴²³.

Nyuma yo kwemerwa kw'amashyaka menshi, yatangiye kwiyamamaza. Disikuru ya Unar yari iyo kwamagana ubukoroni, kandi muri mitingi zayo nk'iyi ku wa 13 Nzeri 1959, i Nyamirambo, abakuru bayo bavugaga ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ubwigenge bucagase na independansi⁴²⁴. Rugikubita Unar yagize abayoboke benshi mu baturage b'ingeri zose kubera disikuru yayo no kubera ko abenshi mu bashyamba n'abasushefu bari bayobotse iryo shyaka. Uwitwa R. Lemarchand avugaga ko uko kwitabirwa cyane bya Unar byaterwaga n'amagambo yo guharanira igihugu yavugaga arimo umugambi wo guhuriza hamwe Abanyarwanda ngo bashobore kwiteza imbere muri byose⁴²⁵.

Iyo myitwarire ya Unar yaje kurwanywa n'ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi n'igice kimwe cya Kiriziya Gatorika. Ubwo butegetsi bwakoze uko bushoboye kose ngo buce intege iryo shyaka : Urugero, guhindurirwa aho batwara, nubwo bitashyizwe mu bikorwa, abashyamba batatu bakomeye muri iryo shyaka (Mikayire Kayihura,

⁴²¹ Reyntjens P., 1985, *op.cit.*, p.255

⁴²² Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, p.93

⁴²³ Mitingi yo ku wa 27 Nzeri 1959,

⁴²⁴ Soma compte rendu y'iyi mitingiri yatanze na L. Ndazaro

⁴²⁵ Lemarchand R., 1970, *op.cit.*, p.158.

Petero Mungarurire, na Kirizositomu Rwangombwa) bazira kuba baritabiriye mitingi za Unar kandi ari abakozi ba Leta⁴²⁶. Kuri bo ibyo bintu byombi byashoboraga kubangikana (bashingiraga ku itegeko teka n° 64/AIMO).

Mbere yo kwica abakuru ba Unar n'abayoboke bayo b'ibanze, ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwabanje gukoresha uburyo bw'ibindi bwo kuburizamo mitingi za Unar. Ndetse n'abayobozi ba Kiriziya gatorika, Musenyeri A. Bigirumwami na Musenyeri A. Perraudin bihanangirije abayoboke babo babasaba kwitondera iryo shyaka, barishinja «gushaka kwiharira ishyaka ryo gukunda igihugu, no kuvuga ko abatari abayoboke baryo ari abanzi b'igihugu»⁴²⁷. kubera ko bashakaga independansi y'ako kanya, bivuze kwitandukanya n'u Bubirigi kandi bakaba barashyaga abandi banyafurika baharanira ishyaka ry'igihugu cyabo, bivuze ko ari ikimenyetso cy'uko bakunda ubukomunisiti, aba batware bahoze bakorana n'Ababirigi ariko bahindutse abarunari bitwaga ko ari ikintu kibi cyo kurwanya.

Parmehutu yo yari ishyigikiye n'ubuyobozi bw'abakoroni n'igice kimwe cy'ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika, bari bafite gahunda yo gufasha iryo shyaka ngo rizagere ku butegetsu, ritsinze amatora. Ubundi ryari rizwi gusa hafi ya za misiyoni z'i Kabwayi n'i Rwaza. Lemarchand avugaga inkunga yahawe iryo shyaka ngo rigire intege: «urebye MSM yari ikiri agashyaka gato katabasha kugira abayoboke mu baturage basanzwe hose uretse aho yavukiye i Gitarama n'i Kabgayi. Inkunga ikomeye abayobozi b'Abahutu b'iryo shyaka bagize, yaturukaga mu buyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika, aho yabemereraga gukoresha ikinyamakuru cyabo cyandikwa mu Kinyarwanda n'ikinyamakuru cyasohokaga buri muni *Temps Nouveaux d'Afriques*, cyandikirwaga i Bujumbura, bakoreshaga ibyo binyamakuru mu gukwirakwiza ibitekerezo byabo mu bazungu n'abanyafurika bize»⁴²⁸.

Kayibanda yari yarashatse amaboko mu bayoboke b'amashyirahamwe menshi, ubusanzwe umuntu yabonaga ko nta cyo atwaye, yari ashingiyeye kuri Kiriziya gatorika kandi anyanyagiye mu gihugu hose⁴²⁹. Nyuma byaje kugaragara

⁴²⁶ Ibaruwa Rezida yandikiye abo ba shefu batatu, 24 Nzeri 1959 ; Reba kandi ibaruwa yamagana icyo kemezo Unar yandikiye Vice-Gouverneur Général, 16 Ukwakira 1959.

⁴²⁷ Circulaire yo ku wa 24 Nzeri 1959.

⁴²⁸ Lemarchand R., 1970, *op.cit.*, p.161.

⁴²⁹ Ingero ni za mutualité, Abarejiyo Mariya, amashyirahamwe y'abarimu, n'ay'abahoze biga mu iseminari, za amicales z'abahoze bigana, za serikeri z'umuco, amakope-

ko ari yo yagize uruhare runini mu gukwirakwiza inyigisho n'ubutumwa bya Parimehutu⁴³⁰.

➤ **Imvururu zishingiye ku moko na poritiki zo mu Gushyingo 1959**

Imvururu zishingiye ku moko na poritiki zo mu minsi 15 ya mbere y'Ugushyingo 1959, zabaye igihe hari umwuka mubi mu bantu no muri poritiki: ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni ntibwari bucyumvikana n'abayobozi b'Abanyarwanda n'ibwami; muri za mitingi amashyaka ya poritiki yaratukanaga; za taragiti zishyushya imitwe y'abantu zafataga abatari mu mashyaka amwe nk'abanzi, kutumvikana hagati ya Unar n'andi mashyaka na byo byatumaga ibintu byenda guturika.

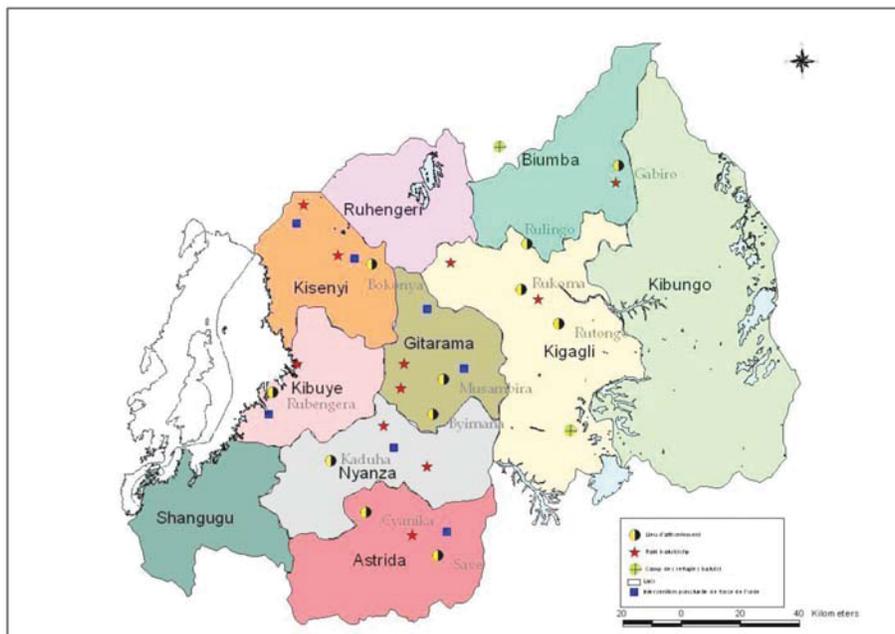
Urugomo rw'abasore ba Unar, sushefu D. Mbonyumutwa umwe mu bayobozi ba Parmehutu yakorewe mu Byimana rwaba ari rwo rwabaye intandaro y'inkongi y'umuriro. Impuha z'uko yishwe zakwiriye Ndiza yose⁴³¹. Habanje kwirukanwa Abatutsi bo mu turere two hagati n'Amajyaruguru y'u Burengezazuba, bikozwe n'insoresore z'abaperimehutu, hanyuma hatangira kuba ibitero byo kwirwanaho by'abari bashyigikiye ubwami n'abayoboze ba Unar mu Magepfo y'igihugu. (reba ikarita no 12)

native, amashyirahamwe y'Umutima Mutagatifu, amakorari y'abarimu n'abanyeshuri, za croisades z'igitambo cy'Ukarisitiya

⁴³⁰ Musangamfura S., *La propagande du MDR PARMEHUTU*, mémoire de licence, UNR-Ruhengeri, 1987, pp. 27-36.

⁴³¹ Kugeza n'uyu muni ntiharakorwa ubushakashatsi bugaragaza uruhare rw'inzego z'Ababirigi mu gukwirakwiza ibihaha no gutanga amakuru apfuye mu gukoresha abari bahanganye mu Rwanda

Ikarita ya 12: Imvururu zishingiye ku moko na Politiki hagati ya 1959 - 1962



Muri izo mvururu, ubutegetsi bw'Ababirigi ntibwagaragaye. Bwavugaga ko kutagira icyo bukora byaterwaga n'imiterere y'igihugu no kugira umubare muke w'abasirikare. Ibwami ho babonaga ko uko guceceka kw'abategetsi b'Ababirigi kwari ugushyigikira kwivumbagatanya kw'abayoboke b'amashyaka y'Abahutu. Koko kandi "umwete udasanze abakozi bamwe b'Ababirigi bagize mu gukwirakwiza imvururu" wari ikintu kigaragara⁴³².

Inkunga y'abategetsi b'Ababirigi ku bayobozi b'Abahutu yarushijeho gukomera Bwana Koroneri Logiest amaze kuhagera, tariki ya 9 Ugushyungu 1959, agashingwa ubuyobozi bw'ingabo z'Ababirigi n'abanyekongo, ndetse nyuma agashingwa n'ubuyobozi bw'u Rwanda rumaze gushyirwa mu butegetsi bw'igihe kidasanzwe, akaba rezida udasanze ukorana bitaziguye na Minisitiri wa Koroni (atari Guverineri Mukuru). Koroneri Logiest yari afite ubutegetsi bwose kandi abukoresha uko ashatse. Igikorwa ke ni cyo cyabaye inkingi nini yo kugera ku butegetsi kwa Parmehutu. Nyuma yiswe umuntu "woherejwe

⁴³² Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, p.342 na raporo yitwa «Événements d'octobre et novembre 1959. Comptes rendus za ba adiminisitarateri ba teritwari zishimangira ibyo.

n’Imana”, aza guhabwa impeta na Perezida Habyarimana tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1982.

Koroneri Logiest yahise ashwiraho vuba na bwangu umurongo wa poritiki yagombaga gukurikiza. Mu gihe hari hateganijwe uruzinduko rwa Minisitiri wa Koroni De Schrijver, Koroneri Logiest afatanije na Majoro Ludoviko Marlière wamufashaga mu buyobozi bukuru bw’ingabo kandi wari waravuye ku kicaro gikuru k’ingabo za Kongo i Léopoldville, aho yari azwi nk’umuhanga mu kurwana intambara ya kinyeshyamba, yakoze inyandiko yerekana uko ibintu byari byifashe tariki 30 Ugushyingo 1959 kandi inerekana gahunda y’ibigomba gukorwa mu minsi iri imbere. Iyo nyandiko irashimishije kuko Logiest nk’umusirikare mwiza yerekana gahunda izakurikizwa ngo akemure ikibazo cy’amakimbirane yari mu Rwanda.

Iyo nyandiko ivuga ko ubutegetsi bwa cyami bushingiye kuri 15% by’abaturage butagishoboye kuvugururwa. Abenshi mu baturage (Abahutu) barashaka ubutegetsi bwa demokarasi n’ubwami buganje: kandi ni ngombwa gukora ibyo abo bantu benshi bifuzaga no kubaha uruhare rubakwiye mu buyobozi. Ishyamba rya Unar rigomba kubuzwa imikorere, harwanywa abayoboze banyu bitwaje intwari, kimwe n’umwami kuko ari ikimenyetso gikomere cy’ubwami⁴³³. Koroneri Logiest yavugaga ko umwami Kigeri V azaba iteka ikibazo kuri demokarasi: uburere bwe bushingiye ku myumvire irwanya demokarasi, akikijwe kandi n’intagondwa za Unar. Logiest yemeraga ko hashobora kuvuka ikibazo “umwami aramutse ahungiyeyo” Uganda: hashobora gutegurwa ibikorwa by’iterabwoba bihungabanyaga u Rwanda, bigakorwa n’impunzi z’Abatutsi zahungiyeyo. Ibyo bigatuma u Buhirigirye buyoboze u Rwanda ingufu za gisirikare, bikaba byabutesha ikizere imbere ya Loni.

Kuki Koroneri Logiest yari abogamiye ku ruhande rwo kurwanya Unar? Avugaga ko yabitewe n’uko iryo shyamba ryashakaga amaboko mu mashyamba yo muri Kongo no muri Loni ngo rishyigikiye ku rwego mpuzamahanga kandi ko ryari rifite gahunda yo kuburizamo andi mashyamba ya poritiki rikoresheje iterabwoba no gushora abantu bibaye ngombwa mu mvururu zo kurwanya Abahirigirye⁴³⁴.

⁴³³ Lefèvre P. et J.-N., *Les militaires belges et le Rwanda (1916-2006)*, Bruxelles, Editions Racines, 2006, pp.52-53.

⁴³⁴ Ibidem, p.53.

Uburyo Koroneri Logiest yatekerezeza gukoresha ngo agarure ubutegetsi bw'umwami muri ya gahunda poritiki ye bwari ubu: gukoresha imvugo ze bwite nk'igikoresho k'ikwizabitekerezo, kugumisha umwami i Kigali no kumwumvisha ko kwiteranya n'ubutegetsi bw'u Bubirigi ari ukwiyahura. Yashakaga kandi kugenda asimbuza abashefu n'abasushefu abantu bashyigikiye ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni, guhana yihanukiriye abazana iterabwoba no gukura mu butegetsi abashyigikiye Unar, gutera inkunga z'amafaranga, iza poritiki n'iz'ubuyobozi amashyaka yandi (uretse Unar), gushyiraho urwego rw'ikwizabitekerezo rukuriwe n'abantu babishoboye, bakavuga kuri byose, bagakoresha radiyo, ibinyamakuru, sinema, taragiti, udutabo, n'abantu benshi bazenguruka hirya no hino, amafoto n'ibindi.

Koroneri Logiest kandi yateganyaga ko Minisitiri wa Koroni ubwe azagirana umubonano bwite n'abashinzwe imirimo y'iby'ububanyi n'amahanga i Bugande no muri Tanganyika n'abategetsi b'abakoroni b'Abongereza. Bagahindura imyifatire n'imyitwarire yabo ku Bubirigi kuko ibyo bihugu byashoboraga kuba ibirindiro "by'intagondwa", abakozi b'Ababirigi bo mu by'ububanyi n'amahanga muri ibyo bihugu bagombaga guhabwa ingufu. Tuzabona ko iyo gahunda yakurikijwe yose uko yakabaye.

Koroneri Logiest yakiriye minisitiri wa Koroni i Kigali avuga ko ashimishijwe cyane na poritiki ikurikizwa. Nyuma y'urwo ruzinduko Koroneri Logiest yatijwe u Rwanda, mu gihe cyagombaga kumara amezi atandatu ngo akore imirimo ya gisiviri, yitwa Rezida wa gisiviri udasanzwe, afite ububasha budasanzwe kandi budafite ikibukumira.

Kugira ngo agere ku ntego ze, hakoreshejwe uburyo bwinshi kugira ngo abashe kuvana burundu ishyaka rya Unar muri poritiki no kuvana Abatutsi ku buryo bushoboka bwose mu nzego za poritiki nshya.

Mu bintu byinshi byakozwe kugira ngo Parmehutu ibashe kugera ku butegetsi, icya mbere cyabaye gusimbuza umubare mwinshi w'abashefu, n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi, bagasimburwa n'abayoboze ba Parmehutu na Aprosoma. Nyuma y'imvururu z'Ugushyingo, abashefu 23 (kuri 45) n'abasushefu 158 (kuri 489) ntibari bakiri ku mirimo yabo kuko bari barahagaritswe ku rwitazo rw'uko baba barashoje imvururu iwabo, barahunze, barishwe, barasenyewe cyangwa barafunzwe. Mu butumwa

yagejeje ku Banyarwanda tariki ya 23 Ukwakira 1959, Koroneri Logiest yasobanuye impamvu habaye izo mpinduka zose muri aya magambo:” Mu ntara nyinshi hagabanye abashefu n’abasushefu b’Abahutu bashyiriweho kuba bahagaze mu myanya y’abashefu n’abasushefu b’Abatutsi bahategekaga. Ibyo ariko ntibyagiriwe kugirira nabi Abatutsi. Ahubwo byagiriwe kugirira neza Abahutu biganje muri izo ntara kandi bakaba bamaze iminsi basaba gutwarwa na benewabo b’Abahutu”⁴³⁵. Umwami yagerageje kwamagana icyo gikorwa kinyuranyije n’amategeko ariko biba iby’ubusa: ingingo y’itegeko teka ryo mu wa 1952 ryamuhaga ububasha bwo gushyiraho abashefu n’abasushefu.

Icyo kemezo cyari intambwe ikomeye mu migendekere y’igihugu. Kuko muri uko gushyiraho abatware bashya, ubutegetsu mbirigi bwahaga abayobozi bashya n’amashyaka yabo uburyo bwo gukwira mu gihugu cyose no gushinga imizi ikomeye aho bitari gushoboka mbere y’icyo kemezo.

➤ **Itangazo rya guverinoma ryo ku itariki ya 10 Ugushyingo 1959**

Mbere y’imvururu, Leta mbirigi yari yarohereje komisiyo y’umurimo, tariki ya 16 Mata 1959, yari yaje muri Ruanda-Urundi kuhakorera anketi nini ku miterere ya teritwari n’ibyifuzo by’abaturage. Raporo ya komisiyo yashyikirijwe Leta tariki ya 2 Nzeri 1959. Itangazo rya Leta ryo ku itariki ya 10 Ugushyingo 1959 ryari rishingiye kuri icyo Raporo ya komisiyo y’umurimo yatungaga agatoki ku mpinduka nyinshi zikwiye gukorwa ku rwego rwa poritiki n’imiyoborere. Leta Mbirigi yatungaga gahunda irimo ibice bibiri: gushyiraho za Leta muri teritwari zikagenda zigira buhoro buhoro ubwigenge bwaguye, hanyuma imikoranye ya za teritwari zombi igasigara gusa ku birebana n’amafaranga na gasutamo no ku bindi bintu bimwe na bimwe bya tekini. Za sheferi zari guhinduka inzego z’ubuyobozi gusa, ntizibe iza poritiki, susheferi zikagurwa zigahinduka za komini, umwami agasigara aganje gusa ntage mu bya guverinoma kandi akaba hejuru y’amashyaka: akagira ububasha bwo gushinga amategeko afatanije n’Inama Nkuru y’Igihugu. Kandi hakagomba guhuzwa vuba inzego z’imiyoborere nyarwanda n’iza gikoroni, abenegihugu bakagira uruhare runini mu nzego zifata ibyemezo⁴³⁶.

⁴³⁵ Itangazo rya Bwana Rezida wihariye w’u Rwanda n° 4, ritangiye i Kigali, ku wa 23 Ukuboza 1959.

⁴³⁶ Ministère des colonies, déclaration du gouvernement sur la politique de la Belgique au Ruanda-Urundi prononcée devant les chambres, le 10 novembre 1959.

Hahita hagaragara rugikubita ko itangazo rya guverinoma risa n'iriteganya ubwigenge bucagase na indepandansi mu gihe cya vuba. Ariko u Bubirigi bwashyiraga imbere inkumirizi: ntibwari bwiteguye kuva mu Rwanda igihe cyose ibyo bihugu bizaba bikiri inyuma mu bukungu. Unar yakiriye nabi itangazo rya Leta mbirigi cyanecyane kuko ritagaragaragamo igihe giteganirijwe kugera ku bwigenge. Naho ku mashyaka y'Abahutu, iryo tangazo ryakuragaho burundu icyo yitaga "ingoma ya cyami n'irondabwoko bwa gitutsi"⁴³⁷. Mu by'ukuri iryo tangazo ryari rije koroshya ibintu ariko ryaje ritinze kandi ibikorwa byari bimaze gukorwa byerekanaga ko u Bubirigi bubogamye mu gufata ibyemezo.

Sheferi na susheferi bimaze guhabwa Parimehutu, ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni bwatangiye guhindura n'izindi nzego: Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu yasimbujwe Inama Idasanzwe y'Agateganyo, hanatangira amatora nubwo Unar yabyamaganaga. Abagize Inama y'Agateganyo bashyizweho n'itegeko teka n° 221/51 ryo ku wa 6 Gashyantare 1960. Bagizwe umunani ngo buri shyaka ryose mu manini rishobore guhagararirwa n'abantu babiri. Umwami yahagarariwe na murumuna we Ruzibiza. Inama zayoborwaga n'adiminisitarateri Bovy. Inama Idasanzwe y'agateganyo yashatse kujya igenzura imikorere y'umwami no kumusimbura mu butegegi bwe. Biba impamvu yuko umwami yamagana ibyo bitekerezo byayo, bivamo gutana burundu hagati ye n'umutwe wari wishyize hamwe wari ugizwe na Parimehutu, Aprosoma na Rader.

➤ **Amatora ya Komini**

Amatora ya komini yari yarateganijwe mu rwego rw'Itegeko teka ryo ku wa 14 Nyakanga 1952 n'urw'itangazo rya Leta mbirigi ryo ku itariki ya 10 Ugushyingo 1959. Unar yasabye ko yasubikwa igihe cy'amezi atatu kubera imvururu zo mu Gushyingo n'ubutegegi bw'igihe kidasanzwe igihugu cyarimo. Raporo y'intumwa za Loni na yo itanga igitekerezo kimeze nk'icyo. U Bubirigi buracyanga kandi bwari bwarashyize ayo matora mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1960. Unar ibibonye, yivana mu Nama idasanzwe y'agateganyo, inatangaza ko itazitabira ayo matora ya komini⁴³⁸.

Amatora ya komini yabanjirijwe na gahunda y'ubuyobozi mbirigi yo kubogamira ku mugaragaro ku ruhande rwa Parmehutu,

⁴³⁷ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-123.

⁴³⁸ *Rudipresse*, n° 173, 4 juin 1960, p.6 .

bubuza abaturage kwitabira Unar. Rezida avuga mu itangazo ati: “reka mbereke urugero rw’umutwe uciye mu nzira itagira amakemwa. Uwo mutwe witwa Parmehutu (umutwe urenganura Abahutu)”⁴³⁹. Uko kubogamira ku ruhande rumwe k’ubutegetsu mbirigi kwaje kwigaragaza neza mu byemezo byafashwe byo guhana abangaga ayo matora. Rezidansi yateje icyuka kibi bikabije kijyanye n’ibikorwa by’urugomo byakorerwaga akenshi ishyaka rya Unar n’abayobokeye bayo.

Abo bantu bitwaga ba “gashakabuhake” bikubiye ubutaka bwose, bakandamizaga abagaragu n’abagerewa babo, abashefu n’abasushefu babi, babonaga mu buyobozi bwabo uburyo bwo gukandamiza abaturage”⁴⁴⁰. Iryo totezwa ryatumye ishyaka rya Rader na ryo riva mu ishyirahamwe ry’amashyaka yishyize hamwe mbere y’amatora ya komini igira ngo yerekane ko yamaganye icyo yitaga iterabwoba rya poritiki ya Parimehutu”

Amatora ya komini yabaye hagati y’itariki ya 18 Kamena n’iya 30 Nyakanga 1960. Hatorwa ba burugumesitiri n’abajyanama 2.896. Parmehutu ibona 70,4% by’amajwi yabonetse. Abifashe baba 21,8% ku ijana. Parmehutu ihita ifata ityo ubuyobozi hafi bw’amakomini yose y’igihugu, iba ifashe ubutegetsu bwa poritiki ku rwego rw’ibanze. Hari abakeka ko iryo shyaka ritari kubona urwo rubuga rwose, iyo ishyaka rya Unar rijya mu matora. Kubogama bigaragara k’ubuyobozi mbirigi muri ayo matora yose biyabuza kwitirirwa demokarasi.

Uwo mwaka, tariki ya 18 Ukwakira 1960, Rezida udasanze yasohoye itegeko teka n° 221/275 rishyiraho Inama y’Igihugu y’abantu 48 na Leta y’agateganyo. Inama Idasanze y’agateganyo iraseswa. Rezida udasanze ashinga Gerigori Kayibanda wari Perezida wa Parimehutu kuba ari we ushyiraho guverinoma y’agateganyo. Yari igizwe n’abaminisitiri 10 n’abanyamabanga ba Leta 11, harimo abazungu 10 n’Abanyarwanda 11. Ibyari kubuza Parmehutu kujya mu nzego zo hejuru byose byari bimaze kuvaho. Ariko mu birebana n’amategeko, uko ibintu byose biteye hari harimo urujijo kurusha uko byagaragaraga. Impamvu nuko guverinoma yari imaze kujyaho yari iy’umwami, kandi umwami yari yamaganye ibyakorwaga byose avuga ko binyuranyije n’amategeko ndetse yari yaragombye kuva mu gihugu guhera muri Kamena 1960⁴⁴¹.

⁴³⁹ Itangazo no 7 rya Résident spécial w’u Rwanda, ku wa 8 Gashyantare 1960.

⁴⁴⁰ Circulaire à la population du territoire d’Astrida, 2 juillet 1960, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁴¹ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

➤ **Impaka ku matora y'Inteko Inshinga amategeko:**

Amatora y'Intego Ishinga amategeko yabanjirijwe n'ibintu byinshi byo kugerageza gukemura mu mahoro intugunda zari mu Rwanda. Abanyaporitiki b'Abanyarwanda, abahagarariye Leta mbirigi, n'intumwa za Loni, zazaga mu Rwanda bahuye inshuro nyinshi, urugero ni nko mu nama yabereye ku Gisenyi no mu biganiro byakorewe Ostende. Loni na yo yatoye ibyemezo byinshi ariko izo nzira zose nta cyo zagezeho. Ahubwo habaye ihirikabutegetsy y'i Gitarama.

Ibiganiro byo ku Gisenyi (tariki ya 7 kugeza ku ya 14 Ukwakira 1960) byahuje abantu 6 bahagarariye guverinoma y'agateganyo n'intumwa z'amashyaka 13 (harimo 7 bo muri Parimehutu, 2 ba Rader, na 2 ba Unar). Byari bigamije ibintu bibiri: amatora y'Inteko Ishinga amategeko, no gushyiraho inzego mu rwego rw'ubwigenge bucagase. Iyo nama yari ngishwanama: ubutegetsy bwa gikoroni bwashoboraga kwita ku myanzuro yayo cyangwa ntibuyiteho. Itariki y'Amatora y'inama nshingamategeko ntiyaje kumvikanwaho kimwe, Unar na Rader byasabaga ko yakwigizwayo nyuma y'itariki ya 15 Mutarama 1961. Ikibazo cy'uko amashyaka azahagararirwa kizweho ariko nticyabonerwa igisubizo.

Unar, Rader na Aprosuma byabonaga ko uko bihagarariwe muri iyo nama bidahagije, byasabaga ko n'amashyaka mato ya poritiki yahagararirwa. Parimehutu yanga icyo gitekerezo. Bigenze bityo, Unar na Rader biva muri iyo nama, ibiganiro bikomeza batayirimo. Imwe mu myanzuro yavuyemo ni iyi: gushyiraho mu minsi iri imbere inzego nshya mu rwego rw'ubwigenge bucagase, kwemeza ko hazabaho inteko imwe ishingama amategeko n'uko izatorwa. Inama ntiyashoboye gusubiza ibibazo byose byavutse ariko uku kutumvikana byafashaga u Bubirigi bwashakaga gukora ibishoboka byose ngo hataba akavuyo ahubwo bukagera kuri gahunda yose bwari bwimirije imbere.

Ikibazo cy'u Rwanda kizwe muri Loni mu gihembwe cyayo cya 15 k'Inteko rusange yayo. Buri buke ngo iyo nama ibe, Unar, Rader n'umwami Kigeri V bagejeje ibyifuzo binyuranye n'inyandiko kuri komisiyo ya Loni yari ishinzwe gusuzuma ikibazo cy'aho Ruanda-Urundi yerekera. Mu byo basabaga harimo ko u Bubirigi bwakwamburwa uburenganzira bwo kuba buyoboye Ruanda, hakavanwaho umutwe w'ingabo n'abaparakomando b'Ababirigi bigasimburwa n'ingabo za Loni, hakavanwaho

ikemezo cyafashwe cy'uko umwami afungirwa aho atuye, hakaba imbabazi rusange ku mfungwa za poritiki⁴⁴². Amashyaka yari ashyigikiye n'u Bubirigi ntiyari ashyigikiye ibyo byifuzo. Nyuma y'impaka zikomeye Inama Nkuru ya Loni yafashe imyanzuro ibiri ikurikira: gukoresha inama, mbere y'amatora, maze amashyaka yose agahagararirwamo, ikindi nuko hazaba Kamarampaka ku mwami n'ingoma ya cyami. Ibyemezo bya Loni byari bibangamiye u Bubirigi. Ni yo mpamvu bwakoze uko bushoboye ngo bitagira icyo bigeraho. U Bubirigi bwafashwaga n'uko bwo bwari aho ibikorwa bikorerwa (mu Rwanda).

Kugira ngo u Bubirigi buse n'ubwerekana ko bukurikiza ibyifuzo bya Loni, bwakoresheje inama, ikuriwe na Loni, mu mugwi wa Ostende, kuva tariki ya 7 kugeza tariki ya 12 Mutarama 1961. Iyo nama yahuje amashyaka ya poritiki yo mu Rwanda n'u Burundi. Ingingo eshatu ni zo zagombaga gusuzumwa: itariki y'amatora y'Inteko ishingira amategeko, ikibazo cya serivisi zikomeza guhurirwaho n'u Rwanda n'u Burundi n'ikibazo cy'ubwiyunge mu Rwanda.

Parmehutu, Aprosoma na Leta y'agateganyo byangaga isubikwira ry'amatora nyuma ya Mutarama 1961. Naho ku birebana n'ikibazo cy'ubwiyunge, nta kintu gishya cyari gitegerejwe kuko cyari cyananiranye mu nama yo ku Gisenyi. Komisiyo ya Loni yatangajwe n'uko abari bahuje iyo nama bari baje bafite ibitekerezo ndakuka: "Komisiyo yavugaga ko mu mitekerezwe y'abari bateguye iyo nama, harimo ko iyo nama yari igamije mbere na mbere kwemeza ko abenshi cyane mu bayigize, batifuzaga ko amatora y'Inteko ishingira amategeko yigizwagayo haba mu Rwanda cyangwa mu Burundi, kandi ko ku birebana u Rwanda, kuba yarashakwaga gukuraho umwami burundu byabuzaga ubwumvikane ubwo ari bwo bwose kuri iyo ngingo"⁴⁴³. Inama ya Ostende, kimwe n'iyayibanjirije nta cyo byagezeho. Ariko hemejwe, binyuranije n'ibyo guverinoma y'agateganyo yashakaga, ko amatora y'inteko ishingira amategeko azigizwayo (mu mwaka wa 1961).

➤ **Ihirikabutegetsu ry'i Gitarama**

Avuye mu nama ya Ostende, Rezida wihariye yahise aha u Rwanda ubwigenge bucagase (itegeko teka n°02/16 ryo kuwa 15

⁴⁴² *Rudipresse*, no 186, 27 août 1960, p.1.

⁴⁴³ Nkundabagenzi F., 1962, *op.cit.*, pp. 375-377.

Mutarama 1961). Bivuze ko imishyikirano yakorwaga nta kamaro yari igifite kuko inama y'igihugu na Leta y'agateganyo byari byiganjwemo na Parmehutu, ari byo byonyine byashoboraga kwiyumvikanisha. Ariko ibyo ntibyari bibahagije.

Hakurikijwe gahunda yari yumvikanyweho n'abakuru "b'Abahutu" na Rezida wihariye, Koroneri Logiest, Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsu bw'Igihugu, Yohani Batisita Rwasibo yahamagaje ba Burugumesitiri bose n'abajyanama ba Komine mu nama yo kuwa 28 Mutarama 1961, Perezidansi na za perefegitura zitanga imodoka zibazana, agace k'abasirikare b'abaparakomando b'Ababirigi karinda umutekano.

Gahunda yavugwaga ku mugaragaro y'iyi nama yari iyo kuganira ku birebana n'umutekano rusange. Ariko bizanywe n'abayobozi bakuru ba Parmehutu n'Aprosoma, inama yafashe indi ntera. Abayijemo batangaje ko habayeho Repuburika, banashyiraho inzego zose zijyanye na yo: bashyiraho Perezida ari we Mbonyumutwa D., Inteko Ishinga Amategeko igizwe n'abantu 44, iyobowe na Gitera, Guverinoma iyobowe na Gr. Kayibanda, Itegeko nshinga ryari urwiyerurutso kuko ritigeze ritangazwa mu Igazeti ya Leta kandi ntiryemerwe n'u Bubirigi. Hajyaho n'Urukiko rw'Ikirenga ruyobowe na Nzeyimana Isidore (rwaje gukora nyuma y'ubwigenge).

Misiyo y'igenzura ya Loni ihinduka misiyo yo gutanga umukuru. Itangaza ko habaye ubugambane butaziguye hagati y'ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi bari mu Rwanda n'amashyamba "y'Abahutu". Inteko Rusange ya Loni mu mwanzuro wayo n° 1605 yo kuri 27 Werurwe 1961 yamagana poritiki ya Manda y'Ababirigi, ishira itariki y'amatora mu kwezi kwa munani 1961, inasaba ko hajyaho guverinoma y'agateganyo yaguye no gukuraho abayobozi b'agateganyo. Ariko ibyari byakozwe bigumaho.

Ibyabereye i Gitarama ntibigomba gutandukanywa n'inzira yari yakurikijwe ngo Parmehutu igera ku butegetsu. Ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi buhagarikira icyo gikorwa, bwashakaga guca ku myanzuro ya Loni yari inyuranyije na gahunda yabwo. Ni yo mpamvu ari ugukabya kuvuga ko habaye ihirikabutegetsu kuko mbere na mbere abashefu n'abasushefu b'Abatutsi bari birukanywe bagasimbuzwa abategetsu b'agateganyo kandi n'umwami Kigeri V yari yahejewe mu buhungiro mu mahanga ku ngufu. Ubutegetsu bwari bwashyirahwe mu ntoki z'ubukoroni

bw'Ababirigi. icyo gikorwa k'itsindwa rya mbere rya Loni mu Rwanda cyaje gukurikirwa n'ibindi bibi byaje gusozwa n'akumiro n'imiyoborere ya Loni idahwitse muri jenocide yo muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994.

➤ **Itora ry'Inteko ishingira amategeko na Kamarampaka byo mu wa 1961.**

Ayo matora yabaye indi ntambwe nshya ikomeye yatumye Parmehutu ishobora kuyobora inzego nkuru za Leta. Ubundi hakurikijwe ibyemezo bya Loni, inzego zose z'agateganyo zagombaga gusimburwa na guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda amashyamba ya poritiki yose yari guhagararirwamo. Imirimo ya guverinoma n'iy'Inteko byagiriyeho i Gitarama byiswe ko bihagaritswe by'agateganyo kugeza igihe hazabera amatora y'abadepite. Ariko guhagarikwa kw'izo nzego byari urwiyerurutso gusa. Ba minisitiri bagumanye ibyo bari bahawe byose. Ba burugumesitiri na bo bagumanye imyanya yabo kandi bakomeza gukorera ishyamba ryabo.

Iryo tora (ry'Inteko ishingira amategeko na Kamarampaka), kimwe n'iryaribanjirije ryaranzwe n'ibikorwa by'urugomo n'itera bwoba byakozwe akenshi n'abayobokeye n'abakuriye Parmehutu, cyanecyane ku rwego rwa za Komini, bikorerwa abayobokeye ba Unar n'Abatutsi. Hongeye kubaho abantu benshi bicwa, inzu zitwikwa, impunzi n'abasenyera. Ubwicanyi n'urugomo byakozwe n'abayobokeye ba Unar byarahanwe cyane mu gihe ibyakorwaga n'abayobokeye ba Parmehutu bitahanwaga⁴⁴⁴. Gukoresha amabara ku mugaragararimo mu kwamamaza no mu matora bya poritiki byaje kurushaho guca abantu mo ibice no gukurura urugomo n'iterabwoba. Impapuro zanditseho amazina y'abazatorwa zasimbujwe amabara atandukanye⁴⁴⁵. Ibashya ya Kamarampaka yari irimo impapuro z'amatora ebyiri: urwera ku bashakira ubwami na Kigeri V n'urwirabura ku batabashakira. Ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi bwanzwe bukomeje ko umwami yajya mu iyamamaza ry'amatora, buvuga ko ari ukubera "impamvu z'umutekano wa poritiki" mu gihugu. Ni icyo mikorere y'iterabwoba no kubogama k'ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi

⁴⁴⁴ Mu wa 1963, Guverinoma yakoze irekurwa rusange ry'abaregwaye ibyaha bo ku ruhanda rw'abahaniraga revorisiyo", ibabaye imizi ingeso yo kudahanwa ibyaha bikorerwa Abatutsi n'Abahutu "bayobye", nyuma icyo ngeso yo kudahanwa yaje kuba intandaro yo kuroha imbaga y'Abahutu muri jenocide n'ibindi byaha byakozwe kugeza mu wa 1994 .

⁴⁴⁵ Parmehutu: ibara ritukura; Unar: iryera; Aprosoma : icyatsi; Rader: ibara risa n'ijuru.

byatumye intumwa za Loni muri Werurwe 1961 zivuga ko hari gushyirwaho ingoma y'igitugu y'ironwabwoko by'ishyaka kandi ko ubutegetsu bw'urugomo bwari bwarasimbuye ubundi⁴⁴⁶. Loni ntiyagira umwanzuro ifata ku byo intumwa zayo zari zarabonye.

Ku ntebe 44 zagombaga gutorerwa mu Nteko, Parmehutu yabonye 35, Unar ibona 7, Aprosuma 2. Naho muri Kamarampaka, ibyavuyemo byahuye n'ibyavuye muri kongere y'i Gitarama: 80% by'abatora banze ubwami.

Umwami Kigeri V yasabye Loni gusesa ibyagezweho na Kamarampaka n'amatora y'Inteko. Amabaruwa menshi y'abayoboze ba Unar n'impunzi zabaga hanze yohererejwe Loni, asaba ko ayo matora yaseswa, ko u Bubirigi bwamburwa kuyobora u Rwanda maze Loni ubwayo ikaruyobora mu buryo ibigiramo uruhare rutaziguye. Abaje guhagararira Loni mu matora bavuze ko ayo matora yagenze neza nubwo harimo ibintu bitanoze bwose, kandi ngo yabaye mu mutuzo n'ibanga. icyo bayanenze kinini ni ukubogamira bikabije ku ruhande rw'Abahutu kwa ba burugumesitiri n'umwete muke ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi bwagiraga wo kubafatira ibihano iyo babaga bari mu makosa.

Umukozi mu by'Ububanyi n'Amahanga w'Umunyamerika yavuze ko indorezezi za Loni zagombye kwemera ayo matora kuko kuyanga byari gukururira igihugu mu makuba naho ubundi umubare munini w'impunzi, uw'abimuwe n'uw'abasenyewe ayo matora yegereje wateshaga agaciro ako ari ko kose ibivuye muri ayo matora. Umubare munini w'abatora wahatiwe kuva mu makomini yabo buri buke ngo ayo matora abe. Raporo y'abasirikari nyuma y'ayo matora yavugaga ko hari Abatutsi 133 bishwe n'Abahutu 78 bishwe; Abatutsi 130 n'Abahutu 100 bakomerekejwe, inzu 2000 zatwitswe, impunzi 12000, Abatutsi 213 n'Abahutu 161 bahagaritswe⁴⁴⁷.

Ni yo mpamvu nini yatumye amashyirahamwe n'ibice by'impunzi byanga ibyavuye muri ayo matora y'Inteko. Bamaganaga iterabwoba ryayaranze. Bakomezaga kwemeza bivuye inyuma ko bashyigikiye ubwami n'umwami Kigeri V, bagasaba ko haba andi matora ahagarikiwe na Loni⁴⁴⁸. Ubuyobozi bwa Unar mu gihugu bwemeye

⁴⁴⁶ Rapport intermédiaire de la commission pour le Ruanda-Urundi, p.51

⁴⁴⁷ Note du 6 août 1962.

⁴⁴⁸ Habaye inzandiko nyinshi kuri icyo kibazo zoherejwe muri Loni zanditswe n'amashyirahamwe y'impunzi, muri zo hari Inyandiko y'Abanyarwanda Abadahekumuka yo ku ya 5 Ugushyirahamwe 1961 no ku ya 13 Ugushyirahamwe 1961; Inyandiko y'igice

Leta yashyizweho nyuma y'ayo matora, ndetse hari abantu b'iryo shyaka batowe harimo uwahoze ari shefu Rwangombwa.

Hari inyandiko ya Perezida n'umwanditsi ba Unar, Rutsindintwarane na Rwagasana⁴⁴⁹, bombi bamenyesha kandi bemeza ko bemeye ibyavuye muri Kamarampaka ku bwami na Leta nshya yagiyeho. Banditse bati: "Ishyaka rya Unar, rirangwa no gukunda igihugu na demokarasi ryemeye Leta ya demokarasi yagiyeho kandi ryemeye nta gushidikanya inzego za demokarasi ziyishingiyeho. Ishyaka ryongeye kwemeza ko ryifuza gukorana n'abayobozi b'inzego z'igihugu kugira ngo hashobore gushyirwa mu bikorwa ibyifuzo bikuru by'abaturage". Bahamagariraga impunzi ngo "zigendere ku murongo mugari ufitiye u Rwanda rwose akamaro, bemera gufasha abayobozi bagiyeho ngo hashobore gushyirwa mu bikorwa poritiki yo kugarura impunzi no kongera kuzituzza mu baturage". Ishyaka ryitandukanya n'iterabwoba ry'inyenzi. "Ryamaganaga igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose cy'ubugome n'impamvu zoshya abagikora kubera ko itera bwoba ari igikorwa cy'ubugome. Ishyaka ryamaganye iterabwoba ry'inyenzi. Unar yemereye Leta inkunga yayo yose mu rugamba rwo kurwanya iterabwoba"⁴⁵⁰.

Amashyirahamwe n'ibice by'impunzi byamaganye iyo mvugo ku buryo komite y'impunzi yo muri Kivu yamaganye Rwagasana na Rutsindintwarane (baje kwirukanwa mu buyobozi bw'Ishyaka rya Unar) kuko mu izina rya Unar, bemeye guverinoma yavuye mu matora "afitse" kuko ari "ugutsindwa biteye isoni"⁴⁵¹.

Ayo mashyirahamwe n'ibice by'impunzi basabaga ko ubwami bwashyirahamwe kuko umwami ari we soko y'amahoro n'ubumwe. Nta Munyarwanda wakwemera cyangwa ngo ayoborwe na Leta itaba iyobowe n'umwami Kigeri wa V⁴⁵². Impunzi ntizashoboraga gutaha nta mwami ndetse na Gitera wari warifuje uko ashoboye kose ko amatora yaba mu gihugu yari yababajwe n'ayo matora; yari yamaganye ubusambo bw'ingoma mpatsibihugu mbirigi

k'impunzi zari kuri Goma, ku ya 21 Nzeri 1961; Inyandiko ya Munyakazi, yo ku ya 30 Nzeri 1961; Inyandiko ya Unar, yo ku ya 9 Ukwakira 1961

⁴⁴⁹ Inyandiko yitwa «Prise de position de l'Union nationale rwandaise face aux questions d'actualité», s.d.

⁴⁵⁰ Idem.

⁴⁵¹ Inyandiko ya Komite y'Impunzi zo muri Kivu, 12 Gicurasi 1962, n'Inyandiko y'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda bo muri Kongo, 6 Kamena 1962

⁴⁵² Inyandiko y'Abadahemuka, 30 Gicurasi 1962; kureba n'Inyandiko ya U. Kimonyo na bagenzi be, 15 Gicurasi 1962.

na Parmehutu. Yavugaga ko ayo matora yaranzwe n'amakosa menshi yari ikwiye guseswa na Loni. Ariko mu by'ukuri icyo gihe yari yarashinze irindi Shyaka rya poritiki ryitwa "Ishyaka rya Demokarasi ya Cyami Nyarwanda"⁴⁵³.

Kugerageza kwiwunga bya nyuma byageragerejwe i New York, bigeragezwa n'uware uhagarariye igihugu cya Danemariki muri Loni, ashyigikiwe n'intumwa ya Gineya bashaka ko Leta y'u Rwanda yakumvikana n'igice cya Unar cyakorera mu bihugu bituranye n'u Rwanda. Ku ruhande rwa Leta y'u Rwanda hari Rusingizandekwe O., Rugira A. na Habamenshi C., naho ku ruhande rwa Unar hari Rwagasana M., Kayihura M., na Butera A⁴⁵⁴. Abayoboze ba Unar bashakaga ko amashyaka ahanganye na Leta (harimo na Unar) na yo abona imyanya mu butegetsi na poritiki. Ku birebana no kugira uruhare mu myanya y'ubutegetsi ku rwego rwa perefegitura, nta mbogamizi Leta yabonagamo bibayemo isaranganya rinyuze mu mucyo, ariko ku rwego rwa za minisiteri Leta yagaragaje ko Unar yanze imyanya y'abaminisitiri yari yahawe igahitamo kujya mu ruhande rwa opozisiyo. Unar yo yavugaga ko itigeze igezwaho icyo kifuzo ku buryo buhamye. Unar (igice cyo hanze) yari yanze kwemera ukuri ko mu matora ariko iryo shyaka ryari ryiteguye kwemera ibyavuyemo habonetse ikibihamya ku rwego rwa komini: mu by'ukuri Unar yagombaga kugira umubare runaka w'abaturugumesitiri n'abajyanama. Guverinoma yo yabonaga ko manda yabo ari iya poritiki, kubyivangamo k'ubuyobozi byari kuba ari ukunyuranya n'amategeko kuko ari abantu batowe n'abaturage badashobora kuvanwaho keretse habaye andi matora.

Ikindi kifuzo cya Unar cyo gushyira amatora ya komini mbere y'ubwigenge na cyo cyanenzwe n'intumwa za Leta. Igiterekerezo cya Unar cyatanzwe neza na M. Kayihura muri aya magambo: "Inzego za Leta twazikwemo zose, turifuza kugira uruhare mu buyobozi bw'igihugu kuva hasi kugera hejuru; hanyuma mu minsi yateganywa hakaba andi matora y'abaturage mu buryo burushijeho kuba bwiza"⁴⁵⁵. Icyo kifuzo nticyagezweho⁴⁵⁶. Habaye indi mishyikirano ku wa 26, 27 na 28 Mutarama 1962, ariko na yo ntiyagize icyo igeraho.

⁴⁵³ Inyandiko ya "Mouvement démocratique royaliste rwandais" yo ku wa 1 Mutarama 1962.

⁴⁵⁴ Inyandiko mvugo y'ibiganiro by'uhagarariye Leta y'u Rwanda n'abahagarariye ishyaka riyirwanya rya Unar byo ku wa 26 Mutarama 1962

⁴⁵⁵ Inyandiko mvugo y'ibiganiro by'uhagarariye Leta y'u Rwanda n'abahagarariye ishyaka riri muri opozisiyo rya Unar byo ku wa 26 Mutarama 1962

⁴⁵⁶ Mu itangazo Unar (igice k'imbere mu gihugu) ryo ku wa 26 Gashyantare 1962 havugwamo amasezerano hagati ya guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'intumwa za Unar ariko ntihavugwamo ibyo bari bumvikanyeho.

➤ **Ahagana ku bwigenge**

Tariki ya 26 Ukwakira 1961, guverinoma nshya yagiyeho mu matora yemewe n'Inteko nshya y'Igihugu, G.Kayibanda atorerwa kuba Perezida wa Repubulika. Muri rusange, Leta mbirigi yari isigaranye ibijyanye n'umubano n'amahanga yanga ko iyo guverinoma nshya yagirana umubonano n'abakomunisiti, inagumana ibyo kurinda igihugu, umutekano w'abantu mu gihugu imbere n'icungwa ry'amafaranga⁴⁵⁷.

Bwana Haroy amaze gutaha tariki ya 14 Mutarama 1962, Logiest yagumye i Kigali nk'uhagarariye u Bubirigi bisabwe na Gr. Kayibanda; Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga yari yifuje gushyiraho umusiviri, bwana Régnier. J.-P. Haroy amaze kugenda Logiest ntiyari agifite umukuriye. Etienne Davignon, umuyobozi w'Iburo muri Ministeri y'Ububanyi n'Amahanga yamaganye ibikorwa bye byose. Ku bwe, “u Rwanda rwari rukwiye kuba rwarabonewe igisubizo cya poritiki kindi. Kimwe n'i Burundi ubwami bwari bukwiye kuba bwaragumyeho kuko bwari mu muco w'igihugu, kandi hari gushoboka gushyirwaho ubundi butegetsi bwemerwa n'Abahutu⁴⁵⁸. Ariko ibyabaye byari byarabaye, ikibi cyarangije gukorwa.

Nyuma y'impaka zikomeye zirebana n'ibijyanye n'ubumwe bwa poritiki, ubukungu n'ubutegetsi bwa Ruanda-Urundi bwifuzwaga cyane na Loni kugeza mu wa 1962, inama nkuru ya Loni yatoye ikemezo n° 1746 cyo ku wa 27 Kanama 1962 kemeza ko imaze kubyumvikanaho n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, isheshe amasezerano y'indagizo yo kuri 13/12/1946 areba Ruanda-Urundi, tariki ya 1/07/1962, itariki u Ruanda-Urundi bizahinduka Leta ebyiri zigenga kandi zitavugirwamo. Unar (igice cyo hanze) yerekanye ko amezi yabanjirije ubwigenge yaranzwe no kubura kw'imvururu zishingiye ku moko muri teritwari za Kibungo, Gisenyi na Kibuye, yavugaga ko zashojwe n'abasirikari na Parmehutu⁴⁵⁹; ni zo mpamvu zayiteye kuvuga ko ari “ubwigenge bugwiririye u Rwanda⁴⁶⁰.

Mu nzira zagejeje Parmehutu ku butegetsi, ubuyobozi bw'Ababirigi bwabigizemo uruhare ndakuka, rusenya mbere na mbere kandi buhorobuhoro izindi ingufu zariho cyangwa zishoboka zose zashobora guhangana na yo. icya kabiri

⁴⁵⁷ Amasezerano yashyizweho umukono na Paul-Henri Spaak na Gerigori Kayibanda, tariki ya 21 Ukuboza 1961

⁴⁵⁸ Lefevre Pet J.-N., 2006, *op.cit.*, p.104

⁴⁵⁹ Inyandiko ya Unar, 12 Kamena 1962

⁴⁶⁰ Unar, teregaramu yohererejwe Loni, tariki ya 20 Kamena 1962

kwabaye gushyiraho inzego nshya zagombaga gukoreshwa mu mpinduka zakorwaga. Hari uwavuga se ko hakoreshejwe inzira ya demokarasi ? Ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bumaze kwiyumvisha ko nta kabuza hazaba ubwigenge muri koroni, bwahisemo abo buzakorana na bo gutegura intambwe ifite isura y'ubukoroni bushya. Inyungu z'u Bubirigi zitaweho kurusha ingingo nkuru z'imitegekere ya demokarasi.

Indepandansi y'u Rwanda ntiyari itegerejwe vuba n'ishyaka rya poritiki ryayihawe. Ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni bwo bwari bwashyizeho igihe kiruhije kumenya. Ni byo bigaragarira muri raporo y'intumwa za Loni zaje mu Rwanda mu wa 1954, igira iti: "Guverineri mukuru abona ko mu bisekuru bitatu cyangwa bine abaturage ba teritwari baramutse bahuye n'izindi mbumbambaga zizabayobora, bazashobora kugira uruhare rukomeye mu kwiyoborera igihugu cyabo".

Ni uko u Rwanda rwavuye ku ngoma ya cyami yitwaga iya "gitutsi", rujya muri Repuburika yiyitaga iya "gahutu". Ubwigenge bwasezereraga ubutegetsi bw'indagizo. Abayobozi n'inzego barahindutse ariko ingengabitekerezo y'amacakubiri na poritiki yo guheza bamwe yashyizweho hifashishijwe poritiki y'ubukoroni igumaho. Mu by'ukuri yari indepandansi "iri mu mutego" w'iyongereye ingengabitekerezo y'amacakubiri n'iyongereye poritiki yo guheza byigishijwe na Leta y'ubukoroni.

Abayobozi n'abayoboze ba Parmehutu berekanye icyo bise "Revorisiyo ya rubanda yo mu wa 1959" nk'inzira yari yarateguwe kuva kera iyobowe n'abategetsi ba Parmehutu bayiri ku isonga mu bwumvikane bw'ingengabitekerezo bumvikanyeho hagati yabo (kwironda kwa Gahutu) n'ubuyobozi bushingiye kuri Parmehutu⁴⁶¹. Ntawahakana ko hari umutima w'irondabwoko mu bize bamwe b'Abahutu n'ubushake bwo kwipakurura ingoma ya gihake na gikoronize. Ariko bimaze kugenda bigaragara ko inzira yabagejeje ku ivuka ry'ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika yanyuze mu byiciro byinshi.

Ni muri urwo rwego hakwibutswa ko akarere k'u Buganza katatangiriye imvururu z'irondabwoko igihe kimwe n'uturere tw'amajyaruguru no hagati mu gihugu. Ntabwo ibi byapfuye kwizana; nuko ibyo Parmehutu yashingiragaho n'ikwizabitekerezo ryayo bitari bihafite ingufu zihagije. Iturika ry'imvururu mu minsi 15 ya mbere y'Ugushyirahamwe ryatunguye abo ryarebaga bose b'imena, harimo ndetse n'abayobozi b'Abahutu. Nta n'uwari uzi rugikubita ikizavamo.

⁴⁶¹ *Dialogue*, no 137, 1989, pp.56-58 et 86-96

Bigitangira, ako kavuyok'imvururu kasaga n'akikomye ubutegetsu bw'abashefu n'abasushefu; ndetse hari impuha zagendaga zivuga ko umwami yatanze uburenganzira bwo kubirukana, ariko ntibarwanyaga ubutegetsu bw'ingoma ya cyami ubwabwo; kandi kugeza mu wa 1960 na Parmehutu ubwayo yari igishyigikiye ingoma ya cyami iganje. Ni nyuma y'ukwezi k'Ugushyingo, ibyo gusaba ihindurwa ry'abakozi byahinduye isura n'umugambi wo guhindura inzego zose z'imiterere y'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu n'imibanire y'abantu ifata isura ry'ihangana ry'amoko. Imvururu zigitangira imibanire y'amoko yari isanzwe. Mu bireba byibura imbaga y'abaturage basanzwe: nta nzangano zabonekaga, nta mwiryanze, nta na gahunda yo kumarana⁴⁶².

Imvururu zimaze gutangira, imyitwarire y'abo bireba ni yo yagize uruhare mu kwerekana aho ibintu byerekera nyuma. Mbere na mbere abatware b'Abatutsi bafashaga ubutegetsu mbirigi, aho kwita ku bibazo bifite ishingiro bagezwagaho na rubanda rugufi rwari rwarakandamijwe kurusha abandi n'ubukoroni, kandi batazi inyungu ngari ibihugu byari byarakoronije byari bigambiriyeye muri aka karere, bagerageje kurengera inyungu zabo zari zamaganwe n'abazirwanyaga imbere mu gihugu. Havugwa ko habuze ubushobozi n'ubuhanga bwa poritiki mu bayobozi b'igihugu; umugambi w'u Bubirigi kuri ibyo warigaragazaga: wari ko "Nta bize, nta bibazo".

Icyo kabiri ni imyitwarire y'abayobozi b'amashyamba y'Abahutu bashyigiyeye gahunda ya poritiki zabo ku isumbana ry'amoko. Ariko nk'uko abaturage bo mu Bugarama (Cyangugu) babivugaga, ikibazo cy'amoko cyari urwitwazo. Cyari gihishe ibibazo bikomeye byo mu rwego rwa poritiki, ubukungu n'imibereho bitabonewe ibisubizo nyabyo⁴⁶³.

Icyo nyuma ni imyitwarire y'abategetsu b'abakoroni ubwabo batashoboye gufasha igihugu kujya mu mpinduramatwara zifuzwaga kandi ari bo bari babifitiye uburyo n'ububasha. Bahisemo kubogamira ku ruhande rumwe, bakwiza hose inkuru ko imvururu zo mu Gushyingo zatewe n'uburakari bw'Abahutu barwanyaga "ubukoroni bw'Abatutsi" bituma Abahutu bose bashyirwa mu rwego rumwe ndetse babishyira mu myumvire ya poritiki batari bafite mbere. Guhera ubwo "imvururu" zaretse gukorwa mu kavuyo: zari zahindutse ikintu kiyobowe n'ingengabitekerezo "y'irondabwoko" yihishe inyuma ya poritiki y'uburinganire, yo kwishyira ukizana no kureshya mu mibereho. Kuva icyo gihe, imibanire mu mahoro hagati

⁴⁶² IRDP, Anketi i Rubengera, 19/11/2004

⁴⁶³ IRDP, Ibiganiro mu Bugarama F.G., 11/11/2004

y'Abatutsi n'Abahutu ntiyari igishobotse na busa. Twanabonye ko Parmehutu ya Kayibanda yo yari yaranasabye ko habaho mu gihugu ibice bitandukanye bituwemo n'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ariko bakagira urwego rw'ubuyobozi bahuriraho⁴⁶⁴. Kuva ubwo guhiga umututsi (bitari ibyo guhiga abantu bamwe na bamwe) byari bisigaye byumvikana ubwabyo.

Yaba yibesha uwaramuka ashyigikiye ibivugwa n'abari bashyigikiye “revorisiyo ya rubanda yo mu wa 1959”, ko ngo impuguke z'Abahutu zaba zaragize umutima wo kurengera “*rubanda rugufi*” ngo rwaba rwari rwarakandamijwe n'ubukoroni bwa gatutsi maze zikayobora inkundura yo kuburwanya mu bumwe n'ubwumvikane.

Abakuru ba mbere b'abayobozi b'Abahutu bari barashavujwe n'ukuntu hari ikinyuranyo kinini hagati y'ibyo bifuzaga n'ibyo ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni bwari bwarimakaje; bashakaga gusandaza ukwiharira ubutegetsu byari bifitwe n'agako k'Abatutsi mu butegetsu n'ubukungu. Naho ku bindi, hagati yabo ntibari bafite imyumvire imwe, ari ku birebana n'intumbero yabo, iyo bagana n'ibikorwa bya poritiki bakora. Mu mvugo ngufi, havugwa ko hagaragaraga ibintu bibiri abayobozi b'Abahutu batumvikanagaho muri iyo nzira yose y'impinduramatwara yihuse.

Icyo mbere cyagaragaraga yari amatwara y'abayobozi b'Abahutu bo mu bice by'Amajyaruguru bangaga abahandi kandi bagakomera ku muco w'iwabo. Amatwara yaho yibandaga ku bintu bibiri bijyanye n'ubuhake: ubwari bushingiye ku bashifu b'Abatutsi, bwari bushya, bw'abakwitwa “abagererwa ba poritiki”; hakaba n'“abagererwa basanzwe” bashingiye ku bukonde gakondo. Abayobozi b'amatwara ya gihutu bo mu Majyaruguru baturukaga cyanecyane mu moko manini y'abakonde baho, bari bagitekereza ko bari abatwara mbere yuko basimburwa n'Abatutsi. Mu gihe bahamagaraga amoko yaho n'imiryango yabo kwamagana Abatutsi, abo bayobozi bo mu majyaruguru icyo bari bagamije ntikwari ukugabanya imvune z'akazi k'ubukoroni (akazi k'agahato, amakoro nb.), ahubwo bashakaga kugira umwihariko mu karere kabo ujyanye na poritiki nshya: gusubizaho umuco w'amoko yabo, n'uw'imiryango yabo, ibintu bikongera bikamera uko byari bimeze mbere yuko Abatutsi baza kuhatwara. Si igitangaza ko kwikoma Abatutsi byahise bikomera mu Gushyamba 1959 kandi bigahita bifata intera yo kubirukana ku bwinshi ku butaka bariho.

⁴⁶⁴ Tabara P., *Afrique : la face cachée*, La presse Universelle, Paris, 1992, cité par Sebasoni S., *La crise de la société rwandaise (1957-2004)*, juillet 2005

Uburyo bwa kabiri bwagaragaye ni ubwari bufite amatwara aganisha ku buringanire bwabarwanyaga inzego z'ingoma ya cyami bwabonekaga cyanecyane mu bari bafite amatwara ya gihutu yo mu Magepfo no hagati mu gihugu. Nk'uko byavuzwe, ayo matwara yombi yarahuraga mu gushaka kuvana Abatutsi mu bintu byose bashobora kugiramo uruhare.

Uwo murimo worohejwe n'imyitwarire mibi y'abatwara b'Abatutsi ku bibazo byo guhindura imitegekere mibi yavugwaga n'abanyaporitiki b'Abahutu n'ubushotoranyi bakorerwaga n'ingabo z'ibwami zatumye abayobozi b'Abahutu bashyira hamwe cyanecyane mu ntangiriro, kubera guterwa kw'abayobizi babo (Aprosoma na Parmehutu) ndetse bamwe bakabigwamo.

Ntabwo kandi ari ukuri kuvuga ko impinduka za poritiki zo mu 1959 zaturutse ku kwivumbagatanywa kwa rubanda rw'Abahutu". Ntabwo ijambo "abaturage" rivuga kimwe n'ijambo "Abahutu". Ukuri nuko abashyamba mu bagize ubwoko bw'Abatutsi na bo bari abaturage b'abahanzi, byavuzwe. Abari mu bwoko bw'Abatutsi bakoranye n'ubukoroni bakagira n'icyo bubamarira ntibari barenze igihumbi. Igihe k'imyivumbagatanywa yo mu Gushyamba 1959, hari abahanzi b'Abahutu n'abahanzi b'Abatutsi bato, bafite imirima cyangwa ari abagaragu b'ababarusha gukomera ku butaka cyangwa inka, bamwe batanzwe gusa n'ubuhinzi, abandi n'ubworozi ariko akenshi bafatanyije iyo myuga yombi.

Bitewe n'uko uturere twari dutandukanye nk'uko twabivuze, ibyashoboraga kugira ingaruka ku myitwarire y'abahanzi ntibyari bimwe mu karere n'akandi. Uturere twari twarakanguriwe ibya poritiki kurusha utundi, two mu Majyaruguru no mu Magepfo, twari utwo imirimo y'ubukungu n'iy'abamisiyoneri yari yarahinduye vuba mu birebana n'ubukungu, imyitwarire n'umuco mu giturage.

Ni abahanzi bose bari baravunwe n'imirimo y'ubukoroni, imisoro, imirimo y'uburetwa, ibiboko n'ibindi. Ntawavugaga akarengane ka rubanda rw'Abahutu ngo areke kuvuga ko hariho abaturage b'abahanzi borozi b'Abatutsi batigeze bagira na gato inyungu z'ibintu cyangwa za poritiki nk'iz'abashefu n'abasushefu, binyuranyije no kwamamaza amatwara ya Parmehutu⁴⁶⁵. Abashefu n'abasushefu bibasiwe rugikubita (mu ntangiriro z'Ugushyamba) n'imvururu za bamwe mu baturage kuko ari bo bari hagati y'abaturage n'ubuyobozi bwa gikoroni kandi imirimo yaho mu rubumbambaga nyarwanda, yari yarahindutse bikabije igihe cy'ubukoroni bitewe n'urwego rw'ubuyobozi bushya bwa sheferi.

⁴⁶⁵ Bagaragaza T., "Une révolution socio-politique et non ethnique" in *Dialogue* no 137, pp.13-14 ; Sebasoni S., *Les origines du Rwanda*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000.

Nubwo hari ibintu byateguraga imyigaragambyo y'abaturage yo mu ntangiriro zo mu wa 1959, kubera uburakari butari bufite rutangira, ariko imibanire y'abantu hagati yabo, n'ibyo bahuriragaho, byose byari bigikomeye, ingirwa «rubanda nyamwinshi y'Abahutu» ntiyari ifite ubwimenye bushingiye ku buhutu. Ni buhorobuhoro ubwo bwimenye n'ubwibone bushingiye ku bwoko bwavutse biturutse ku bayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki y'Abahutu, kandi ni ngombwa kubivuga, bari bafite imibereho n'ibyo bagamije bitandukanye n'iby'abaturage basanzwe. Abo bayobozi bahinduyemo urwango rwibasiye Abatutsi ibintu byose byatumaga abaturage b'Abahutu batishima.

Iyo nzirayose yo kunyuzabyose mu iron dabwoko yatumye Parmehutu ishobora kwiyegereza abaturage batajijutse ariko ntiyabakura mu gukandamizwa mu birebana n'ubukungu byabavunaga kuko ubukandamizwe bwa gikoroni bwo butari bwavuzwe, kandi ntibyakemuye ikibazo kijyanye n'imiyoborere y'ubutegetsu.

Iron dabwoko ryafashije kugera ku butegetsu agatsiko gashya kize kari gafite irari ry'ubutegetsu. Abaturage muri rusange (baba Abahutu, Abatutsi cyangwa Abatwa) barahatakariye kuko babaye ibikoresho by'abashakaga kugera ku butegetsu. Abaturage b'Abatutsi bo baje gupfa rumwe n'abahoze ari abayobozi kandi batari barigeze basangira na rimwe ibyiza by'ubwo butegetsu. Kandi umukiro utandukanya abaturage b'Abahutu n'agaco kifatiye ubutegetsu mu wa 1960 umeze nk'urwobo rutaretse guhora rwaguka. Byari rero ari ukubeshya kuvuga ko Abahutu bose bafashe ubutegetsu nk'uko ari ikinyoma kwemeza ko Abatutsi bose batwaraga. Mu by'ukuri ni udutsiko tubiri duto cyane tw'abaharaniraga ubutegetsu twasubiranyemo dukoresheje imbaraga z'abaturage, kandi hagatiyatwo hitambitsemo ubutegetsu bw'Ababirigi n'ibice by'ubuyobozi bwa Kiriziya gatorika basaga n'abayoboye uwo mukino na bo ubwabo bakinagamo. Kuva mu wa 1959, habaye impinduka mu nzego z'ubuyobozi no mu bayobozi ba poritiki, ntawahakana ayo mateka, ariko ibyo byonyine ntibihagije ngo havugwe ko havutse ubutegetsu bushya bushingiye kuri demokarasi kandi bufitiye imbaga y'abaturage akamaro nk'uko byavugwaga n'abari ku ruhande rwa «revorisiyo y'abaturage». Tumaze kubona ibyo abari babirimo bose bari bagamije n'ukuntu ubutegetsu bushya bwari bufite, nk'icyaha k'inkomoko, imbuto mbi y'amacakubiri n'ubugizi bwa nabi. Hari rero ibyahindutse n'ibyagumyeho mu nzira y'isubiranyuma ry'abaturage byaje kwiyerekana muri Repuburika ya mbere no kurushaho kuba bibi muri Repuburika ya kabiri.

U RWANDA KURI REPUBULIKA YA MBERE N'IYA KABIRI (1962-1994)

Byanditswe na **Joseph JYONI WA KAREGA**

URwanda rwariremye rwibeshaho imyaka n'imyaka kugeza ku bukoroni. U Rwanda rwari igihugu gifite ubumwe bw'abaturage bacyo, gikomeye ku bwigenge bwacyo kandi gitinywa n'ibihugu bigikikije, ahanini kubera kubigabaho ibitero kenshi gishaka kwaguka no kubyigarurira. Ubukoroni buje, u Rwanda ruta ubwigenge bwarwo: ariko ku itariki ya 1 Nyakanga 1962, u Rwanda ntirwabonye ubwigenge gusa rwanasubiranye ubudahangarwa bwarwo nka mbere.

5.1. Repubulika ya I (1962-1973)

Repubulika ya I yavutse mu macakubiri n'imikorere mibi yaranze iminsi ya nyuma y'ubutegetsu bwa gikoroni, yafasheho umurage n'imikorere ya gikoroni y'ubundi bwoko.

5.1.1. Ubutegetsu bushya n'inzego zabwo

Mu mpinduka zazanywe no kongera kubona ubwigenge harimo ko u Rwanda rwabonye mbere na mbere "Itegeko nshinga", hajyaho *guverinoma* iyobowe na *Perezida wa Repubulika n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko*. Izo nzego zakoze zite mu gihugu cyarimo umwiriyane wo kurwanira ubutegetsu?

a. Itegeko nshinga

Hari ikintu cy'umwihariko kigaragara kuri Repubulika yari imaze kuvuka: nta Tegeko nshinga ryariho u Rwanda rubona ubwigenge. Cyakora, ku itariki ya 28 Mutarama 1961, igihe

abayobozi ba Parmehutu bakoraga “ihirikabutegetsi ry’i Gitarama” bari barakoze inyandiko isa n’Itegeko nshinga ariko itafatwa nkaryo kuko iyo nyandiko itigeze itangazwa haba mu Igazeti ya Leta ya Ruanda-Urundi, haba se mu Igazeti ya Leta y’u Rwanda.

Ikindi nuko abategetsi ba gikoroni bakomeje gushyiriraho amategeko abo bategetsi bashya b’igihugu. Hanavugwa kandi ko iyo nyandiko itigeze ifatwa nk’itegeko: Ikimenyimenyi nuko igihe Inteko Nshingamategeko yigaga umushinga w’Itegeko nshinga itashingiye kuri iyo nyandiko y’i Gitarama ahubwo wari umushinga w’Itegeko nshinga mushya¹.

Kugira ngo hatabaho gukora nta Tegeko nshinga, Inteko Nshingamategeko yiyise Inteko yo gushyiraho Itegeko nshinga, yiga umushinga wari wazanywe n’igice cy’abadepite ba Parmehutu n’Aprosoma. Itora ryabaye mu nama yo ku itariki ya 23 Ugushyingo 1962. Abadepite 33 barabyemeza, 4 barifata (3 ba Unar na 1 wa Aprosoma). *Itegeko nshinga* rishyirwaho umukono bukeye tariki ya 24 Ugushyingo 1962 n’abadepite 40.

Itegeko nshinga ryo ku wa 24 Ugushyingo 1962, ryakozwe hifashishijwe impuguke mu mategeko z’Ababirigi, ryerekana rugikubita ko rishaka kwitandukanya n’ingoma yavuyeho maze ryemeza burundu imitegekere ya Leta igendera kuri Repubulika.

Ingingo ya 2 y’iryo Tegeko nshinga ivuga ko: “ingoma ya cyami icuwe burundu kandi ko idashobora gusubizwaho”, ivuga ko “Umwami Kigeri V n’abamukomokaho bambuwe burundu uburenganzira bwabo”. Bwari uburyo bwo gushimangira ibyari byaravuye muri “Kamarampaka”.

Ingingo ya 3 ivuga ko “Repubulika iharanira uburinganire bw’Abanyarwanda bose nta vangura iryo ari ryo ryose ryaba irishingiye ku bwoko, akarere, igitsina cyangwa idini”. Ariko igihe iryo Tegeko nshinga ryatangazwaga hari igice cy’Abanyarwanda bari birukanywe mu byabo bazira ubwoko bwabo. *Ingingo ya 16* isubira muri iryo hame. *Ingingo ya 17* ivuga na yo ko “uburenganzira bushingiye ku ivuko buvanyweho kandi budashobora gusubizwaho. Kandi nta bundi buryo ubwo ari bwo bwose bushobora gusubizwaho”. *Ingingo ya 25* ivuga ko “Uburyo bw’ubucakara bwose buciwe kandi ko budashobora gusubizwaho. Iyo ngingo yarebanaga n’ubuhake. Ariko ntiyari

¹ Reyntjens P., *Pouvoir et droit au Rwanda*, Tervuren, M.R.A.C., 1985, p.292

ngombwa kuko umwami Rudahigwa yari yaraciye ubuhake mu wa 1954. Ibyo ari byo byose, kwitiranya ubuhake n'ubucakara ni ugukabya mu mvugo ku buryo bugaragara ariko icyo gihe ikintu cyose cyashoboraga gusiga isura mbi uburyo igihugu cyategetswe ku ngoma ya cyami cyari kemewe.

Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 ryabogamiye cyane kuri Kiriziya gatorika ari na ko ribangamira andi madini kandi riha uruhare runini amatwara ya “gikapitarisiti” Ingero:

- Kubuza kurongora abagore benshi (*ingingo ya 29*).
- Kunganya amashuri ya Kiriziya gatorika ahabwa inkunga na Leta n'amashuri ya Leta ubwayo (*ingingo ya 32*).
- Kubuza ibikorwa byose n'ikwirabitekerezo bya gikomunisiti (*ingingo ya 37*).

Icyo nyuma kiranga iryo *Tegeko nshinga* ni aho rivuga ku butandukanire bw'Inzego za Leta. Hari impuguke zivuga ko byagaragaraga ko inzego za Leta zitandukanye neza² ariko hari abandi bemeza ko atari ko byari bimeze . “Nubwo *Itegeko nshinga* rivuga ko ubutegetsu ngengamikorere bufitwe na Perezida wa Repubulika n'abaminisitiri, umukuru w'igihugu ni we ufite ubwo butegetsu hakurikijwe amategeko”³. Kubera iyo mpamvu, ubutegetsu bwo mu Rwanda igihe cya Kayibanda bwafatwaga “nk'ingoma ya cyami muri Repubulika” bitewe nuko bwari bukubiye ku isonga, mu ntoke za perezida wabugezaga ku nzego zo hasi abinyujije ku bakozu ba Leta yishyiriyeho, bidatandukanye n'ibyakorwaga igihe cy'abashefu n'abasushefu bo ku ngoma ya cyami⁴.

b. Perezida wa Repubulika na Guverinoma

Hashingiwe ku *Itegeko nshinga*, ububasha bwa guverinoma bugirwa na Perezida wa Repubulika akaba ari na we mukuru wa Leta n'umukuru w'inama y' Abaminisitiri yashyizeho (*ingingo ya 51*).

Mu ntangiriro ya buri manda ye, Perezida wa Repubulika atorwa n'abaturage bose ku buryo butaziguye ku bwiganze bw'amajwi arenze 50 % (*Ingingo ya 52*). Dukurikije icyo iyo ngingo ivuga, Perezida Kayibanda ntiyari yaratowe ku buryo bukurikije

² Paternostre de la Mairieu B., *Le Rwanda, son effort de développement ; antécédents historiques et conquêtes de la révolution rwandaise*, Kigali, 1972, p.248.

³ Reyntjens P., 1985, *op cit.*, p.355

⁴ Lemarchand R., *Rwanda and Burundi*, London, Pall Mall, 1970, p.116

amategeko kuko yari yaratowe n'Inteko Ishinga amategeko tariki ya 26 Ukwakira 1961. Ni cyo cyatumye Perezida Kayibanda yandikira ibaruwa Perezida w'Inteko ishingira amategeko, tariki ya 7 Kamena 1961, avuga ko yeguye ku mwanya w'umukuru w'igihugu n'uwa guverinoma. Inteko ishingira amategeko yemeza ko agomba kongera kwitoshya.

Hashingiwe ku Itegeko nshinga, Perezida wa Repubulika ni we washyiragaho kandi akanakuraho buri minisitiri, akabimenyeshya Inteko ishingira amategeko (ingingo ya 56). Uko byagendaga nuko Perezida yamenyeshaga Inteko Ishingira amategeko abagize guverinoma, Inteko ikabifata ityo ariko itabitoreye. Ni ngombwa kwibutsa aha ko ubumenyi bw'abadepite b'icyo gihe ndetse n'abaminisitiri n'akamenyero gake mu bya poritiki bitabemereraga kumva bihagije no gukoshya ububasha bwose bahabwaga n'amategeko.

Kuri Repubulika ya mbere hasimburanye guverinoma umunani. Iya mbere yashyizweho mbere y'ubwigenge muri Gicurasi 1962, yari guverinoma ihuriwemo n'amashyamba 3: uretse Parmehutu, Aprosoma na Unar yari ifitemo abaminisitiri babiri bishingiye ku masezerano yari yabereye i New York. Ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare 1963, iyo guverinoma yarasheshwe, abaminisitiri ba Unar bavanwamo ngo kubera ingengo y'imari ya Leta nto⁵ nk'uko Grégoire Kayibanda yabyivugiye. Mu by'ukuri, impamvu nyayo nuko hari hagamiywe kwirukana muri guverinoma amashyamba yari ashyamiranye n'iriri ku butegetsi, atongeye kugaragara muri guverinoma kuva mu wa 1963.

c. Inteko ishingira amategeko n'Urukiko rw'Ikirenga

Inteko ishingira amategeko yagombye ubusanzwe kugenzura ibikorwa bya Perezida wa Repubulika n'ibya guverinoma (ingingo ya 73). Kuri Repubulika ya mbere, habaye ibyiciro bitatu by'amatora y'Inteko Ishingira amategeko mu wa 1961, 1965 na 1969 kugeza iseswa igihe k'ihirikabutegetsi ryo ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973. Muri manda ya mbere, MDR-Parmehutu yari yiganje mu Nteko (yari ifite intebe 35), ariko hari n'abadepite ba Unar (intebe 7) n'Aprosoma (intebe 2). Mu Nteko yakurikiye amatora yo ku itariki ya 3 Ukwakira 1965, amashyamba ashyamiranye n'iriri ku butegetsi yose ntiyari agihagarariwe mu Nteko. Abadepite bose bari aba MDR-Parmehutu.

Urukiko rw'Ikirenga rwari rwarahawe ububasha bukomeye

⁵ Présidence de la République rwandaise, *Organisation de l'administration centrale rwandaise de 1960 à nos jours*, Kigali, juillet 1983, p.19

n'Itegeko nshinga (ingingo za 98, 99 na 102) ku buryo hari abatatinye kwerura bakagereranya ubutegetsu bwariho na "Guverinoma y'abacamanza" cyangwa «Leta y'igitugu y'Urukiko rw'Ikirenga», rushobora kuba rwabuza izindi nzego z'ubutegegi gukora icyo zishinzwe⁶. Mu by'ukuri, Urukiko rw'Ikirenga ntirwabagaho. Ntirwashoboraga kwanga guhitisha itegeko Perezida yashatse ko rihita.

Urugero: mu wa 1973, igihe Perezida Kayibanda yashakaga kwiyongeza indi manda, yahinduye ingingo zimwe z'Itegeko nshinga. Bitewe nuko Itegeko nshinga ritahaga abacamanza ubwigenge busumbye ubw'izindi nzego, abo bacamanza bari bafite ubwoba bwo kwirukanwa. Byatumye inzego z'ubucamanza zihinduka ibikoresho bya poritiki, zimugazwa n'amatiku n'abacamanza bikorera ibyo bishakiye.

5.1.2. Icibwa ry'abatavuga rumwe na Leta

Itegeko nshinga ryomu 1962 ryemeraga ishyirwaho ry'amashyaka menshi mu ngingo yaryo ya 10 ivuga iti «Amashyaka ya poritiki yujuje ibisabwa n'amategeko yemerewe kujya mu matora. Ajyaho kandi agakora mu bwisanzure, apfa kuba yubahiriza amahame ya demokarasi, kandi ntarwanye imiterere ya Repubulika igihugu kiyemeje, ubusugire n'umutekano wacyo».

Ariko Ishyaka rya MDR-Parmehutu ryahindutse ishyaka rimwe rukumbi kuva mu wa 1963 imaze kuvanaho amashyaka ashya miranye na ryo (hutu na tutsi). Mu matora ya Perezida yo mu wa 1965, Perezida Kayibanda yatowe n'amajwi y'abantu agera kuri 98%. Mu w 1969 yongeye gutorwa n'amajwi menshi nkayo. Gahunda yo gukuraho amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta yarabonekaga mbere y'ubwigenge mu buryo bwo kuyabuza uburyo nk'uko byavuzwe mbere. Igihe hizihizwaga isabukuru ya mbere y'Ubwigenge bw'igihugu, Perezida Kayibanda yavuze ko ahisemo «kugira ishyaka rya ba nyamwishi, rutura, ariko ribangikiranye n'agashyaka ka ba nyamuke». Yongeraho avuga ati «amashyaka menshi arangaza abaturage, amajyambere y'igihugu ntagire umurongo uri hamwe, ahubwo bigatuma igihugu kidindira»⁷. Ku isabukuru y'imyaka 10 y'ubwigenge,

⁶ Ruhashyankiko N., «Le contrôle de la constitutionnalité des lois et des règlements au Rwanda», in *L'informateur*, no 4, 1968, p.21

⁷ Présidence de la République, *Le président Kayibanda vous parle: Discours prononcés en diverses circonstances*, s.d., 1963, pp. 83-84

Perezida Kayibanda yabeshye abantu nkana avuga ibintu bitari byo nk'uwatsinze, agira ati : «amatora ya komini yo mu wa 1963 yumvishije bidasubirwaho Abatutsi ko batagomba kwizera kongera gutegeka (...). Ni kuva icyo gihe Ishyaka MDR-Parmehutu ryavanyeho andi mashyaka yose atari yarumvise kugeza icyo gihe ko ubufatanye bwa demokarasi ari bwo gisubizo cy'u Rwanda n'abaturage barwo»⁸.

Hari ibindi bintu bijyanye n'amashyaka ya opozisiyo ubwayo byafashije MDR-Parmehutu muri gahunda yayo yo kuyakuraho. Nka Aprosoma yazize amatwara ya nyiri kuyishyiraho ubwe, Habyarimana Joseph Gitera. Gitera yari umuntu utamenya aho agana, wivuguruza mu magambo, umuswa mu kuyobora ishyaka rye kandi udafite umurongo wa poritiki uri hamwe. Yahinduye kenshi izina na gahunda y'ishyaka rye. Mbere y'amatora yo mu wa 1960, ishyaka rye ryitwaga «Union des Hutu du Rwanda-Urundi (UHURU)».

Aprosoma yahuye n'amacakubiri menshi mu mikorere, yayiteye kugira intege nke⁹. Ariko kuba mu bice bimwe by'igihugu abaturage barayitabiriye byateye Parmehutu inkenke. Urugero yabonye amajwi 237, Aprosoma ikabona 223 mu matora yo mu 1963 muri perefegitura ya Butare. Abayobozi ba Aprosoma baje kotswa igitutu no guterwa ubwoba na Parmehutu¹⁰.

Unar yatotejwe na Leta ya gikoroni n'igice cy'abapadiri b'idini gatorika (cyanecyane bamwe mu bapadiri b'abamisiyoneri) kubera ko yari ifite amatwara y'abanambiragihugu kandi ikaba yari ifite ubucuti n'ibihugu «by'abasosiyarisiti». Ibyo bihugu byakundaga amashyaka arwanya abakoroni, agashyira imbere abenegihugu. Nyuma yo kujya mu matora yo mu wa 1961, no kujya muri guverinoma ihuriweho n'amashyaka yo muri Gashyantare 1962 kugeza muri Gashyantare 1963, iryo shyaka ntiryongeye gutanga abakandida haba mu wa 1965, haba se nyuma yaho. Ni ngombwa kuvuga ko nyuma yo gutotezwa kenshi, Unar yaje no guhura n'izindi ngorane zo gucikamo ibice bibiri, ik'imbere mu Rwanda n'ik'inyuma y'u Rwanda. Igice k'inyuma y'u Rwanda na cyo cyaje gucikamo uduce twinshi. Itoteza muri poritiki n'urugomo bya Parmehutu bigamije

⁸ *Ibiro by'amakuru muri Perezidansi ya Repubulika, Imyaka 10 y'isabukuru y'ubwigenge*, Kigali, 1978, p.80

⁹ Muri Nzeri 1961, mu gihe Gitera yamamazaga ishyaka rye rishya "APROSOMA-RWANDA-UNION", bagenzi be Munyangaju na Gasingwa bagumye mu ishyaka rya kera. Abayoboze babuze iyo berekeza muri iryo hindagurika.

¹⁰ Gitera yarafunzwe mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1962 kugeza muri Gashyantare 1963

gusenya Unar byabaye agahebuzo mu Kwakira 1963 igihe inyenzi zateraga mu Bugesera.

Abayobozi bakuru ba Unar na Rader bafashwe uwo muni w'igitero. Bamaze gufatwa bicirwa mu Ruhengeri nta rubanza, bikozwe na porisi y'igihugu yari iyobowe n'umusirikare mukuru w'Umubirigi bitaga Pilate.¹¹ Nyamara Unar y'imbere mu gihugu yari yaramaganye iryo « terabwoba ry'Inyenzi» kuva zitera ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1962¹².

Ishyaka Rader ryari ryaragize amajwi 6,6% mu matora ya komini yo mu wa 1960, ryagize 0,3% mu matora y'abadepite yo mu wa 1961. Ntiryongeye kubona abayoboze kuva ubwo, ahubwo abari bayirimo batangiye kwigira muri Parmehutu abandi muri Unar nk'uko byavuzwe, Rader na yo yashegeshwe burundu n'iyicwa ry'abakuru bayo mu Kuboza 1963.

Mu by'ukuri, ntabwo Parmehutu yari ikeneye gukoresha ubwo buryo bwose ngo icecekeshe amashyaka atavuga rumwe na yo, kuko ayo mashyaka yari yaracitsemu ibice ubwayo kandi akora mu buryo buvunanye cyane. Parmehutu yari yariganje muri poritiki ku buryo budashidikanywa. Yashoboraga ndetse kubiharaho ikiyubaka, ariko si ko byagenze, kubera abayobozi bayo bamwe bashatse kwikubira ubutegetsi bwose no gushingira ku ngengabitekerezo y'inzangano no kuvangura bagenderagaho.

5.1.3. Inyenzi zifata intwari (1961-1968)

Imvururu zatangiye mu Gushyamba 1959 zatumye Abanyarwanda benshi bahungu igihugu bajya mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda. Mu wa 1961, abasore b'Abanyarwanda biswe «Inyenzi», banze ubuhunzi bahitamo gutera ibitero mu Rwanda bava mu bihugu duturanye.

Izina «Inyenzi» ntiryoroshye gusobanura kuko abahoze ari inyenzi bataryumvikanaho ubwabo. Ikindi kandi, mbere yuko iryo zina ryemerwa, hari ibindi bice by'abarwanyi byari bifite amazina atandukanye¹³.

Igitekerezo cyo gushinga umutwe w'ingabo (zarwanya u Rwanda)

¹¹ Abayobozi ba Unar bishwe ni: Afurika, Burabyo, Rutsindintwarane, Rwagasana, Gisimba, Ndahiro, Mpiranyi. Abayobozi ba Rader bishwe ni: Bwanakweri, Ndazaro, Karinda.

¹² Unité, no 12-13, juillet 1962 et Unité, no 14 1er août 1962

¹³ Hari andi mazina yabayeho nka : Intare, Ingwe, Ingangururugo, Imbaragasa, Indamage, Urubambyingwe.

cyatekerejwe n'abasore b'impunzi bari i Kizinga na Kamwezi muri Uganda hafi y'umupaka w'u Rwanda mu wa 1960. Bari bagamije kurwanya Ababirigi n'abategetsu bashya ba Parmehutu. Uwo mugambi wo kurwana watewe n'uko Unar yari yarananiwe kumvisha abo muri Loni ko igomba guhindura ibyaberaga mu Rwanda. Abo basore babona rero ko nta kundi byagenda uretse gufata intwari bakarwana. Ntabwo ari Ishyamba Unar ryaremye inyenzi. Inyenzi zivuka, Unar yo hanze yari ihugiye kuburana muri Loni. Abayobozi ba Unar nka Fr. Rukeba, baje mu nyenzi ku giti cyabo batoherejwe n'ishyamba ryabo. Zikivuka, inyenzi zarimo ibice byinshi, byavutse igihe gitandukanye mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda: Uganda, Burundi, Kongo na Tanzaniya.

Inyenzi zagize ibitero by'ubwoko butatu. Hari ibyo bita ibitero "Commando" byagirwaga n'abantu bake, bagatera mu gihugu imbere (mu Rwanda). Ni igitero nk'icyo cyabaye tariki ya 21 Ukuboza 1961 kivuye Uganda kinyuze mu Kinigi kibasiye abantu bamwe na bamwe muri teritwari za Ruhengeri, Kigali na Gitarama¹⁴. Mu wa 1962 ikindi gitero nk'icyo na cyo cyavuye Uganda cyateye mu ntara y'i Burasirazuba y'u Rwanda¹⁵.

Kuva mu wa 1961, habaye utundi dutero ku mipaka y'igihugu cyanecyane muri perefegitura ya Byumba. Ariko utwo dutero twose ntitwari utw'inyenzi: hari udutsiko tw'abasore ku giti cyabo bateraga mu Rwanda baje gushimuta inka cyangwa kwiba amafaranga.

Ni muri teritwari ya Byumba Leta yatangiye bwa mbere kwihorera ku Batutsi igihe cyose inyenzi ziteye. Muri Werurwe 1962, Abatutsi n'Abahutu bo muri Unar bagera ku gihumbi ni bwo bishwe. Kandi ni ukuva icyo gihe Minisitari y'Ubutegetsu bw'Igihugu n'Ingabo yatangiye uburyo abaturage bashobora kwirindira umutekano, ari bwo bise "Kwirwanaho kw'abaturage". Gushyira mu bikorwa ubwo buryo bwo kwirwanaho byabaye kubwira abaturage ngo bage batunga agatoki abo bakeka bese kandi bakore ironde ry'ijoro. Bamwe mu baturage batariye

¹⁴ Mu bitero byabaye mu wa 1961 twavuye nk'ibyabereye aha hakurikira: i Ngarama (19/3/1961), i Tovu (25-26/03/1961), Shonga (30/3/1961), Muhura (12/6/1961), Nyagatare (20/7/1961), Murambi (09/9/1961), Kinjojo (10/10/1961), Murambi «bis» (18/10/1961 na 1/11/1961) na Nyagatare «bis» (19/11/1961. Muri ibyo bitero byose, hafuyemo abantu 34, amazu 104 aratwikwa, aranasahurwa.

¹⁵ Ibitero byabaye mu wa 1962, harimo: Gabiro (10/01/1962), Mugina (22-23/02/1962), Gatumba na Karama (24/02/1962), Rubirizi (10/03/1962), Cyungo na Nkana (25/03/1962), Gakenke (03/04/1962).

umupaka bahawe imbunda; Iyo myitwarire yo “kwirwanaho” yakomeje gukoreshwa kugeza mu wa 1994.

Ubundi bwoko bw’ibitero ni: ibitero bikomeye by’inyenzi bigizwe n’abasore benshi, byari bigamije kwigarurira ahantu hanini h’igihugu kugira ngo zishobore kugira aho zihera zirwana, bityo zigashobora kotsa igitutu Leta y’u Rwanda. Muri ibyo bitero, hari icyabereye mu birunga ku itariki ya 3 na 4 Nyakanga 1992, ni ukuvuga iminsi ibiri nyuma y’ubwigenge. Icyo gitero cyari giturutse i Goma kirimo inyenzi ziri hagati ya 80 na 100. Guverinoma ya Kigali yari yabimenye. Inyenzi zitungurwa n’abasirikare b’u Rwanda ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga, zitsindwa bitaruhaniye zimaze gutakaza abantu benshi baguye ku rugamba. Mu nyenzi zafashwe icyo gihe enye ziciwe mu Ruhengeri.

Ikindi gitero rutura cyabaye ku itariki ya 21 Ukuboza 1963 mu Bugesera. Cyari giturutse mu Burundi kinyura i Nemba (Kirundo). Icyo gihe hari aho Inyenzi zafashe ariko mu gihe gito, abasirikare b’u Rwanda bayobowe n’aba Ofisiye 2 b’Ababirigi, Dubois na Florquin, barazihagaritse, hafi y’ibirometero bike by’umurwa Kigali.

Nk’uko byari byarabaye mu gitero cya mbere, guverinoma yari yaramenye ko icyo gitero kegereje. Yabibwirwaga n’abantu benshi banyuranye. Inyenzi ubwazo ntizahishaga gahunda zifite. Zabivugiraga no mu tubari i Bujumbura, bamwe ndetse bakajya gusezera mu miryango yabo. Aba Ofisiye b’Ababirigi bari abajyanama b’abasirikare b’Abarundi babimenyeshaga ab’i Kigali kandi icyo gihe inzego z’ubutasi zayoborwaga n’umusirikare w’Umubirigi, witwa Majoro Tulpin. Hari n’abasirikare b’Abahutu b’Abarundi, abikorera (abacuruzi, abapadiri, nb.) na bamwe b’impunzi bose baburiraga Leta y’u Rwanda.

Igitero cyo mu Bugesera (1963-64) cyagize ingaruka mbi ku Batutsi bari mu Rwanda. Muri za Perefegitura zose hatangiye igikorwa kinini cyo kwihimura ku Batutsi nta kurobanura kiyobowe na Leta n’abayobozi b’ibanze. Hari inyangiko nyinshi zerekana ko abategetsu bari inyuma y’ubwo bwicanyi. Hapfuye abantu benshi, abandi barafungwa, inzu ziratwikwa, ibintu biraribwa. Umuturage uwo ari we wese yashoboraga guhagarika Umututsi akamukoresha icyo ahatse ntahanwe. Abaminisitiri bari boherejwe muri za perefegitura zose guhagarikira icyo gikorwa mu gihugu hose. Mu turere twarushije utundi kubabara harimo, birumvikana, u Bugesera. Nk’uko byabaye n’ahandi,

abategetsi bashyizeho intonde z'Abatutsi bavuga ko ari «babi» cyangwa ko «batifuzwa n'abaturage». Akenshi abo bari abarimu, abahoze ari bashefu cyangwa ba sushefu, abacuruzi, n'abandi. Ibyo kubagirira nabi birangiye, Guverinoma yatuje mu Bugesera imiryango y'Abahutu bavuye mu turere tundi cyanecyane mu Ruhengeri na Gisenyi ngo bage bakumira inyenzi banagenzure Abatutsi barokotse ubwicanyi.

Perefegitura ya Gikongoro na yo yahuye n'ako kaga. Ni yo yagize abantu benshi bishwe: bari hagati y'ibihumbi 8.000 n'ibihumbi 10.000. Umupadiri w'umumisiyoneri wari muri paruwasi imwe yo muri ako karere yanditse kuri ubwo bwicanyi agira ati «Ubwo bwicanyi kwasaga n'ubwateguwe na guverinoma ya Repubulika ubwayo kandi ni cyo gikorwa cyarushije ibindi kuba kibi mu bikorwa byose bya Leta ya Kayibanda»¹⁶. Umuperefe wicishije abantu icyo gihe yatowe nyuma mu matora y'abadepite kubera ako kazi (kabi) yari yarakoze. Abantu bishwe bari hagati y'ibihumbi 25.000 na 35.000. Indorerezi z'abanyamahanga, barimo Umusuwisi Vuillemin, Umubirigi Luc De Heusch ndetse na Radio Vatican, bose bise ubwo bwicanyi «jenocide».

Nyuma y'ubwo bwicanyi, nta munyaporitiki, umuyobozi cyangwa umusirikare wigeze akurikiranwa kubera ubwo bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi. Guverinoma yashatse kwiyerurutsa ivuga ko ababukoze ari abategetsi b'ibanze, abadepite n'abakozi ba Leta. Ngo baba barabitewe n'ubwoba kuko mu Batutsi, cyanecyane b'abakozi ba Leta, harimo ibyitso by'inyenzi ariko nta kimenyetso cyatanzwe, nta n'icyatanzwe cyo kwerekana ubugizi bwa nabi bw'Abatutsi bagiriye Abahutu igihe bari ku butegetsi¹⁷. Nyuma y'igitero cyo mu Bugesera, Kayibanda yaburiye Inyenzi agira ati: «nimusubira gutera, ak'Abatutsi kazaba karangiye burundu»¹⁸.

Nyuma y'igitero cyo mu Bugesera, ibindi bitero bikomeye byabaye, hari ik'i Cyangugu (Bugarama mu wa 1964, Nshiri na Bweyeye mu wa 1966) na Kibungo (Butama mu wa 1966). Kuva mu wa 1967 kugeza mu wa 1972, nta gitero k'inyenzi cyongeye

¹⁶ Père Jamblin (de) wa misiyoni ya Cyanika (A. Mugesera, *Imibereho y'Abatutsi kuri Repubulika ya Mbere n'ya Kabiri (1959-1990)*, Kigali, 2004, p.171; no gusoma Wil-lame J.-C., *Aux sources de l'hécatombe rwandaise*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1995, pp.74-75

¹⁷ Kureba igitabo «Livre Blanc» cyanditswe na Leta kitwa «Toute la vérité sur le terro-risme inyenzi au Rwanda», Gashyantare 1964

¹⁸ Disikuru za Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Kigali, 11 Werurwe 1964

kuba, ariko hahoraga impuha zivuga ko ibitero by'inyenzi bizaba nubwo guverinoma yari izi neza ko inyenzi zitakiriho.

Impamvu z'itsindwa ry'inyenzi ni nyinshi: tuvuze zimwe z'ingenzi, twabanza kuvuga ko inyenzi zitagiraga ubuyobozi bumwe buzihuza, nta n'umurongo wa poritiki usobanuye neza zari zifite. Inyenzi ntizaremwe na Unar. Unar yari yiciyemo ibice bibiri (iyi mu gihugu n'iyi hanze), ntiyari igifite ubwiganze bwa poritiki mu mpunzi kuva hamaze kuvuka amashyaka ya poritiki mashya¹⁹. Kigeri V ubwe ntiyigeze aba umuyobozi w'inyenzi nubwo benshi bazimwitiriraga. Inyenzi ntizumvaga kimwe akamaro k'ubwami: zimwe zari zarahisemo Repubulika.

Impamvu ya kabiri nuko inyenzi zitari umutwe umwe w'ingabo, ahubwo zarimo uduce dutandukanye dufite abayobozi batwo batandukanye (Mudandi, Ngurumbe, Kayitare, Sebyeza, Hamud).

Impamvu ya gatatu nuko inyenzi zitagiraga intwari zihagije uretse izo zari zarashoboye gukura muri Kongo. Nta gihugu kigeze giha inyenzi imfashanyo za gisirikare. U Burundi bwazicumbikiye, burareka zihakorera imyitoto ya gisirikare ariko nta ntware bwazihaye. Uganda kuva mu wa 1962, yari yarihanangirije inyenzi ko zitagomba gutera u Rwanda ziturutse Uganda. Ndetse Uganda yari yarirukanye ku butaka bwayo abakuru ba Unar bamwe na bamwe barimo Kigeli wa V muri Kanama 1963. Perezida Mobutu na we yarwanyaga inyenzi kuko zari zishyigikiye aba «Muleristes». Impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zarahohotewe mu migi ya Goma na Bukavu. Mu wa 1964, Abanyarwanda b'impunzi zigera kuri 800 birukanywe muri iyi migi yombi boherezwa muri Tanzaniya. Mbere y'ubwigenge bwayo, Tanzaniya yakoranaga n'u Rwanda kuko yigeze kohereza mu Rwanda impunzi zashakwaga n'abategetsi b'i Kigali. Ariko nyuma y'ubwigenge bayo, Tanzaniya yakiriye abayobozi bakuru ba Unar bari barahungiyeyo, irabacumbikira, kandi inabafasha gukora ingendo hirya no hino no kohereza abasore bamwe mu mahanga kujya kwitwaza ibya gisirikare.

Icyo nyuma cyavugwa ni ibibazo n'ubwumvikane buke hagati y'abayobozi b'inyenzi mu bikorwa by'urugamba. Ni byo byabaye hagati ya Mudandi na Ngurumbe batera Nshiri na Bweyeye. Mudandi yaretse kurwana agenda atabwiye bagenzi be ko avuye ku rugamba.

¹⁹ Urugero ni Ishyamba Front de libération du Rwanda rya Gakwaya na Munana na Parti socialiste rwandais ya Sebyeza.

5.1.4. Imbaraga zo kwiteza imbere no kwivana ku isindagizwa mu birebana n'ubukungu

a. Umubano n'ibihugu bidukikije

Kuri Repubulika ya mbere ya Kayibanda, igihugu cyahanganye n'ibibazo byo kubana no gukorana n'ibihugu by'amahanga, ari ibidukikije ari n'ibya kure.

Ku bihugu bidukikije cyangwa bya hafi, poritiki y'igihugu yari igamije korohereza ubucuruzi bw'u Rwanda ruri kure y'inyanja y'u Buhinde, no kugira umubano mwiza n'ibihugu bicumbikiye impunzi nk'u Burundi, Kongo, Tanzaniya na Uganda.

Diporomasi y'u Rwanda yatangiriye ku bihugu bidukikije by'i Burasirazuba kubera impamvu zijyanye n'amayira n'umutekano. Mu wa 1969 u Rwanda rwabishyize mu bikorwa ubwo rwoherezaga B. Bicamumpaka wari Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsu by'Igihugu n'Umurimo mu bihugu bitatu by'i Burasirazuba bw'Afurika. Muri Tanzaniya yagiranye amasezerano akomeye n'abayobozi baho yerekeye gusubukura ibigendanye n'umutekano hagati y'ibihugu byombi ku bijyanye by'umwihariko no kohererezanya abagizi ba nabi bahungira muri ibyo bihugu byombi. Banasezerana gukora umuhanda mushya w'ubucuruzi uhuza ibihugu byombi. Hakurikiraho guhana ba ambasaderi. Uw'u Rwanda i Dar-es-salamu yemerewe ku itariki ya 11 Kanama 1966, ubwo hasinyagwa amasezerano na Tanzaniya yo kubaka iteme rya Rusumo n'urugomero rw'amashanyarazi aho hantu. Ibihugu byombi byemeranya kandi n'itumanaho ryabyo hakoreshejwe indege zihuza Kigali na Dar-es-Salam.

Imibanire myiza hagati y'u Rwanda na Tanzaniya yakurikiwe no kugenderana kw'abayobozi bakuru b'ibyo bihugu :mu Kuboza 1967 Perezida Kayibanda yasuye Tanzaniya, naho Perezida J. Nyerere asura u Rwanda muri Nyakanga 1968. Muri izo ngendo haganiriwe imishinga ifitiye ibihugu byombi akamaro .Yarebaga ibintu binyuranye: ubucuruzi, ingufu z'amashanyarazi, ubuzima n'ubukerarugendo, n'ibindi.

Ikibazo k'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zateraga zivuye Uganda n'uruhare Uganda yari ifite ku bucuruzi bw'u Rwanda ku bintu biva cyangwa bijya mu Burasirazuba bw'Afurika byatumye hatangira imibonano ireba iby'umubano mwiza n'ubufatanye

hagati y'u Rwanda na Uganda. Ni muri urwo rwego ambasade y'u Rwanda yafunguwe i Kampala mu wa 1963 na Minisitiri Adoko Neykon wa Uganda ushinzwe igenamigambi n'iterambere rusange agasura u Rwanda muri Nzeri 1964, agamije gutsura ubufatanye hagati y'ibihugu byombi²⁰. Ni no muri urwo rwego intumwa z'u Rwanda zakiriwe neza na Perezida Obote muri Kanama 1966. Mu byo basuzumiye hamwe icyo gihe harimo gutunganya ibishanga bya Murindi no kwiga aho umuhanda uhuza Kigali-Gatuna-Kampala wazanyura. Nyuma yaho, imibanire y'u Rwanda na Uganda yiyongereyeho ibijyanye n'itumanaho, imisoro n'amahooro ku mipaka n'ubucuruzi.

Imibanire muri diporomasi hagati y'u Rwanda na Repubulika ya Kongo (RDC) yatangiye mu wa 1963 aho u Rwanda rufunguriye ambasade yarwo i Léopoldville, naho iya Kongo igafungurwa i Kigali mu wa 1964. Uwo mubano wongeye gukomezwa n'uruzinduko rw'ubucuti Bwana Otto Rusingizandekwe wari Minisitiri w'Iposita, Itumanaho n'Ubwikorezi yagiriye muri Kongo hagashyirwa umukono ku masezerano ajyanye n'ibirebana n'ubucamanza, ubuzima, ubucuruzi n'ibindi. Iyo mibanire myiza yaje gutuma R.D.C., u Rwanda ndetse n'u Burundi bishyiraho umuryango umwe bihuriyeho ugamije «guteza imbere ubufatanye hagati y'ibyo bihugu byose mu birebana n'ubukungu, ifaranga, umuco, ubucamanza n'ibindi»²¹ nyuma y'inama yabereye i Léopoldville muri Nyakanga 1966. Nyuma y'iyi nama, haje kuba indi nama yabereye i Goma tariki ya 20 Werurwe 1967 yashimangiye ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'uwo muryango. Nyuma haje kuzamo agatotsi kabidindije bitewe n'ikibazo cy'abacanshuro n'abahoze ari abajandarume b'i Gatanga batumye Kongo n' u Rwanda bitumvikana ndetse bicana umubano igihe cy'umwaka wose.

Ikibazo cy'abacanshuro kimaze kubonerwa igisubizo, binyuze mu nama nyinshi hongeye kubyutswa igitekerezo cyo gushyiraho umuryango uhuza u Rwanda, RDC n'u Burundi. Habaye inama y'abaminisitiri b'ububanyi n'amahanga i Bujumbura muri Kamena 1969, icyo gihe R.D.C. yifuza ko hashyirwaho «Umuryango w'Ubufatanye mu by'Ubukungu muri Afurika yo hagati» ; indi nama yabereye i Gisenyi, tariki ya 18 na 19 Ukuboza 1964 yashinze abaminisitiri b'Ububanyi n'amahanga kwiga ku mishinga yakorwa. Nyuma y'inama ya «Komisiyo ihuriwemo n'ibihugu uko ari bitatu ishinzwe guhuza

²⁰ Paternostre de la Mairieu B., 1972, *op.cit.*, p.301

²¹ Paternostre, Ibidem, p.305

ibitekerezo» yabereye i Bujumbura muri Mutarama 1971 n'indi nama y'abaminisitiri b'ububanyi n'amahanga b'ibyo ibihugu uko ari bitatu yabaye mu kwezi kwa Kane 1971, inyandiko irebana no gushyiraho «Komite ihoraho y'Ubufatanye²²» ishyikirizwa abakuru b'ibihugu by'u Burundi, Kongo n'u Rwanda. Ni uko Umuryango w'Ubukungu w'Ibihugu by'Ibiyaga Bigari (CPGL) wavutse.

U Rwanda rukibona ubwigenge, ubutwererane mpuzamahanga bwayoborwaga na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga, nyuma yabaye Minisitiri y'Ubutwererane n'Amahanga. Nk'uko Itegeko nshinga ribivuga, ni Perezida uyobora kandi agasinya amasezerano ayo ari yo yose n'amahanga. Ariko ayo masezerano agomba no kwemezwa n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko kugira ngo ashobore gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Ni ku itariki ya 24 Mutarama 1964, Inteko Inshinga Amategeko yemeye amasezerano mpuzamahanga atanu ya mbere yagombaga kumara imyaka itanu.

b. Imiterere n'imikorere y'inzego z'ubukungu

U Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge rufite ubukungu bushingiye cyanecyane ku buhunzi n'ubworozi bisanzwe bitunga abantu, rwari ariko runafite ibintu bike rwohereza hanze bigizwe by'umwihariko n'ikawa n'amabuye y'agaciro make. Ubwigenge bwatumye hakenerwa ibindi bintu bishya, bikenewe bivuye ku mpamvu z'uko igihugu cyari gikeneye ubuyobozi bw'igihe n'abantu ubwabo bashaka ibintu bibafasha ku buryo burambye. Ubukungu buke bw'igihugu icyo gihe butashoboraga kubonera ibikenewe no kwihaza mu byifuzwa byose byatumye u Rwanda rwitabaza inkunga mvamahanga. Mu myaka cumi ya 1962-1972, igihugu cyakomeje kwifashisha ubutwererane n'amahanga, biza gutuma u Rwanda aho kwihaza rutungwa ahubwo n'inkunga yo hanze mu by'ubukungu.

Imyaka cumi ya mbere y'ubwigenge itararangira, hari hamaze kugaragara ko uko kugendera ku nkunga yo hanze bifite ingaruka n'aho bigarukira hagereraniywe n'ibikenerwa mu iterambere ry'ubukungu n'imibereho. Ubukungu bushingira ku bintu bitatu bitandukanywa n'imiterere yabyo n'uruhare bifite mu guteza imbere umusaruro rusange by'igihugu. Igice cy'ubukungu kigizwe n'ubuhinzi n'ibijyanye na bwo cyakomeje kuba ari cyo

²² Itangazo risoza Inama y'i Bujumbura, tariki ya 18 Mata 1971

kigira uruhare runini muri uwo mutungo rusange w'igihugu mu myaka yose ya 1960-1970 ariko igipimo cy'imizamukire yabyo yagize ingufu mu nganda kurusha mu bindi byose.

Imbonerahamwe ya 6: Uko ibiranga umusaruro w'imbere mu gihugu (P.I.B) byagiye byiyongera

Ikiciro	Igipimo cy'ubwiyongere(%) muri 1967/1971
Ubuhinzi, ubworozi n'ibikomoka ku mutungo kamere	39,8
Inganda	83,3
Serivisi	39,4
Igiteranyo	43,0
Igipimo cy'ubwiyongere(%)	4,6

Aho byavuye: Banki Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Raporo y'umwaka 1967-1971

Nk'uko bigaragara muri iyi mbonerahamwe yo haruguru, igice k'inganda ni cyo kiyongereye cyane (83.3) kurusha ibindi. Ubwo bwiyongere bwatewe cyanecyane n'umusaruro w'inganda w'ibintu bimwe byakorewe mu Rwanda mbere y'ubwigenge byaravaga muri Kongo no mu Burundi bigakoreshwa muri Kongo na Ruanda-Urundi. Hari imibare ibyerekana neza mu myaka ya 1970-1980. Imbonerahamwe iri hasi aha irerekana neza uruhare runini rwagizwe n'ibituruka mu nganda n'ubwinshi byabyo.

Imbonerahamwe ya 7: Uko ibikorera mu nganda byagiye byiyongera

Umusaruro	Ingano	1971	1972	1973
Inzoga /Primus	Amacupa (/1000)	22.492,6	23.856,6	26.683,2
Ibinyobwa bi-dasembuye	Amacupa (/1000)	412,5	503,9	512,6
Amasabune	Toni	1.000	3.000	3.000
Isukari	Toni	290	352	400

Aho byavuye: Banki Nkuru y'u Rwanda, Raporo y'umwaka 1967-1974

Iyi mbonerahamwe irerekana neza ukwiyongera kw'ibikorera mu nganda n'ubwinshi bwabyo. Isesengura ry'icyo gihe ryerekana neza umuriro w'amashanyarazi wakoreshajwe utahindutse kuva muri za 1970, byerekana ko «guturira mu mugi n'inganda byagenze buhoro»²³. Ukuri rero nuko ubuhinzi n'ibibushamikiyeho by'ibanze byari bigize 66% na 68% by'Umusaruro Rusange w'Igihugu mu wa 1967 no mu wa 1976.

Ubuhanzi bugizwe cyanecyane n'ibihingwa bigaragara mu mbonerahamwe iri hasi aha bwerekana uko umusaruro w'ibihingwa ngandururugo wagiye wiyongera hagati ya 1964 na 1967 (bibazwe muri toni igihumbi).

Imbonerahamwe ya 8 : Umusaruro w'ubuhinzi wabonetse hagati ya 1964 na 1967 muri za toni

	1964	1965	1966	1967
Ibitoki	1.033	1.202	1.452	1.560
Ibishyimbo	70	95	131	132
Amashaza	38	39	59	52
Ubunyobwa	5	20	4	16
Amasaka	147	131	143	145
Ibigori	21	43	49	53
Ingano	0.3	0.5	0.1	0,3
Umuceri	-	-	-	0.2
Ibijumba	239	203	258	360
Ibirayi	30	43	57	107
Imyumbati	174	177	198	230

Aho byavuye: Ministère de l'Agriculture et de l'Élevage, 1964-1967.

Ibihingwa ngandururugo bigenewe muri rusange gutungira ingo z'ababihingwa. Ibike bicuruzwa muri byo ntibyigeze birenga 20% muri iriya myaka yavuzwe. Mu wa 1971, ibyacurujwe muri byo ntibyarenze 16%, Raporo ya B.N.R yerekana ko ibihingwa ngandururugo ari byo bigize 50% by'Umusaruro Rusange w'Abenegihugu. Mu wa 1971, ijanisha ryageze kuri 56%²⁴ kubera ko ubutaka bwo guhingaho bwiyongereye nk'uko biboneka mu mbonerahamwe iri hasi.

²³ B.N.R., Bulletin Industriel, no 1, juin 1975, p.9

²⁴ Banque Nationale du Rwanda, *Rapport annuel 1964-1971*, Kigali, 1973

Imbonerahamwe ya 9 : Uko ubuso buhingwaho ibihingwa ngandurarugo bwagiye bwiyongera (ingano: hegitari)

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Amasaka	1.39	130.0	132.0	129.0	125.0
Ubuho	3.7	3,0	2.0	1.8	2.7
Umuceri	-	-	-	0.3	0,4
Ingano	0.6	0.1	0.4	0.7	1.0
Ibigori	23.2	48.9	53.2	53.2	41.3
Ibirayi	14.4	9.5	16.5	17.5	17.2
Ibijumba	58.1	36.8	48.0	52.5	60.7
Imyumbati	14.8	19.8	23.0	26.0	28.3
Ibishyimbo	126.9	154.0	155.0	156.3	162.4
Amashaza	48.2	74.0	64.0	65.4	72.9
Ubunyobwa	8.5	6.0	21.0	14.8	7.2
Ibitoki	100.2	121.0	130.0	134.5	136.5

Aho byavuye: Minisiteri y'Ubuhinzi n'Ubworozi, 1965-1969

Ubwiyongere bw'imyaka ngandurarugo buterwa cyanecyane n'ubwiyongere bw'ubutaka bwahingwa. Uko ubuso bw'ahahingwa byiyongereye (hafatiwe kuri ha) biragaragarira ku mbonerahamwe ikurikira.

Imbonerahamwe ya 10 : Umusaruro wavuye mu bihingwa ngandurarugo by'ingenzi (Ingano: Toni/hegitari)

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Amasaka	1.39	1.10	1.10	0.95	1.00
Ubuho	0.56	0.60	0.66	0.44	0.52
Umuceri	0.83	1.00	0.75	0.85	0.80
Ingano	-	-	-	2.66	2.75
Ibigori	1.89	1.00	1.00	0.80	1.00
Ibirayi	3.00	6.03	6.50	4.50	7.50
Ibijumba	12.00	6.98	7,50	7.00	5.34
Imyumbati	3.49	10.00	10.00	8.97	9.98
Ibishyimbo	0.69	0.84	0.85	0.74	0.89
Amashaza	0.80	0.80	0.80	0.70	0.83
Ubunyobwa	2.32	0.75	0.75	0.81	0.80
Ibitoki	11.99	9.97	12.00	11.83	12.00

Aho byavuye: Minisiteri y'Ubuhinzi n'Ubworozi, 1965-1969

Iyi mbonerahamwe irerekana ko ubutaka buhingwa bwagiye bwiyongera bifatika hafi ku bihingwa byose. Nyamara umusaruro kuri hegitari wiyongera gusa ku bihingwa bimwe na bimwe (ibirayi, ibijumba) nk'uko nanone bigaragazwa n'iyi mbonerahamwe, berekana uko umusaruro umeze kuri hegitari ku bihingwa by'ingenzi ngandurarugo (igipimo: toni/hegitari)

Iyi mbonerahamwe irerekana ko umusaruro kuri hegitari wagiye ugabanuka hagati y'imyaka ya 1965 na 1969, ndetse no kugeza mu 1974 ku bihingwa ngandurarugo byinshi. Ntabwo umusaruro w'ibyo bihingwa wiyongeraga nubwo ubutaka buhingwa bwo bwiyongeraga bitewe n'abaturage bimukaga bava ahatuwe cyane bajya mu turere tudatuwe cyane.

Abo bimukaga bavaga cyanecyane mu ntara z'Amajyaruguru n'Amagepfo y'igihugu (Ruhengeri, Byumba, Gikongoro cyanecyane Butare) bajya hagati mu gihugu no mu Burasirazuba (Gitarama, Kigari Ngari na Kibungo) hagati ya 1962 na 1970. Bagendaga bashaka ubutaka budatuwe bwo guhingaho ibihingwa ngandurarugo bari bamenyereye. Abenshi ariko bari bashyigikiye na Leta yabahaga ubutaka muri gahunda yo guteza imbere za peyizana, ikabaha imirima (buri rugo rugahabwa 1,5 cg 2 ha) ariko ikanabategeka ko igice kimwe kigomba guhingwa kawa.

Icyatumaga abo bahinzi bimuka kenshi byaterwaga n'ubutaka buke bwaho bari batuye cyangwa nuko buteraga kubera kugunduka bitewe no guhingwa kenshi cyangwa se isuri yatwaraga ubutaka. Ariko ibyo bibazo ntibyatinze kuboneka aho bimukiraga kubera ko bahabwaga imirima mito aho babaga bimukiye. Ni yo mpamvu mu mpera za 1960, umusaruro w'ubuhinzi ngandurarugo watangiye kuba muke mu ntara nyinshi z'igihugu kubera ubutaka buto bwabonekaga.

Umusaruro w'ibihingwa ngengabukungu ureba ibihingwa bike (ikawa, icyayi, pireteri na kenkina) wo waturukaga ku miterere y'ibihe, ku biciro ku masoko mpuzamahanga no kutitabwaho rimwe na rimwe. Ni muri urwo rwego, Banki Nkuru y'Igihugu yabonye ko hagati ya 1962 na 1972 imihindagurikire y'ibihe no kutita ku gukorera kawa ari yo yabaye akenshi impamvu²⁵. Kugabanuka k'umusaruro w'ibihingwa ngengabukungu byatumye u Rwanda rurushaho gutega amaboko inkunga iva hanze.

²⁵ B.N.R, Bulletin Trimestriel, no 1, juin 1975, p.5

Mu myaka ya 1962 kugeza mu wa 1970, ikinyuranyo hagati y'ibyo u Rwanda rugurisha mu mahanga n'ibyo ruhagura cyarushijeho kuba kinini cyanecyane guhera mu wa 1964-1969; impamvu y'ingenzi yari ko ibiciro by'ibyoherezwa mu mahanga byari byabaye bito kuburyo amafaranga avuyemo atashoboraga kugura ibyo u Rwanda rukeneye rutumiza hanze. Umwaka wa 1970 wari ufite ikinyuranyo cya miriyoni 429.2 FRW wapfuye kuba mwiza ugereranije n'uwo muri mu wa 1969 wari ufite ikinyuranyo cya miriyoni 938.9 Frw. Ibyo byatewe nuko ibyoherezwa mu mahanga byavuye kuri miriyoni 1423.5Frw mu wa 1969 akagera kuri miriyoni 2480.7 Frw mu wa 1970 bitewe nuko ibiciro ku masoko mpuzamahanga byari byiza no kuba n'ibihe mu buhinzi na byo byarateje imbere umusaruro.

Imfashanyo yo hanze yaba itangwa n'ibigega mpuzamahanga cyangwa yaba iy'ibihugu ubwabyo yakunze kuziba icyuho mu gutanga inkunga ishyigikira ubukungu bw'u Rwanda. Mu wa 1962, u Rwanda rubona ubwigenge, hari mu mpera z'Amasezerano ya mbere yiswe aya Yawunde, Umuryango w'Ubukungu bw'i Burayi wari warashyizeho Ikigega cy'u Burayi, kitwa F.E.D., kigamije Iterambere ry'ibihugu byari byarakoronijwe n'ibigize uwo muryango.

Mu nkunga ya mbere y'icyo kigega kitwa FED, Congo-Rwanda-Burundi byari byarakoronijwe n'u Bubirigi bifite abaturage bagera kuri 34% mu baturage bose b'ibihugu byafashwaga, byabonye 5% y'imfashanyo z'icyo kigega, bivuga miriyoni 581 y'amadorari²⁶. Ubwigenge bukimara kuba mu wa 1962, nanone hashingiwe kuri ayo masezerano ya Yawunde, Ikigega cya FED ya 2, cyagombaga kumara imyaka 5 ni ukuvuga kuva mu wa 1963-1968. Iyo F.E.D. ya kabiri yari ishingiyeye ku mfashanyo kandi yari inkunga igenewe guteza imbere amajyambere ni ukuvuga ko itari umwenda wo gufasha mu mikorere isanzwe. Iyo mfashanyo yagombaga gukoreshwa muri ibi: gushora mu bibyara inyungu, kongera umusaruro, kongera ibindi bifasha kongera umusaruro no guhamba abazungu baje gufasha. Mu byerekeye inkunga yo gushora mu bibyara inyungu, u Rwanda rwahawe amafaranga ibihumbi 979.000\$ yo gushora mu mishinga ibiri²⁷.

²⁶ Libois G., «L'aide extérieure à la République du Congo», in *Etudes Congolaises*, juillet-août 1968

²⁷ C.E.E. *Situation semestrielle des projets du 2eme F.E.D. en exécution*, Bruxelles, 31 mars 1967

Nk'uko byagendekeye ibindi bihugu byari bimaze kubona ubwigenge, u Rwanda narwo rwafashijwe mbere na mbere n'u Bubirigi kubera ko ari bwo bwarukoronije. Ariko, uko igihe kigenda gitera imbere, u Rwanda rwacuditse n'ibindi bihugu byaruteye inkunga kimwe n'Ibigega Mpuzamahanga nk' Ikigega k'Isi Gicunga Amafaranga (kitwa F.M.I. mu magambo ahinnye y'Igifaransa).

Ni muri urwo rwego kuva mu wa 1962 kugeza mu wa 1973, u Bubirigi bwateye inkunga u Rwanda mu birebana by'umwihariko n'ingengo y'imari yarwo no kwishyura umwenda warwo w'amafaranga y'inguzanyo yari yaratanzwe na Banki y'Isi (B.M.) yari yarahaye Congo, Ruanda-Urundi mbere y'ubwigenge.

Icyo gihe u Busuwisi na bwo bwafashije cyane u Rwanda²⁸ mu «mishinga» itanu: (a) gushyiraho koperative y'ibicuruzwa rusange bitaga TRAFIPRO kuva mu wa 1963 ; b) guhamba umwanya w'umujyanama mu biro bya Perezida wa Repubulika kuva mu wa 1963;) guteza imbere amajyambere yo mu cyaro k'Intara ya Kibuye kuva mu wa 1964 ; d) kubaka ishuri ryisumbuye bitaga Koreji Ofisiyeri ya Kigali kuva mu wa 1964; e) na porogaramu yo guteza imbere amashyamba kuva mu wa 1969. Gutera inkunga iyo mishinga no kuyishyira mu bikorwa byagejeje mu myaka ya 1970-1980, 1980-1990 ndetse no mu wa 1990-2000.

c. Guhagarara k'umuvuduko mu iterambere

Nubwo habonekaga imfashanyo zivuye hanze, umuvuduko mu kwiyongera k'Umusaruro Rusange w'Igihugu watangiye kugenda gahoro mu myaka ya 1960-1970, ndetse ugabanukaho kuva kuri 7,4% mu 1969 bugera kuri 4,6% mu 1971. Hari impamvu nyinshi zerekana uko kugenda ugabanuka. Icyo mbere ni umusaruro muke kuri hegitari, icyo kabiri cyari amafaranga adahagije mu ngengo y'imari, icyo nyuma ni ubushobozi buke bwo gukoresha imfashanyo z'amahanga.

Kubera ko uburyo bw'imihingire butari bwahindutse, imyagukire y'ubuhinzi yajyanaga gusa no kwaguka k'ubuso buhingwa bitewe n'abimukaga bava ahatuwe cyane bajya aho bashobora kubona ubutaka. Aho bimukiraga hamaze kugenda haba hatwo umusaruro

²⁸ Uvin P., *L'aide complice. Coopération internationale et Violence au Rwanda*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999

ku buso buhingwa watangiye kugabanuka bituma no kwiyongera k'Umusaruro Rusange w'Igihugu kugenda kuba guke.

Ibyakenerwaga na Leta yari imaze kwigenga ngo biyifashe mu mirimo yayo na byo byagendaga byiyongera cyane ariko amafaranga yinjiza yo akiyongera buhoro. Byaje gutera igihombo mu ngengo y'imari kugeza mu mpera z'ubutegetsu bwa Parmehutu. Kuvanaho icyo gihombo mu ngengo y'imari ya Leta byagiye biterwamo inkunga buri gihe n'u Bubirigi. Ndetse n'ingengo y'imari y'izamurabukungu yagiye ifashwa n'inkunga mvamahanga. Ariko inkunga yo hanze yagiye ihura n'ingorane z'uko u Rwanda rutari rufite ubushobozi bwo kuyikoresha.

Amafuranga y'imfashanyo z'u Rwanda aturutse hanze amenshi yavaga mu kigega cya I n'icya II cya FED. Igenzura ryakorewe imishinga yaterwaga inkunga n'icyo kigega muri F.E.D II, nyuma y'imyaka itatu gitangiye mu ya 1963-1964, yerekanye ko amafuranga yashoboye gukoreshwa yari make. Ku itariki ya 31 Werurwe 1967, ijanisha ry'ayo mafuranga yakoreshejwe rwerekanaga ko yari gusa 10,2% mu ishoramari ryo kubara inyungu, 4,30% mu cyo bita «imishinga yo kwagura ibyongera ubukungu» na 22,08% mu guhemba abanyamahanga baje gufasha²⁹. Muri rusange imiterere y'u Rwanda mu birebana n'ubukungu yari iteye ku buryo rutanashoboraga gukoresha inkunga ivuye hanze uretse gusa mu byakoreshwaga bitongera umusaruro.

Mu magambo make, igihe cya indepandansi mu wa 1962, u Rwanda rwatangiranye ubukungu bufite intege nke, rufite ubukungu bushingiye ku bihingwa ngengabukungu bike nk'ikawa ari na yo yazanaga ku rwego rwa mbere amafuranga y'amadovize. Nta terambere mu nganda u Rwanda rwari rufite kandi nta n'amafaranga yo kwiteza imbere ubwarwo rwari rufite. Amafuranga aturuka mu bicuruzwa hanze ntiyashoboraga guhaza mu gutumiza ibyo ruhagura, hari iteka igihombo muri ubwo bucuruzi n'amahanga ndetse kikigaragaza ubwacyo mu ngengo y'imari. Igihe cya Repubilika ya Mbere (1962-1973) nta cyahindutse. Abashishozi bavugaga ko habaye kutava aho ruri, bashaka kuvuga ko habaye kongera ahahingwa havuye ku hahoze ari ibikingi by'inka, ntihabe kongera umusaruro w'ibyoherezwa mu mahanga kuko byagumye kuba bike, ndetse

²⁹ C.E.E., *Situation semestrielle des projets du 2ème F.E.D. en exécution*, Bruxelles, 31 Mars 1976

u Rwanda ntirwashobora guhaza igipimo rwari rwagenewe mu birebana n'ikawa mu rwego mpuzamahanga.

Uko kutava aho ruri ntibyashoboye guhindura imibereho ya gikene yariho ahubwo byadindije izamuka mu mibereho myiza abantu bari bizeye igihe bavaga mu bukoroni. Imibereho mibi iri mu byateye urwango n'umujinya bishobora kuba bifitanye isano no guhirika butegetsu mu wa 1973.

5.1.5. Poritiki y'umubano n'umuco.

U Rwanda rubona ubwigenge, rwari rufite abantu bake bize bagomba kuruteza imbere nk'igihugu kigenga nubwo amashuri y'ubukoroni gatorika yari amaze imyaka mirongo itanu.

a. Imikorere mishya mu burezi bw'igihugu

Mu Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 no mu itegeko ry'uburezi ryo mu 1966 hari harafashwe ikemezo ko kwiga amashuri abanza ari itegeko kuri buri mwana kandi ko ari ubuntu kugeza ku myaka 15 “kugira ngo bagire uburezi bw'ibanze bufite ireme kandi burambye”³⁰, bamenye ibya ngombwa by'ibanze nko gusoma no kwandika. Hashingiwe kuri iryo hame, hafashwe ibyemezo bishya birebana n'imitunganyirize y'uburezi mu mashuri abanza (ay'abahungu n'abakobwa) ayisumbuye ndetse n'amakuru (Kaminuza).

Mu mashuri abanza, hashyizweho uburyo bwo kwiga mu byiciro bibiri. Buri mwarimu yabaga afite ibyiciro bibiri by'abanyeshuri agomba kwigisha: kimwe mu gitondo ikindi nyuma ya saa sita. Ibyo byatumye umubare w'abana biga mu mashuri abanza wiyongera ku buryo butangaje nk'uko bigaragarira muri iyi mbonerahamwe iri hasi aha³¹

³⁰ Simpenzwe G., *Epitomé de l'Enseignement libre subsidié au Rwanda*, Kigali, 1988, p.29

³¹ Paternostre de la Mairieu B., 1972, *op.cit.*, p.344

Imbonerahamwe ya 11: Uko imibare y’abanyeshuri bemerewe kwiga mu mashuri abanza yagiye yiyongera

Umwaka amashuri	Imibare	Ibisobanuro
1960-61	160.000	Imibare yari hasi ugereranyije n’abana bose bari mu kigero cyo gutangira ishuri
1961-62	217.000	29% by’abiga bari abakobwa
1964-65	280.000	
1969-70	409.00	Biyongereyeho 61%. Abakobwa bari 43%
1972-73	425.000	Biyongereyeho 61%, muri abo 45% ari abakobwa

Aho byavuye: Paternostre de la Mairie B., op.cit., p.344.

Gufata ikemezo cyo kwiga mu byiciro bibiri ku munsu ntibyabuze guteza ibibazo : ibura ry’abarimu kandi babifitiye ubumenyi, inyigisho zidafite ireme kandi zidafite aho zihuriye n’ukuri k’u Rwanda n’ibura ry’ibikoresho (ibitabo, imbaho, ingwa, amatushi n’amazu ameze nabi).

Mu gushakira umuti ibyo bibazo, hafashwe ingamba zikurikira :

- Kwihutira gushyiraho ikigero k’imyaka 2 cyo kwigisha abarimu n’abarimukazi babihuguriwe, kandi ibyo bigatangira guhera mu wa 1963.
- Gushinga ikigo “kigisha abazigisha” ba diregiteri b’amashuri bakabihugurirwa igihe cy’amezi 6 bakazahinduka abagenzuzi b’amashuri abanza ku rwego rwa buri perefegitura muri za segiteri z’amashuri.
- Gushyiraho ibigo 12 byo kwigisha abana bo mu cyaro batashoboye kujya mu ishuri hakoreshejwe ubuhanga bwa «Université Radiophonique ya Gitarama» yakoreshaga uburyo bwo kwiga “kumva unarora”.
- Gushyiraho ishuri ryisumbuye ridasanzwe ry’abakobwa risimbura iryariho ry’imyaka umunani rya menajeri (imyaka itatu ya interina) ryari ryaragenewe abana b’abakire.
- Kwigisha ba abayobozikazi b’ibigo by’amashuri n’abarimukazi b’amashuri ya tekiniki y’abakobwa («imyaka ibiri nyuma y’ikigero cy’amashuri rusange»), yashyizwe i Nyanza, i Mubuga n’i Remera.

- Mu wa 1964, hashyizweho icyo bise “Serivisi ishinzwe kwigisha gukunda igihugu mu rubyiruko” higerwagamo n’urubyiruko rubyishakiye, rufite hagati y’imyaka 15 na 19 mu rwego rwo gutegura abakozi bafite ubumenyi bunyuranye kandi bafite disipurini kuko bayoborwaga n’abasirikare (bigiraga i Mayange n’i Gitagata).
- Mu wa 1970 hashyizweho za «santeri z’uburezi bw’icyaro n’imyuga» (bigaga imyaka itatu, akigwamo n’abahungu batashoboye kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye).

Mbere y’ubwigenge bw’u Rwanda, iterambere ry’amashuri yisumbuye ryari rito cyane, hari ibigo 24 bigizwe cyanecyane n’amashuri 14 yigisha abarimu b’amashuri abanza. Kuri Repubulika ya mbere, amashuri yisumbuye yariyongereye kandi agenda yiyungura mu nyigisho kugira ngo hazashobore kuvamo abajya mu mashuri makuru ya Kaminuza:

- Mu wa 1971-72 ; amashuri yisumbuye yari yaravuye kuri 24 agera kuri 63.
- Amwe mu mashuri y’abahungu yarimo ikiciro k’inyigisho rusange, ikiciro k’inyigisho zisumbuye zinyuranye, inyigisho z’amashuri yisumbuye ya tekini (ubuhinzi, ubuvuzi bw’amatungo, ubw’abantu, n’ibindi), amashuri y’ubwarimu mato, ayo hagati n’amashuri y’imyuga.
- Ku bana b’abakobwa bari barabujijwe igihe kirekire kujya mu mashuri nk’ay’abahungu y’inyigisho rusange, hashyizweho mu bigo bimwe by’amashuri yisumbuye ikiciro k’inyigisho rusange; ik’inyigisho zinyuranye, ik’inyigisho z’ubwarimu nto n’iziciriritse bageza no ku nyigisho z’imibanire, iz’ubuganga na menajeri.

Igihe cy’ubwigenge nta banyeshuri bari bafite impamyabumenyi yuzuye y’amashuri yisumbuye y’inyigisho rusange u Rwanda rwari rufite. Mu wa 1970-71, rwasohoye abana 883 barimo 283 bari bararangije amashuri yisumbuye bita “Humanités”, 393 bavuye mu mashuri y’abarimu, 169 bo mashuri y’imyuga naho 38 bavuye mu mashuri ya tekini.

Naho ku birebana n’amashuri makuru na Kaminuza, igitekerezo cyo kurema ishuri ryuzuye ryazavamo abaziga mu mashuri makuru cyari cyaragiyeho igihe cya Yubire y’umwami Mutara Rudahigwa mu wa 1956/1957. Yari yarashyize amafaranga yasagutse kuri iyo yubire mu kigeza kitwa “Ikigeza cya Mutara III” cyo gufasha abarangije amashuri yisumbuye kuzashobora kwiga

mu mashuri makuru i Burayi³². Ariko icyo gitekerezo cyanizwe n'abategetsu ba gikoroni kuko batinyaga ko abo bakoronije nibiga bazabirukana: igihe imirimo yo kubaka Koreji i Gatagara yari irimbanije, hari umutegetsu ukomeye w'umukoroni wavuze ati: "Nimubigishe bazabirukana mu gihe kidatinze"³³.

Nyuma igikorwa cyo kubaka Kaminuza mu Rwanda cyaje kuva kuri Repubulika ya Mbere. Kaminuza y'u Rwanda yafunguye imiryango yayo tariki ya 3 Ugushyamba 1963. Yatangiye ibyiciro bine (indimi n'ubuvanganzo, ubukungu, ubuhanga n'ubuganga). Hatangijwe n'Ishuri Rikuru ry'Indimi Zigezweho n'Ishuri Rikuru ry'Abaforomo.

Ku itariki ya 17 Ukwakira 1971, nyuma y'imyaka munani yigisha, Kaminuza y'u Rwanda yari ifite abanyeshuri 471, imaze gutanga impamyabushobozi 250 harimo 18 z'abaganga. Icyo gihe UNR yari imaze gukomera kandi itera imbere.

Ariko rero, nubwo tumaze kubona ko amashuri mu Rwanda yari amaze gutera imbere, harimo ibibazo byinshi, ibikomeye ari ibi:

- Nk'uko byari bimeze ku gihe cyagikoroni, inyigisho zatangwaga ntizakemuraga ibibazo biri mu gihugu kuko zigishaga ibintu rusange bitajyana no kongera umusaruro ahubwo bikerekeza mu iteranyuma ry'icyaro³⁴.
- Ishuri ryafashwe nk'urugi rukinguye rwo kugira ubuzima bwiza kandi atari ahubwo bituma urubyiruko ruhanga icyaro³⁵.
- Urwego rw'inyigisho mu mashuri rwaheze hasi kubera ibitabo bitajyanye n'igihe na gahunda y'igihugu, n'abarimu batabifitiye impambyabumenyi zihagije³⁶.
- Umubare w'abana biga wageraga kuri 50% ku bahungu yo mu mashuri abanza; ku bakobwa uwo mubare wari hasi cyane ari mu mashuri abanza ari no mu yisumbuye. Kaminuza yo yasaga n'itazwi hafi kuri bose.

³² Kagame A., *op.cit.*, pp.233-234

³³ Ibidem, p.234

³⁴ Simpenzwe G., 1988, *op.cit.*, p.31

³⁵ Ibidem, p.31

³⁶ Ibidem, p.31

b. Uruhare rwihariye rw'idini gatorika

Nk'uko byari bimeze mu gihe cya gikoroni, no kuri Repubulika ya I amashuri yose yategekwe na Kiriziya gatorika yari ikiri iy'abamisiyoneri. Bituma igira ingufu nyinshi kandi yinjira mu nzego zose no ku bayobozi b'igihugu.

Repubulika ya I ikivuka ntiyari ifite ubushobozi bwo kwifata mu maboko, yari ikeneye Kiriziya gatorika ngo iyitere inkunga. Abategetsu ba mbere ba Repubulika begamiye kuri Kiriziya gatorika mu bikorwa bya poritiki bari bashinzwe. Bagirwaga inama n'abamisiyoneri. Buzuzanyaga imigambi mu ibanga bigasa nkaho ari ugushimira abapadiri bafashije abo banyaporitiki bari barize mu iseminari gukora revorisiyo abo padiri basaga n'abayibereye umubyeyi. Ni na ho havuye imvugo yo kwita Guverinoma ya Repubulika ya I "Leta yo muri Sakirisitiya" kubera ko yakoranaga cyane na Kiriziya gatorika, n'ingufu abapadiri bari bafitemo muri poritiki y'igihugu³⁷.

Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1961 ryavuye ku ihirikabutegetsu ry'i Gitarama, n'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 ku bwigenge yahaga umwanya munini cyane idini ry'abakirisitu. Irangashingiro ry'Itegeko nshinga ryo ku wa 24 Ugushyungu 1962 ryemeza "Ikizere gisesuye Inteko Ishinga Amategeko ishyize mu bushobozi buruta bwose bw'Imana". Hari izindi ngingo zerura zikerekana ibogamira ku idini rya Leta y'u Rwanda. Ingingo ya 8 y'Itegeko nshinga ry'i Gitarama n'ingingo ya 39 y'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 zamagana "Ubukomunisiti n'ibikorwa by'ikwizabitekerezo bya gikomunisiti". Ingingo ya 75 y'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu 1961 yabuzaga abashakanye gutandukana. Ingingo ya 32 y'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 ryashyize amashuri ya Leta n'ay'amadini ku kigero kimwe. Bivuze ko yombi yafashwaga kimwe.

Uburezi bwagumye mu maboko ya Kiriziya bituma ikomeza kugiramo ingufu kugeza igihe Leta yiyemeje gushyiraho ubwayo umurongo mugari wa poritiki y'uburezi ariko irekera amadini gukomeza kuyacunga. Ni uguhera mu wa 1966, Leta yavanye uburezi mu maboko ya Kiriziya. Itangazwa ry'Itegeko ry'uburezi ryo mu 1966 n'Amabwiriza Rusange y'Uburezi yo mu wa 1967 byambuye amadini umwihariko yari bafite ku burezi, ubuyobozi bwayo buharirwa Leta³⁸. Impamvu zishingiye ku

³⁷ Reyntjens P., *L'Afrique des grands Lacs en crise Rwanda Burundi: 1988-1994*, Paris, Karthala, 1994, p.166

³⁸ République rwandaise, Ministère de l'Enseignement Primaire et Secondaire, 438

bibazo by'amoko zagize uruhare rukomeye mu ishyirwaho ry'ayo mategeko. Leta yavugaga icyo gihe ko umubare w'Abatutsi mu mashuri n'uw'abapadiri b'Abatutsi mu buyobozi byayo bikiri hejuru cyane.

Kiriziya gatorika yari yishimiye gukorana n'umukuru w'igihugu w'umukirisitu kandi ugendera ku matwara y'i Burayi igihe mu bindi bihugu byakoronijwe, ndetse n'ibyo muri aka karere, byavugaga ko bigendera ku mahame y'ubusosiyarisiti, ay'ibihugu bitaratera imbere mu majyambere ndetse n'ayo kudashingira ku madini. Ibyakorerwaga mu Rwanda byafashwe nk'intangarugero kandi byerekanwa ko bikwiye gukurikizwa mu bice byinshi, cyanecyane mu birebana no kudahindagurika bya poritiki, gushyigikira iterambere n'ubumwe by'abaturage (cyanecyane mu nzego z'ibanze no kubuza amakimbirane). Kiriziya gatorika yemeraga ko yabonye mu Rwanda ahantu hashobora kuba "urubumbambaga rukirisitu" nk'uko abamisiyoneri batahwemye kubirota.

Kiriziya gatorika yabaye idini rya Leta mu Rwanda. Yari yaratoneshewe cyanecyane mu birebana no kugira yonyine hafi umwihariko wose mu burezi, kugira ijambo ryumvikana mu buyobozi, gutunga amasambu manini kandi akenshi atabyazwa umusaruro, gusonerwa imisoro bikabije.

Kuri Repubulika ya I, Ishyaka Parmehutu ryari ku butegetsu ryitiranywaga na Leta ariko na Kiriziya gatorika. Mu yandi magambo, nta tandukaniro mu butegetsu ryariho, nta tandukaniro hagati ya Leta na Kiriziya. Perezida yarayifashishaga mu butegetsu bwe. Muri disikuru ze ntiyatinyaga kuvuga ko ashingiyeye ku mahame y'ukwemera kwe gatorika. Mu ijambo yavuze ku munsu mukuru w'abakozi, tariki ya Mbere Gicurasi 1970, asaba abaturage kongera umusaruro, yongeyemo ijambo rigira riti: "tutibagiwe igitinyiro cya Nyagasani, twiyongeremo ishyaka ryo gukora"³⁹.

Kuri Perezida Kayibanda, Kiriziya gatorika n'inzego zayo byari bifite uruhare rukomeye mu buyobozi bw'igihugu no mu kwigisha abaturage uburere mboneragihugu. Urugero ni jambo yabwiye

Dynamique des équilibres ethnique et régional dans l'enseignement secondaire rwandais. Fondement, évolution et perspectives d'avenir, Kigali, mai 1986, p.20

³⁹ «Ijambo rya Perezida Kayibanda ku munsu w'abakozi», in *Kinyamateka*, no 17, Gicurasi 1970, p.1

abaturage ba Tambwe ku muni wo kwibuka imyaka 10 ya Revorisiyo agira ati “Muri iyi Komini yanyu ya Tambwe, mufite ibintu byinshi kandi bikomeye, kandi byegeranye. Mufite Komini yanyu (bureau), hano hepfo mufite paruwasi. Ushaka kumenya umuco w’Imana, kumenya uko agomba kumera, kumenya amategeko y’Imana no kuyatunganya, nahage, ntabwo ari kure”⁴⁰.

Twibutse ko umunsi wa bazina ba Perezida, ku muni wa mutagatifu Gerigori, wizihirizwa itariki ya 3 Nzeri, wari umunsi w’ikiruhuko. Abantu bagombaga kujya mu misa kandi bagafatanya bibaye ngombwa n’abayobozi kwizihiza ibirori by’uwo muni. Nyuma ya misa yari yajemo abantu benshi Perezida yavuze disikuru yavangagamo iby’idini, ibya poritiki n’iby’ubuyobozi, agira ati: “Icyo mbasabye ni iki ngiki: ni uguhorana umutima wanyu, amahame yanyu, ari ayerekeye idiniumuntu ntahore adandabirana mu bintu atazi icyo akurikiye, akagira amahame nyakuri ku byerekeye idini ye iyobora ku Mana... Nkaba mbasabiye kugira umwete kuri icyo kintu twiyemeje, ariko kiza, kigiye mu ngingo ya pariti Parmehutu, kigiye mu ngingo y’amabwiriza ya Leta yanyu”.⁴¹

Mu bintu byatumye Kiriziya gatorika ijya mu murongo w’amatwara ya Repubulika ya Mbere, harimo Myr Perraudin wabigizemo uruhare rukomeye (adahisha). Yabanje kugirana ubucuti bukomeye n’abayobozi bakuru ba Parmehutu. Mu gihe Repubulika ya mbere yitaga Myr Bigirumwami “gashakabuhake udindiza ibintu” kandi ikamuhoza ku nkeke zidashira, yitaga Myr Perraudin “umudemokarate ureba imbere”. Kandi kuba ari umuvaburayi akanaba umusenyeri w’umumisiyoneri byamuheshaga umwanya mwiza mu ruhande mpuzamahanga rw’abamisiyoneri. Ugereranije n’abandi basenyeri b’Abanyarwanda, Myr Perraudin yabarushaga ubushobozi bwo kuba yumvikana neza muri Kiriziya gatorika y’i Burayi. Kuba yarabarushaga kuba hafi y’ahafatirwa ibyemezo kandi ari na ho hava amafaranga byatumaga akorana na bagenzi be mu buryo bumeze nk’ubwa gihake. Byongeye, abenshi mu basenyeri nta mpaka nyinshi bakundaga kujya, byatumye Myr Perraudin agenda ashiraho ibimunogeye bituma yerekeza Kiriziya gatorika yo mu Rwanda aho yishakiye.

⁴⁰ Komini ya Tambwe yibutse imyaka 10 u Rwanda rumaze rwigobotoye ingoyi ya gihake. Ijambo rya Perezida wa Repubulika muri ibyo birori”, in *Kinyamateka* n° 18, Kamena 1970, p.2

⁴¹ “Tariki ya 3 Nzeri 1970. Uyu muni utwibutsa iki? Mutagatifu Grégoire Kayibanda», in *Kinyamateka*, n° 27, Nzeri 1970, p.3

Ukuri ku birebana n’ubukungu na poritiki, kwahishwaga muri disikuru z’abayobozi b’abanyaporitiki n’abayobozi ba Kiriziya ndetse n’inshuti zabo z’abanyamahanga, kwari kubabaje. Iyo Leta yari ishyigikiwe n’u Burayi na Kiriziya gatorika yari yarishe abanyaporitiki batavuga rumwe na yo b’Abahutu n’Abatutsi, yarimakaje ishyaka rimwe rukumbi ryari ryarahindutse ubutegetsi by’ubwoko bumwe, bwari bwarikubiwe n’abantu b’agaco k’Abanyagitarama. Ni no muri icyo gihe hatangiye kugaragara bwa mbere imikorere ya jenocide.

5.1.6. Ivanwaho rya Repubulika ya Mbere

Kuvaho ku butegesti bwa Gerigori Kayibanda byiyerekanye kandi bibanzirizwa n’ibibazo by’imbere mu gihugu butashoboye kurokoka.

a. Irondakarere no kwikubira ubutegetsi

Parmehutu imaze gufata ubutegetsi yisanze nta yindi porogaramu ifite uretse iyo yari imaze kugeraho. Yari yabanje kuba ishyaka rimwe rukumbi mbere yuko yiyita “Ishyaka ry’igihugu” muri kongere yayo yo ku wa 23 Ukwakira 1966. Mbere y’iyo tariki yari yararangije kwivanga n’inzego za Leta kuri buri rwego; Perezida wa Repubulika ari na we Perezida w’Ishyaka, igice cya kabiri cy’abaminisitiri bafite uruhare rugaragara mu nzego nkuru z’ishyaka kandi abadepite bakomeye bari mu nzego z’ubunyamabanga bw’ishyaka mu ntara.

Kuba nta gahunda ifatika ishyaka rifite byigaragaje neza igihe “umwanzi bahuriyeho” ni ukuvuga Unar n’inyezi bitari bikiri ikibazo. Iyo opozisiyo ya poritiki n’izo ngabo bimaze guseniyuka, ibibazo bwite by’ubutegetsi bwa Kayibanda byarushijeho kwigaragaza mu ruhame.

Mu mwaka wa 1964, Perezida yasabye Komisiyo y’abadepite raporo itaratangajwe, yerekanye ukuntu Parmehutu yayoboraga nabi igihugu. Yerekana abafungwa badafite dosiye, ukuntu ubucamanza bukora buhoro, ukuntu ubuyobozi n’ubucamanza byagiye muri poritiki, irondakarere, poritiki y’akazu, kutuzuzanya kw’inzego mu ntara, amacakubiri no kubura imitunganyirize na demokarasi mu ishyaka⁴². Iyo raporo ntiyashyikirijwe Inteko ngo igibweho impaka.

⁴² Raporo y’uruzinduko rw’intumwa z’abadepite, Kigali, Nzeri 1964

Mu wa 1967, umudepite umwe yatangarije mu nama y'abadepite ko hari "Igisebe cy'umufunzo kiri muri Parti"⁴³. Undi na we aryungamo avuga ati "Aho tunganisha igihugu hamaze kuyoberana. Turagenda tuva muri demokarasi, tugana mu butegetsi bw'agahato"⁴⁴.

Ku itariki ya 23 Ukwakira 1966 habaye "kongere" y'Ishyaka rya Parmehutu; yari igamije gusuzuma ibibazo byari mu ishyaka. Ibyavugwaga cyane ni ibi bikurikira: kuba ishyaka ridafite imbaraga zifatika, irondakarere, ubugambanyi mw'ishyaka, ruswa, kunyereza umutungo, no kuba banyirabijya iyo bijya n'ibindi. Perezida w'Ishyaka yavuze ko ibyo bibazo ari "umurengwe waba ugiye guca ibintu mu ba Parmehutu"⁴⁵. Ingamba nyinshi zisaba guhagarika iyo mwitwarire idahwitse hubahirizwa disipurini zarafashwe ariko ntibyagira icyo bitanga.

Ku itariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1968 hashyizweho komisiyo igizwe n'abadepite batandatu, bisabwe n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko. Ibyo iyo Komisiyo yerekanye byari biteye inkeke: hose, ubuyobozi bw'ishyaka bwarangwaga n'amacakubiri hagati y'abakuru n'abato mu buyobozi bwa poritiki n'ubw'igihugu, hari umwiryane ushingiyeye ku turere (amajyaruguru ahanganye n'amagepfo, Butare ihanganye na Gitarama, Ruhengeri ihanganye na Gisenyi, n'ibindi), hari umwiryane mu madini, mu moko no mu bantu ku giti cyabo. Muri make, "imigambi y'ishyaka yagendaga itakara umunsi ku wundi"⁴⁶. Abakoze iyo raporo n'abari babashyigikiye (abadepite 14) bose barahanwe, baregwa "guta umurongo". Kuba *Kinyamateka* yari yaranenze iryo rondakarere byatumye ibihanirwa. Umwanditsi wayo mukuru, Padiri Maida, yirukanywe mu Rwanda naho umunyamakuru w'Umunyarwanda, Semusambi, arafungwa, *Kinyamateka* na yo ihagarikwa iminsi mike.

Uwo mwiryane wabibaga amacakubiri mu buyobozi bwa poritiki waje gukazwa na gahunda ya perezida yo gushaka kwigira perezida ubuziraherezo. Disikuru ze ziganisha ku busosiyarisiti zamuteranije n'abari bamushyigikiye cyanecyane abanyamahanga, by'umwihariko b'abamisiyoneri. Uko ubutegetsi bwagendaga bwikubirwa n'agatsiko gato k'abanyagitarama,

⁴³ Depite Banzi, in *Kinyamateka*, n° 32, Nzeri 1967, p.1

⁴⁴ Depite Sentama, in *Kinyamateka*, n° 36, Ukuboza 1968, p.2

⁴⁵ *Kinyamateka*, n° 36, Ugushyirye 1966, p.1

⁴⁶ Raporo ya komisiyo y'Inteko yo mu wa 1968, Kigali, 19 Ukwakira 1968

byaje kugera ku ndunduro mu wa 1972, imizi ya Parmehutu yarushagaho kugenda iba mike. Igitangira yari ishingiyeye ku murongo Butare-Gitarama-Ruhengeri, andi maperefegitura afitemo uruhare ruto. Mu mpera za Repubulika ya Mbere, ishyamba ryari risigaye ku gace gato k'abakomoka i Gitarama, bari bashyigikiye Kayibanda byo gupfa no gukira. Muri guverinoma ya nyuma yagiyeho tariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1972, yarimo abaminisitiri 6 bakomoka i Gitarama kuri 18 bayigize ni ukuvuga kimwe cya gatatu. Uko gushyiramo Abanyagitarama ku buryo bukabije byatumye havuka ishyamba n'uburakari bishingiyeye ku turere, cyanecyane mu basirikare baturuka mu Majyaruguru.

b. Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi mu wa 1973

Mu wa 1972, Perezida Kayibanda yashatse kongera kuyobora ibyamusigaga, maze ateranya inshuti ze magara, ngo bashyireho umugambi wo kuyobya uburari. Iyi gahunda yari iyo kwirukana Abatutsi mu mashuri mato n'amakuru, mu bigo bya Leta, ibishamikiye kuri Leta n'iby'abikorera. Bavugaga ko ari ukurangiza ibitakoze na Revorisiyo ya 1959, iyo ntero yaje gusubirwamo na CDR mbere no muri jenocide ya 1994.

Kugira ngo buzuzwe uwo mugambi, Kayibanda n'inshuti ze bashyizeho za "komite bitaga ngarukiragihugu". Abari bagize izo komite barimo abakozi ba Leta, ba perefere bari bazikuriye ku rwego rwa za perefegitura, abashinzwe iperereza n'abakuru b'ingabo. Imvururu zari zabaye i Burundi, zari zatangiye kuri 29 Mata 1972, zabaye urwiyenzo n'urwitwazo ngo Kayibanda agere kuri uwo mugambi we. A. Mugesera yagerageje gukora ingengabihe z'ibyo bintu n'urutonde rw'abanyeshuri n'abakozi birukanywe muri za perefegitura zose⁴⁷.

Iyicwa ry'Abatutsi ryo muri Mata 1973 ryarateguwe rishyirwa ku murongo na Guverinoma ya Kayibanda. Ibimenyetso bibyerekanaga ni byinshi, ariko iby'ingenzi ni ibi bikurikira.

- Kumanika amazina y'Abatutsi batifuzwa byabaye ku matariki amwe, tariki za 26 na 27 Gashyantare 1973.
- Uburyo bwo kubirukana byakorwaga kimwe hose.
- Nta perefegitura yasigaye kandi hose Abatutsi barameneshejwe
- Nta mutegetsi wo muri guverinoma n'umwe cyangwa umuyobozi w'ishuri, uw'ikigo cya Leta cyangwa ikiyishyigiyeho warwanije iyo migirire mibi: bose baricecekeye.

⁴⁷ Reba amatariki n'amazina y'abanyeshuri n'abakozi b'Abatutsi birukanywe, Mugesera A., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp.227-263

Impamvu yatanzwe na guverinoma n'abayishyigikiye yari ko ngo Abahutu batari bagishoboye kwihanganira kuba bake mu mashuri, mu bigo bya Leta, ibishamikiye kuri Leta n'iby'abikorera kandi ari bo bagize umubare mwinshi w'abaturage. Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda mu Bubirigi yaravuze ati: "Imyaka irenze icumi Abahutu barakoze revorisiyo, ariko Abatutsi bakomeje kuba benshi mu myanya imwe y'ubuyobozi. Ibigo bimwe bikoresha gusa Abatutsi. Muri za Kaminuza, 65% z'abanyeshuri ni Abatutsi. Mu mashuri yisumbuye na ho ni uko. Abenshi mu barimu ni Abatutsi. Mu nzego za Leta, abakozi bakuru hafi ya bose ni Abatutsi. Mu Rukiko rw'Ikirenga ku bacamanza batanu barugize, batatu ni Abatutsi. Abenshi mu bapadiri ni Abatutsi. Ibyo byose birerekana ko guverinoma itigeze ikora poritiki yo kurwanya Abatutsi»⁴⁸.

Ariko rero, ubushakashatsi bwakozwe na Minisitiri y'Amashuri Makuru n'Ayisumbuye byerekanye ko abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bavuye kuri 36,3% mu 1962-63 bakagera kuri 11% mu 1972-73. Mu mashuri yisumbuye Abatutsi bari 8,5% muri UNR, 6% muri IPN na 3% bari baroherejwe kwiga hanze. Imibare bavugaga muri izo mvururu ivuga ko abanyeshuri b'Abatutsi bari hagati ya 50% na 70% ntiyari yo, nta n'aho yari ihuriye n'ukuri. Ikinyoma cyari imwe mu ntwaro z'iyo Leta n'abayishyigikiye.

Impamvu nyakuri z'ibyabaye mu 1972-73 zari mu butegetsi bwa Kayibanda bwite. Kayibanda ashoza izo mvururu yashakaga kongera kunga ubumwe mu ishyamba rya Parmehutu. Bitangira, yagiraga ngo yunge umutwe w'ishyamba rya Parmehutu. Abatutsi berekanywe nk'abanzi b'Abahutu, bagizwe ibitambo.

Imvururu zo mu wa 1972-73 zatumye J. Habyarimana wari Minisitiri w'Ingabo ahirika ubutegetsi. Igice cy'abasirikare bo mu Majyaruguru yari ahagarariye, cyari gikomeye mu ngabo nticyashatse ko inshuti za Kayibanda ziyobora igikorwa cyo kwirukana Abatutsi. Hari abanditse ko abasirikare batifuzaga ko Abatutsi birukanwa. Ariko bigaragara ko ubuyobozi bw'ingabo bwari buzi ibikorwa byose kandi iyo butabyemera ntibyari gukorwa. Abasirikare bayoboye igikorwa cyo kwirukana Abatutsi bamaze kwiyemeza no kuyobora igihugu cyose. Ariko nta bushakashatsi bwerekana uruhare rwakozwe n'abasirikare. Ariko kuva mu mpera za Gashyantare 1973, Kayibanda nta cyo yari akiyobora. Yazize irondakarere n'amacakubiri byari muri Parmehutu. Kwirukana Abatutsi ntibyashoboye kumukiza.

⁴⁸ *La Libre Belgique*, 8 mars 1973

Mbere yuko manda ye irangira muri Gicurasi 1973, Kayibanda n'ibyegeza bye ntibashatse kuva ku butegetsi maze bateza ikibazo gikomeye muri poritiki, bahindura Itegeko nshinga, bituma abamurwanya barakara ari abanyaporitiki cyangwa abasirikare. Manda ya perezida ivanwa ku myaka 4 igirwa 5 kandi agashobora kwitwoshya bitagira iherezo.

Ubutegetsi bwa Repubulika ya Mbere bwahiritswe ku ya 5 Nyakanga 1973 bwari bumaze kunanirwa kubera amacakubiri yari aburimo. Parmehutu yasaga n'ifite impumu. Mu by'ukuri, ntawayivanyeho, «byabaye nko gusarura imbuto yaboze»⁴⁹.

5.2. Repubulika ya II (1973-1994)

Ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1973, Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bwatanze itangazo rigenewe abaturage ribabwira ibyemezo byafashwe. Mu byo iryo tangazo ryavugaga, harimo ibi bikurikira :

- Perezida Kayibanda akuwe ku murimo we wo kuba perezida wa Repubulika.
- Jenerari Majoro J. Habyarimana ashinzwe gukora imirimo Itegeko nshinga ryemerera Umukuru w' Igihugu.
- Guverinoma yariho ivuyeho kandi isimbuwe by'agateganyo na "Komite y'Amahoro n'Ubumwe bw'Igihugu" igizwe n'aba ofisiye bakuru 11 kandi ikuriwe na Jenerari Majoro J. Habyarimana, kugeza igihe hazagarukira amahoro asesuye mu gihugu.
- Inteko Inshinga Amategeko irasheshwe.
- Gukora poritiki birabujijwe mu gihugu hose; inzego z'ishyamba zose zirasheshwe.
- Uburenganzira n'ubwisanzure bwa muntu biteganywa n'Itegeko nshinga ryo ku wa 24 Ugushyamba 1962 bigumyeho uretse ibikubiye mu ngendo ya 16 bibaye bihagaritswe.

Abashyize umukono kuri iryo tangazo ni aba bakurikira: Jenerari Majoro Habyarimana, Riyetona Koroneri Kanyarengwe, Majoro Nsekarije, Majoro Benda, Majoro Ruhashya, Majoro Gahimano, Majoro Munyandekwe, Majoro Serubuga, Majoro Buregeya, Majoro Ntibitura, Majoro Simba. Iyo kipe yitwaga «*Kamarade b'iyi 5 Nyakanga*» yari igizwe hafi ya bose n'abakomoka ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri, uretse Majoro Aloyizi Simba wavaga

⁴⁹ Reyntjens P., *Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi, 1988-1994*, Paris, Karthala, 1994, p.29 ; Mfizi C., *Les lignes de faite du Rwanda indépendant*, Kigali, Orinfor, 1983, p.50

ku Gikongoro, Majoro Yohani–Nepomuseni Munyandekwe w’i Gitaramana, Majoro Epimaki Ruhashya w’i Kigali. Imiterere y’iyo komite yerekanaga ikibazo cy’amakimbirane cyariho hagati y’Amajyaruguru n’Amagepfo, by’umwihariko mu ngabo. Ni cyo kibazo cyari inyuma y’ihirikabutegetsu.

Igihe k’iryo hirikabutegetsu rishingiye ku irondakarere, abagize Komite basobanuraga igikorwa cyabo bagira bati : «Abayobozi bakuru b’ingabo babonye amahoro imbere mu gihugu yahungabanye n’ubumwe bw’igihugu bujega jega baratabara». Ni yo mpamvu y’iryo hirikabutegetsu ryaje kwitwa «revorisiyo y’indangamyitwarire».

Mu by’ukuri ubumwe bavugaga muri disikuru nyinshi z’icyo gihe bwari bujyanye n’ibibazo by’uturere, naho ubumwe bw’Abahutu n’Abatutsi bwo ntibwari bwitaweho. Ku Batutsi benshi b’icyo gihe, ubutegetsu bwa Kayibanda bwari bumereye nabi, disikuru ya Habyarimana yabahaga ikizere. Ntibatekerezaga ko Habyarimana yari agumanye umurage w’ingengabitekerezo bya poritiki ya Kayibanda na Parmehutu yaje nyuma kurushaho kunogereza.

5.2.1. Ishyirwaho rya M.R.N.D. n’iyimikwa byayo.

Mu rwego rwo gukingira icyuho cyasizwe n’ivanwaho rya Parmehutu igihe habaga ihirikabutegetsu, Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana yashizeho, nyuma y’imyaka ibiri ni ukuvuga tariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1975, Muvoma Iharanira Ubumwe n’Amajyambere (M.R.N.D.). Iryo shyamba ryari riteye nka Muvoma ya Rubanda iharanira Revorisiyo (M.P.R.) ya Perezida J.-D. Mobutu wa Zaire. Perezida J. Habyalimana yatangaga impamvu yashyizeho M.R.N.D. muri aya magambo : «Twiyemeje kurema Muvoma ya rubanda ishingiyemo bidashidikanywa kuri revorisiyo na demokarasi, ihuriza hamwe ingufu zose z’igihugu, ntawuhejwe, ni ukuvuga nta vangura iryo ari yo ryose ryaba irishingiye ku gitsina, ku idini, ku bwoko, ku ivuko, ku mwuga cyangwa imibereho»⁵⁰.

Dukurikije Sitati za MRND zo ku itariki ya 29 Kamena 1973 zashyizweho na Kongere yayo, ingingo ya mbere ivugaga ko : «Hagiyeho ishyamba rimwe rukumbi rya poritiki ryitwa Muvoma Revorisiyoneri Nasiyonari iharanira Amajyambere». Ingingo

⁵⁰ Disikuru ya Perezida Yuvenali Habyarimana, tariki ya 04/07/1974

ya 2 ivuga imigambi Muvoma igamije: «guhuriza hamwe Abanyarwanda ngo barushaho kunoza imikore yabo muri poritiki; guhuza, kuvumbura no kongera imbaraga mu Banyarwanda kugira ngo biteze imbere mu mahoro n’ubumwe bakurikije gahunda yashyizweho na Manifesiti za Muvoma»⁵¹.

Ingingo ya 9 itegeka Umunyarwanda wese kuba umuyoboke wa M.R.N.D : «Buri Munyarwanda wese abaye ku burenganzira busesuye, umuyoboke wa Muvoma Revorisiyoneri Nasiyonari Iharanira Amajyambere. Yiswe mirita kandi agomba gukurikiza Sitati n’Amabwiriza ya Muvoma»⁵². Ingingo ya 7 y’Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1978 isobanura neza ko: “Ishyaka rya M.R.N.D ari ryo rwego rukumbi rwemerewe gukorerwamo poritiki, nta handi imirimo ya poritiki ishobora gukorerwa»⁵³.

Ibi birerekana ko hashingiwe kuri sitati za MRND no ku Itegeko nshinga ryashyizweho na Leta ya Yuvenari Habyarimana u Rwanda rwayoborwaga n’ubutegetsi bw’ishyaka rimwe kandi ry’igitugu. Ishyaka rya MRND ryari ryarahindutse Leta, Habyarimana yari abereye Perezida, akaba fondateri wa MRND, akayibera Minisitiri w’Intebe, Umuyobozi Mukuru w’Ingabo, Minisitiri w’Umutekano w’Igihugu na Perezida w’Inama Nkuru y’Ubucamanza. Byatumaga Perezida wa Repubulika akomatanya imirimo yose akanafatanya Ubutegetsi nyubahirizabikorwa n’ubutegetsi ngengamategeko. Iyo mikorere yari ibangamiye kugaragara neza k’ubwo butegetsi bushya.

Habyarimana agifata ubutegetsi yari yavuze ko igihugu kizongera kugendera ku Itegeko nshinga mu myaka itanu. Amaze kujyaho ategeshya amategeko teka, yagombaga gushyiraho Itegeko nshinga. Itegeko nshinga ryo ku wa 20 Ukuboza 1978 ryakozwe n’abahanga batatu, ari bo umujyanama mu by’amategeko wari mu bushinjacyaha, umujyanama mu by’amategeko muri MRND n’uwari umuyobozi wungirije mu Ishami ry’Amategeko muri Kaminuza y’u Rwanda. Ibikubiyemo bishingira cyane ku byari mu Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1962 kuko iryo Tegeko nshinga rishya ryagumijeho byinshi mu byari mu rya mbere rimaze kubihuza n’ibihe bishya bya poritiki. Abakoze iryo Tegeko nshinga bashingiye cyane ku mahame ngenderwaho yatanzwe na Perezida wa Repubulika na Komite Nkuru ya

⁵¹ Présidence du MRND, *op.cit.*, p.112

⁵² Ibidem, *op.cit.*, p.114

⁵³ Ibidem, *op.cit.*, p.112

MRND na Komisiyo ishinzwe ibya poritiki, ubutegets, inzego n'ubucamanza. Birashaka kuvuga ko uko ari bitatu icyo byakoze kwari ugushyira mu nyandiko ibyifuzo bya Perezida wa Repubulika⁵⁴.

Itegeko nshinga ryemewe na Kamarampaka yo mu Kuboza 1978. Iryo Tegeko nshinga ryateganyaga manda y'imyaka itanu ya Perezida : ashobora kongera gutorwa, ariko ntarenze manda ebyiri zikurikirana. Iryo tegeko nshinga ryateganyaga ko mu gihe perezida ataba agishoboye kurangiza inshingano ze byaba mu gihe gito cyangwa burundu yasimburwa by'agateganyo n'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa MRND, ko kandi mu gihe bombi baba bafite ikibabuza, perezidansi ya Repubulika yashingwa umwe mu bagize Komite Nkuru ya MRND watowe na bagenzi be. Kugira ngo hataba kugongana hagati ya Perezida wa Repubulika na perezida wa MRND, Itegeko nshinga ryo mu 1978 ryateganyaga ko Perezida wa MRND ari we wenyine uba kandida ku mwanya wa perezidansi ya Repubulika.

Itegeko nshinga rishya ryahaga ububasha bukomeye cyane MRND na Perezida wa Repubulika. M.R.N.D yari yashyizwe mu Itegeko nshinga. Inzego zayo zose zinjijye mu buzima bwa buri Munyarwanda n'ubw'igihugu.

Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1978 ryashyizeho ubutegets bushingiye kuri Perezida n'Urwego ngengamikorere bifite ingufu nyinshi ndetse rimwe na rimwe hakabonekamo ibintu bidasobanutse neza : ingingo ya 56 iha Perezida ububasha bwo kurinda Itegeko nshinga kandi ubusanzwe buhabwa Urukiko rushinzwe kurinda Itegeko nshinga. Byongeye, perezida wa Repubulika nta cyo abazwa n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko (CND). Ariko abaminisitiri n'abanyamabanga ba Leta babazwa ibyo bakora muri Guverinoma n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko. Birashaka kuvuga ko abadepite nta cyo bashobora kubaza perezida. Ni ba minisitiri bafite ibyo babazwa imbere y'abagize CND. Ku rundi ruhade ariko Perezida ashobora gusesa CND. Birumvikana ko n'iyi Perezida yari kuba afite ibyo ashobora kubazwa na CND, ntabwo CND yari kugira icyo itwara Perezida kuko abaminisitiri ubwabo bari abadepite bashyirwaho kandi bagakurwaho na Perezida, nta cyo rero bari gutwara shebuja.

⁵⁴ Nzaramyimana I., *Organisations des Pouvoirs constitutionnels au Rwanda. Approche des Constitutions de 1962, 1978 et 1991*, mémoire de licence en Administration Publique, Butare, septembre 1993, p.66

Perezida n'Ubutegetsu nshingamategeko byari bifatanye cyane n'Ubutegetsu nshingwamikorere. Ubucamanza bwari bufite intege nke mu nyungu z'Ubutegetsu nshingwamikorere, hamaze kuvanwaho Urukiko rw'Ikirenga. Ingingo ya 81, agaka ka 2 ivuga ko Perezida wa Repubulika ashinzwe kumenya ubwigenge bw'Ubucamanza.

Kubera izo ngingo zose, biragaragara ko MRND ari yo yari yarabaye Ishingiro ry'ubutegetsu, guhuriza hamwe ubutegetsu bikaba byari byarafashe intambwe iri hejuru ya demokarasi kandi gukomatanyaga ubutegetsu bikaba byari byarasimbuye kubutandukanya. Byasigaye ari imashini ikomeye y'ikwizabitekerezo ya fondateri (wa Muvoma) kugeza hose mu gihugu binyujijwe mu nzego kuva muri Kongere y'Igihugu bikanyura muri komite za perefegitura na kongere za komine kugeza mu nteko za segiteri no mu nteko na komite bya serire. Kugira ngo ikomeze ubutegetsu bwayo kandi yifatire igihugu, MRND yakoresheje mu butegetsu bwayo uburyo bubiri bwo guhuriza hamwe abaturage no kubifatira : gukoresha umuganda no gushyushya urugamba bitaga animasiyo, byombi kandi byaraturukaga kuri *salongo* na *sakayonsa* bya M.P.R. byo muri Zaire.

Umuganda na animasiyo byari ibikoresho bya poritiki byo kugenzura abaturage no kubahambira ku butegetsu. Muri animasiyo, Perezida fondateri yarasingizwaga, akaririmbwa, agahabwa ikuzo, akavugwa ibisingizo ngo: "Perezida fondateri, ramba, sugira, sagamba, tera imbere turagushyigikiye"⁵⁵. Byari umuhango wo gukuza ubuhangane bwa perezida.

Iyo poritiki yo kugenzura abaturage no gushaka kubiyegereza ntibyabyaye gusa abayoboke: mu wa 1980, habaye ubugambanyi burwanya ubutegetsu buyobowe na Majoro Rizinde na bagenzi be⁵⁶ bwashoboye kuvumburwa ku munota wa nyuma. Abari baburimo baciriwe urubanza mu Rukiko rw'ubujurire rwa Ruhengeri bahanishwa igihano cyo kwicwa, tariki ya 14 Nyakanga 1982.

Perezida Habyarimana yarabababariye ntibicwa ahubwo igihano cyabo gihindurwamo icyo gufungwa burundu. Rizinde na benshi muri bagenzi be bagumye mu buroko kugeza ku

⁵⁵ Nkunuzumwami E., *La tragédie rwandaise. Histoire et Perspectives*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1996, p.96

⁵⁶ "Urubanza rwa Lizinde na bagenzi be mu Ruhengeri", in *Imvaho*, no 395, yo ku wa 21-27 Nzeri 1981, pp.1-3

itariki ya 23 Mutarama 1991 ubwo uburoko bwafungurwaga n'igitero k'inkotanyi, Rizinde na Biseruka basanga abari bamaze kubabohozza.

Ubushake bwo kugerageza guhirika ubutegetsu byaburiyemo mu wa 1980 byabaye mu by'ukuri gushwanyuka k'ubumwe bukomeye bw'abari barahiritse ubutegetsu ku wa 5 Nyakanga 1973: abaturuka mu Majyaruguru y'igihugu (igice cy'Amajyaruguru cya Ruhengeri na perefegitura ya Gisenyi) muri rusange n'abaturuka mu karere ka Habyarimana by'umwihariko bari barikubiye imyanya myiza mu gihugu muri byose haba mu bikorera ku giti cyabo cyangwa abakora muri Leta⁵⁷.

5.2.2. Ingorane zifata intera ikomeye.

a. Iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere.

Kuri Repubulika ya I, Abatutsi mu gihugu ni bo bahezwaga bonyine, abayobozi bose b'Abahutu babyumvikanaho bihagije. Kuri Repubulika ya II hongeweho guhezwa kw'Abahutu baturuka mu turere two hagati n'Amagepfo y'u Rwanda⁵⁸. Iyo poritiki yahaga buri bwoko na buri karere umubare ntarengwa w'abagomba kubona imyanya mu mashuri no mu kazi ka Leta n'abikorera hakurikijwe umubare wabo mu baturage rusange. M.R.N.D yarushijeho kubikaza. Fondateri wa MRND, muri diskuru porogaramu yo ku itariki ya 1 Kanama 1973, no muri kongere ya M.R.N.D yo ku itariki ya 29 Kamena 1983, yaravuze ati : «birumvikana ko kwemerera abajya mu mashuri yose bizashingira ku miterere y'urubumbambaga nyarwanda mu bijyanye n'ubwoko n'uturere twarwo»⁵⁹.

Iyi poritiki y'«Iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere» yabuzaga ababishoboye kujya mu mashuri, mu ngabo, mu giporisi, mu myanya bifuza kandi bakwiye; yashyiraga ku ruhande Abatutsi n'Abahutu bo mu zindi perefegitura uretse iza Gisenyi na Ruhengeri.

Imbonerahamwe ikurikira irerekana irondakarere mu kwemerera abajya mu mashuri yisumbuye muri Nzeri 1989 muri buri perefegitura.

⁵⁷ Mushari F., Interviewé à Musanze, le 1er août 2007

⁵⁸ Nkuzumwami E., 1996, *op.cit.*, p99

⁵⁹ Idem, p.310

Imbonerahamwe ya 12: Iyemererwa mu mashuri yisumbuye ya Leta ukurikije buri perefegitura muri Nzeri 1989

Perefegitura	Imyanya yose yari ihari hakurikijwe umubare w'abaturage	Imyanya yatanzwe	Ikinyuranyo
Butare	836	696	-140
Byumba	722	662	-60
Cyangugu	461	443	-18
Gikongoro	514	466	-48
Gisenyi	649	1045	+396
Gitarama	836	792	-44
Kibungo	501	425	-76
Kibuye	468	412	-56
Kigali	970	1005	+35
Ruhengeri	736	747	+11
Byose hamwe	6.693	6693	442-442=0

Aho byavuye : Uwizeyimana L., *Octobre et Novembre 1990. Le Front Patriotique Rwandais à l'assaut du Mutara*, Edition Université nationale du Rwanda, Ruhengeri, 1992, p.83.

Perefegitura ya Gisenyi yari ifite abaturage bangana na 9,7% by'abaturage bose b'u Rwanda yahawe imyanya igera ku 15,61% mu mashuri. Kuva mu wa 1978 kugera mu wa 1990, perefegitura za Gisenyi, Kigali na Ruhengeri zahawe 51% y'ingengo y'imari yose yahawe za perefegitura ugereranije na 25% yahawe za perefegitura za Gikongoro, Kibuye, Cyangugu na Kibungo uko ari enye. Perefegitura ya Gisenyi ndetse n'iya Ruhengeri ku rwego ruto zikubiye imyanya y'ubuyobozi mu nzego bwite za Leta no mu bikorera. Mu bigo bya Leta, 50% by'imyanya y'ubuyobozi n'iby'inze nkuru yarimo abakomoka muri izo perefegitura. Imyanya yo muri diporomasi, iyo mu miryango yo muri aka karere n'imiryango mpuzamahanga na yo bari barayikubiye⁶⁰. Imikorere yo guheza bamwe hakoreshejwe iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere byafashwe nka poritiki nziza yo kurenganura abantu hasaranganywa ubukungu bw'igihugu ntawuryamiwe. Abasenyeri bo mu Rwanda bandikiye abakirisitu babo bagira bati : «Ntimuyobewe ko poritiki y'iringaniza mu kazi no mu mashuri igamije gukosora akarengane kateje imbere

⁶⁰ *Kinyamateka* no 1344, Gicurasi 1991

bamwe ariko kakaryamira abandi. Birumvikana ko bene iyo poritiki itashimisha bese, kandi itahita ibyara umusaruro itezweho ako kanya»⁶¹. Iyi poritiki y'ivangura ry'amoko n'uturere yazonze bikomeye Repubulika ya 2, yagawe cyane n'abatavuga rumwe na Leta bari mu Ishyirahamwe ry'ingufu zigamije guhindura ibintu ryaje gutuma MRND ivaho mu wa 1994.

b. Iterambere ry'ubukungu by'akanyuzo

Mu bukungu n'imibereho myiza, MRND yahisemo kudakurikiza «amatwara ya gikapitarisiti atagira rutangira cyangwa aya gikomunisiti aryamira uburenganzira no kwikorera bya buri wese»⁶². Muri urwo rwego rwo kwanga inzira zose z'ubuhezanguni, ubutegetsi bwashingiye kuri disikuru y'iterambere byifashishwaga nk'igikoresho kiza cyo kurenga amacakubiri ashingiyeye ku moko n'uturerere⁶³.

Imyaka ya 1974 kugeza mu wa 1982, yajyanye n'iterambere ry'ubukungu rikomeye rishingiye ku bintu bibiri by'ingenzi : ibiciro byifashe neza by'ibicuruzwa ngengabukungu bya kawa by'umwihariko no ku kwiyongera kw'imfashanyo zituruka hanze y'igihugu.

Ku buryo bufatika, izamuka ry'ubukungu ryashingiye ku kwiyongera kw'amafaranga yaturutse mu ikawa yagurishijwe hanze no ku kwiyongera kw'inkunga yavaga mu mahanga. Mu wa 1970, agaciro k'ikawa yacurujwe hanze kavuye hafi kuri miriyoni 20 z'amadorari y'Amanyamerika agera kuri miriyoni 100 z'amadorari mu wa 1979⁶⁴. icyo gihe ikawa yari igicuruzwa gifatwa nkaho nta cyagisimbura mu iterambere ry'u Rwanda kuko yari ifite uruhare rukomeye mu kuzanira abatwaga amafaranga.

Muri icyo gihe, kandi imfashanyo yavaga hanze yaba iy'ibihugu ku giti cyabyo cyangwa se ituruka mu bigega mpuzamahanga yarushijeho kwiyongera : yavuye kuri miriyoni 250 z'amadorari y'Amanyamerika mu wa 1970, igera kuri miriyoni 400 y'Amanyamerika mu wa 1980. Yavaga mu bihugu byinshi bitandukanye (u Budage, u Bubishi, u Bufaransa, u Busuwisi

⁶¹ SGCECR, *Lettres pastorales et autres déclarations des évêques catholiques du Rwanda*, Kigali, SGCECR, 1999, p.28

⁶² Présidence du M.R.N.D., *op.cit.*, p.57

⁶³ Hassen A., *Le désenchatement de la coopération. Enquête au Pays des mille coopérants*, Paris l'Harmattan, 1989, p.134

⁶⁴ Maton J., *Développement économique et social au Rwanda entre 1980 et 1993. Le dixième décile en face de l'Apocalypse*, Université de Gand, 1994

n’Amerika), kandi ikanaturuka mu miryango mpuzamahanga (Banki y’Isi, A.I.D, C.E.E, F.I.DA, n’iyindi).

Iryo terambere ryafashije gutangiza porogaramu z’ibikorwa remezo bitari byakozwe n’ubukoroni na Repubulika ya Mbere. Ni ko umugi wa Kigali wakuze ndetse n’indi migi. Ni ho imihanda ya kaburimbo yubatswe, serivisi y’amaposita n’itumanaho n’amazi biriyongera. Ndetse ifaranga ry’u Rwanda ryifashe neza n’umutekano mu gihugu byatumye u Rwanda rushobora gukurura mu gihugu ikawa y’ibihugu duturanye by’umwihariko iya Zaire na Uganda. Haje no kwisukiranya kw’imiryango mpuzamahanga n’itegamiye kuri Leta yatumye hatangwa akazi kenshi hanubakwa amazu atari make⁶⁵.

Iri terambere ariko ntiriyari rifashe. Mu mpera z’imyaka ya 1970-1980 hatangiye ingorane zagiye zikura mu myaka yakurikiyeho ya za 1980-1990. Ni uguhera cyanecyane mu myaka ya 1984-1986, ingorane zari zaratangiye zitoratoza, zatangiye gufata intera yageze ku gasongero kayo mu myaka ya 1990-1993 by’umwihariko.

Ingorane zatangijwe n’ubukungu bwashubiraga inyuma. Impamvu zishingiye ku byo hanze zari zarateye iterambere ry’ubukungu zasubiye inyuma bitewe n’inkunga yagabanutse n’ibiciro by’ibyoherezwa hanze bitangira kugwa kandi no mu gihugu imbere hatangiye kugaragara impamvu zikomeye zidindiza iterambere nk’umusaruro w’ubuhinzi ugenda uba muke kuri hegitari no kudashobora gukumira umuvuduko w’ubwiyongere bw’abaturage utari ufite rutangira. Ibyo byose byagize ingaruka mbi mu iterambere ry’ubukungu mu gihugu kuko byagabanije ingufu zo mu gihugu imbere.

Igabanuka ry’umutungo w’imbere mu gihugu ryateye inzara hirya no hino mu gihugu, rituma ibitumizwa hanze birushaho kwiyongera kandi ibyoherezwayo byo bigenda ahubwo bisubira inyuma bitewe n’ibiciro bibi by’ibyoherezwayo, iby’ikawa cyanecyane byari byaguye bikabije.

Ubukungu bw’igihugu bwajegajeze bitewe n’umutungo wacyo wagabanutse mu gihe ibyo gikeneye byarushagaho kwiyongera. Uko kujegajega mu bukungu byagaragariye mu bintu bitatu :

⁶⁵ Uwizeyimana L., in Willame J.-C., *Aux sources de l’hécatombe rwandaise*. Cahiers africains no 14, 1995

igihombo mu bucuruzi, igihombo mu biribwa n'igihombo mu ngengo y'imari ya Leta.

Kutagira ibicuruzwa bihagije byoherezwa hanze ngo bifashe mu guhaha ibitumizwayo byateye igihombo mu bucuruzi cyagiye kirushaho kwiyongera mu myaka ya 1980-1990.

Imbonerahamwe ya 13 : Ikinyuranyo mu bucuruzi bw'ibitumizwa hanze n'ibigurishwa hanze mu myaka ya 1980-1991

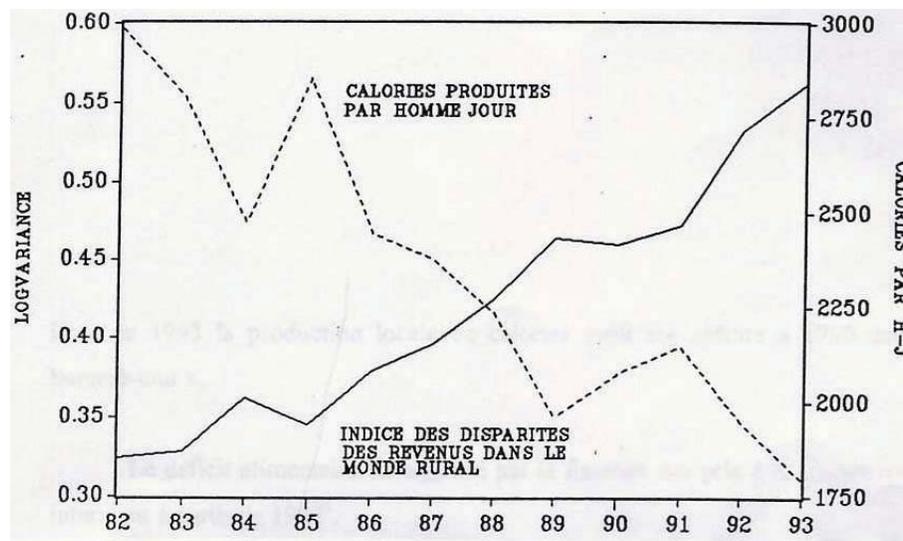
Imyaka	Ibitumizwa hanze	Ibyoherezwa hanze	Ikinyuranyo
1980	18.177	12.402	-5775
1981	19.230	10.521	-8.709
1982	19.929	10.069	-9.860
1983	18.646	11.706	-6.940
1984	19.786	14.455	-5331
1985	22.211	13.222	-8.989
1986	22.217	15.338	-7.379
1987	21.271	9.075	-12.196
1988	21.296	8.410	-12.886
1989	19.623	7.777	-11.846
1990	18.804	8.478	-10.326
1991	28.549	11971	-16.578

Aho byavuye: BNR, Statistiques économiques et financières n°11, septembre 1997.

Iyi mbonerahamwe irerekana ukuntu ibitumizwa hanze byagiye bihindagurika ariko bigenda birushaho kwiyongera. Imyaka byagiye bigabanukiraho igomba kuba ihura n'igihe ubuyobozi bwageragezaga guhuza ibitumizwa hanze n'ibyoherezwayo byakomezaga kugabanuka.

Nubwo ibiribwa byagiye bifata umwanya ukomeye mu bintu bitumizwa hanze, umusaruro w'ibihingwa ngandurarugo wagiye uba muke ku buryo ibiribwa muri rusange byajemo igihombo cyagendaga gikura muri iyo myaka yose. Igabanuka ry'ibivumbikisho bigenewe gutunga umubiri buri muni ryagiye rifata intera ku buryo ryagiye muni y'umurongo w'ibikenerwa mu myaka ya 1985-1986.

Igishushanyo cya 10: Uko ibivumbikisho umuntu akenera ku munsu byagiye byiyongera n'ukuntu ibyo abantu binjiza bigenda birutanwa mu cyaro (1982-1993)



Mu wa 1993 ibivumbikisho byavaga mu musaruro wo mu Rwanda byari byaragabanutse bigera ku 1790 ku muntu ku munsu. Igihombo mu biribwa cyatewe ahanini n'ibiciro by'ibiribwa byazamutse cyane byatangiye kuva mu mwaka wa 1987⁶⁶.

Muri iyo myaka cumi, amafaranga yinjira mu ngengo y'imari yabanje kuruta asohoka ariko yiyongeraga gato ugereranije nuko ayasohokaga yiyongeraga. Iryo gabanuka ryaterwaga cyanecyane n'igwa ry'ibiciro bya kawa n'igwa ry'agaciro k'ifaranga ryakomezaga kugabanuka. Mu mpera z'iyi myaka igihombo mu ngengo y'imari cyakomeje kwiyongera nk'uko bigaragazwa n'iyi mbonerahamwe ikurikira.

⁶⁶ Matton J., *op.cit.*

Imbonerahamwe ya 14: Ikinyuranyo mu mafaranga yinjira n'asohoka mu ngengo y'imari 1980-1992

Imyaka	Ayinjira	Asohoka	Ikinyuranyo
1980	12.975,0	7.192,0	5.783,0
1981	13.448,9	10.048,0	3360,9
1982	15.581,0	12.073,0	3.508,0
1983	15.784,0	11.411,4	4.372,6
1984	17.477,0	Nd	Nd
1985	21.061,0	Nd	Nd
1986	23.628,0	Nd	Nd
1987	18.133,4	Nd	Nd
1988	18.213,3	Nd	Nd
1989	19.162,7	Nd	Nd
1990	21.583,0	28.117,0	-6,534,0
1991	24.994,0	31.596,0	-6.602,0
1992	27.562,0	40.041,0	-12.449,0

Aho byavuye : BNR, Statistiques économiques et financières, n° 12, septembre 1998

Ibyo bihombo byagendaga birushaho kwiyongera byarakomeje biza kugera ku ndunduro mu wa 1994.

Intangiriro y'imyaka ya 1990, yaranzwe no kutongera umusaruro ahubwo ingufu zose zigashyirwa mu kongera ibigenerwa igisirikare. Iyo mikorere yaje kugira ingaruka zikomeye kuko yahise itera igabanuka ry'UMutungo Rusange w'Igihugu, ikongera n'umwenda wo hanze n'amafaranga yishyurwa ku mwenda kugeza igihe yarutiye amafaranga ava mu byoherezwa hanze.

Igihugu cyari kigeze aho kitagishoboye kwishyura imyenda yacyo. Ndetse guhera mu wa 1989, u Rwanda rwari rwarategetswe n'Ikigega k'Isi yose kujya muri gahunda yo kwizirika umukanda ngo rushobore kuvugurura ubukungu bwarwo ariko ntibyagize icyo bitanga kubera impamvu z'intambara.

Imbonerahamwe ya 15 : Ingengo y'Imari : kuva tariki ya 1/1/1982 kugeza kuri 31/12/1990

1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
-4.136	-4.885	-3.692	-5.986	-5.651	11.842	-7.795	-7.331	-101
-3,2	-3,4	-2,3	-3,4	-3,3	-6,9	-4,4	-4,2	-6
18,7	2,7	26,6	31,7	36,2	44,6	50,3	48,3	51,8
7,16	11,6	13,5	14,3	16,5	20,7	24,3	28,9	34,2
6,1	8,2	8,5	8,3	9,7	12,1	13,6	16,6	20,1
20,4	23,4	25,4	26,5	31,0	38,1	41,9	44,4	56,7
5,9	5,6	5,7	6,6	7,2	14,8	14,9	16,5	18,3
11,0	17,4	12,5	13,2	12,9	20,4	26,5	30,6	32,2
779	3.231	3.035	3.001	2.744	6.804	8.481	10.551	16.484

Aho byavuye: Ministère du Plan, Prévisions du Ministère du Plan antérieures aux événements d'octobre 1990.

c) Ingaruka z'ingorane mu bukungu

Kugera hagati y'imyaka ya 1980-1990, inkingi nini z'ubukungu bw'igihugu zari zigihagaze neza : ifaranga ryari ryifashe neza, ubwiyongere bw'Umutungo Rusange bwari 4,9% buri mwaka hagati ya 1965 na 1989, ibiciro ntibiyongeraga (byari muni ya 4% buri mwaka). Abaterankunga n'abari mu miryango itegamiye kuri Leta bari bariroshye mu Rwanda kandi barahashoye amafaranga menshi, bakeka ko bahabonye indiri y'amahoro n'aho bashobora kugeragereza ibyo bavugaga ko ari byo nkingi y'amajyambere. Bahabonaga urugero rutandukanye n'ibyakorwaga i Burundi. Hamwe wasangaga ubuyobozi butavuye kuri rubanda nyamwishi, handi ukahasanga rubanda nyamwinshi iri ku butegetsi n'ijambo amajyambere ari ryo riri ku isonga ry'ibivugwa⁶⁷.

Ihindira ry'abaterankunga n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta ryashobora kujijisha ko hari iterambere. Ariko ntikwari ukuri. Ahubwo inkunga zo hanze zari zarapfukiranye ibitekerezo byari guturuka mu benegihugu bari basigaye bameze nk'abana bategereje gusa gufashwa. Inkubiri abo baturage bakoresheje basenya bimwe muri ibyo bikorwa yerekana ko batigeze babifata nk'ibyabo. Abategamiye kuri Leta bishimiraga uko imishinga yabo yateraga imbere ariko ntibigeze bita ku mibereho mibi y'abaturge itasibaga gusubira inyuma⁶⁸.

⁶⁷ Hassen A., 1989, *op.cit* .

⁶⁸ Uvin P., 1998, *op.cit*.

Mu mpera za 1980, ubukene bw'abaturage bwari bwararenze ukwemera. Abakire bari barikubiye ubutaka bwiza bwo guhinga, inzara n'amapfa byari byarabaye urudaca. Komisiyo ya Leta (1990) yavugaga ko komini 54 zari zifite igihombo mu biribwa. Perefegitura zari zibabaye cyane zari Butare, Gikongoro na Kibuye. Hagati ya 1988 na 1990, umusaruro w'ibishyamba wari waragabanutseho 50% naho uw'ibitoke ari 30%. Urebye uko ibintu byari bimeze, nta gushidikanya ko u Rwanda rwari rwicariye ikirunga⁶⁹. Ibintu byari byaragiye birushaho kuba bibi, bitewe n'uruhurirane rw'ibibazo birimo porogaramu yo kwizirika umukanda (kugabanya agaciro k'ifaranga mu Gushyamba 1990, byongeye muri Kamena 1992), harimo n'ingaruka z'intambara n'ubusambo mu bucuruzi bw'abari ku ngoma. Akazu kari karikubiye ibishobora kuvamo inyungu byaba ibyo muri Leta cyangwa ibyo mu bikorera.

Ubukene bugenda bwiyongera bw'abaturage (cyanecyane urubyiruko), izamuka ry'ibiciro, ibura ry'ubutaka kandi abaturage barushaho kwiyongera (mu wa 1990 bari 285 kuri km² imwe kandi biyongeraho 3,5%, umugore afite uburumbuke by'abana 8,5), ibura aho rigana ry'ubuhinzi, gukura kw'imigi n'ibindi bibazo bishya byiyongeragaho, byateye ingorane zitashoboye kubonerwa igisubizo n'ubutegetsu bwariho. Leta yikomereje kuvuga disikuru isa n'umugani ivuga ko mu rubumbambaga nyarwanda abaturage bareshya. Yakoresheje ubukene bw'abaturage ibasezeranya ibintu byinshi (amafaranga, inka n'ubutaka bw'abaturanyi) ishaka kubahuriza hamwe imaze kubona ko inyungu zayo zimerewe nabi.

Nk'uko byari bimeze kuri Repubulika ya mbere, ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana bwagiye bwiyerekana nk'ingoma igenda iheza ibice bimwe kandi byinshi by'abaturage b'Abanyarwanda. Poritiki y'iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere yimakajwe n'ubwo butegetsu yabaye iyo guheza Abatutsi n'Abahutu b'ahandi mu gihugu uretse abo ku Gisenyi na Ruhengeri bagendaga bikubira ibyiza byose by'igihugu. Mu myaka ya za mirongo inani, ubutegetsu bwashyigaye mu maboko y'abakomoka mu Bushiru by'umwihariko abari bagize umuryango muto w'umugore wa Perezida (akazu) : uko kwikubira ubutegetsu byajyanaga kandi no kwifatira ubukungu bwose bw'igihugu byakorwaga n'ako

⁶⁹ Ni umwanzuro w'inyigo yatangajwe mbere gato y'intambara y'Ukwakira 1990, gusoma Bezy F., *Rwanda. Bilan socio-économique d'un régime*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1990, pp.54-56

gatsiko n'inshuti zako birosbye mu bucuruzi budasobanutse no muri ruswa by'abayobozi ba poritiki n'igisirikare.

Ubwo Inkotanyi zateraga zituruka mu majyaruguru y'igihugu, tariki ya Mbere Ukwakira 1990, u Rwanda rwari mu ngorane zikomeye mu by'ubukungu n'imibereho twavuze⁷⁰. Izo ngorane zari zarushijeho gukara kubera igwa ry'ibiciro by'ikawa kandi ari yo itanga 80% by'amafaranga y'ibigurishwa hanze. «Ingoma yari igeze mu marembera»⁷¹. icyo gihe kandi hari ibice binyuranye by'imiryango itegamiye kuri leta byari bitangiye kwamagana akarengane n'imikorere mibi, bashaka demokarasi.

Izo ngorane mu bukungu zari ikimenyetso ko inzira y'amajyambere ashingiye ku cyaro yakurikiwe n'ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana nta ho yaganishaga. Iyo nzira yahezaga abaturage ku misozi yabo ntibashobore kwiyungura ibitekerezo bishya. Kutagira icyo bamenya no kwemera gusa ibivuzwe n'abiyitaga «intiti» zavugaga ko zibavugira ariko mu by'ukuri zibakoresha icyo zishaka.

Byaje kugera aho isumbana mu mibereho, iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere n'igenzurirwa hafi ry'abaturage byarushijeho kurenza urugero ibijyanye n'hezwa no kuzana amacakubiri akomeye mu Bahutu ubwabo bo mu Majyaruguru. Ibyo ni byo byabanjirije ingorane za poritiki zo muri za 90 zaje guhitana ubutegetsi bwa M.R.N.D.

5.2.3. Ikibazo cy'impunzi z'abanyarwanda

Kuva mu wa 1959, Abatutsi ntibahungaga demokarasi nk'uko ikwizabitekerezo za Parmehutu zabivugaga, ahubwo bagombaga gukiza amagara yabo. Muri rusange bahungiraga muri za misiyoni, mu mashuri n'ahandi bashoboraga kubona ubuhungiro. Bamwe bahisemo kuva mu gihugu bakajya gushaka ubuhungiro mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda.

Nyuma gato y'imvururu za 1959, impunzi zari zinyanyagiye mu gihugu zateraga ipfunwe guverinoma y'Ababirigi kuko intumwa

⁷⁰ Chrétien J.-P., «La crise politique rwandaise», in *Génève-Afrique*, no 2, 1992, pp.121-140 ; Willame J.-C., «La panne rwandaise», in *La revue Nouvelle*, 1990, pp.59-66 ; Pabanel J.-P., «Bilan de la deuxième République rwandaise: du modèle de développement à la violence générale», in *Politique africaine*, 57, 1995, p.112-123 ; Hassen A., 1989, *op.cit.*

⁷¹ *La Libre Belgique*, 31 octobre -1er novembre 1989.

za Loni zari mu gihugu zaboraga izo mpunzi, kandi na Unar ikaba yaravugaga ko Ababirigi badashaka ko impunzi zisubira mu byazo. Ni cyo cyatumye Logiest akora uko ashoboye kose maze ateguka ko impunzi zigomba gusubira aho zaturutse nubwo zashoboraga kongera kwirukanwa. Impunzi zimwe «zitashakwagwa» kugaruka aho zabaga, bazishakiye ahandi zatura. Ndetse Leta yatanze imodoka ngo abashaka guhungira mu mahanga bageyo. Mu wa 1962, izo mpunzi zo hanze zari zimaze kuba 150.000 kandi uwo mubare wakomeje kwiyongera. Iyo poritiki yo kwirukana impunzi aho zari zahungiyeye yakorewe hose mu gihugu. Muri Werurwe 1962, impunzi zigera ku 78.000 zari zaramaze kuvanwa aho zari zarahungiyeye⁷².

Abari barashoboye gusubira iwabo ntibashoboye kongera gusubirana imitungo yabo, akenshi yabaga yarikubiye binyuranije n'amategeko na ba burugumesitiri n'amacuti yabo. Ni yo mpamvu iyo mitungo yateje amakimbirane n'imanza nyinshi⁷³. Mu wa 1966, Perezida Kayibanda yabujije impunzi kuburana ibyazo. Mu wa 1975, Perezida Habyarimana we yashyizeho itegeko rivuga ko imitungo y'Abatutsi bahunze isubiranwa na Leta. Abayobozi bakuru bari barayigaruriye ntibashakaga kuyasubiza.

Iteka impunzi zashatse kugaruka mu gihugu cyazo ariko bake cyane muri bo ni bo babishoboraga bamaze kunyura mu ngorane nyinshi zaterwaga n'inzego z'umutekano, iza perefegitura n'iza komini. Amabwiriza ya mbere ku itahuka ry'impunzi ni ayo mu wa 1966. Yavugaga impapuro impunzi itahutse igomba kuba ifite : indangamuntu, impapuro zatanzwe n'igihugu aturutsemo n'impapuro yahawe n'Umuryango Mpuzamahanga w'Impunzi (HCR). Kuri ibyo hiyongeragaho raporo yakozwe na perefefe kuri uwo muntu : igihe yaviriye mu Rwanda, ibihugu byo hanze yabayemo, abagize umuryango we, aho yinjiriye n'ibindi. Ni perefefe wamuhaga indangamuntu y'agateganyo, akamubwira n'aho agomba gutura. Uwahungukaga ntiyashoboraga kujya mu yindi Komini atabifitiye uruhusa rwa perefefe. Yakorerwaga raporo ya buri kwezi ku myitwarire ye, abamusura n'ibindi ikoherezwa na burugumesitiri kwa Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu no kuri Minisitiri w'Ingabo n'Abaporisi. Burugumesitiri yari anshinzwe kugenzura imiryango yakira impunzi kuko bene izo mpuzi zabaga zaje kunekera inyenzi nk'uko byemezwe na Minisitiri

⁷² Hakurikijwe *Imvaho* no 3

⁷³ Ibyo bibazo byavuzwe na A. Mugesera, *op.cit.*, pp.87-99

y'Ingabo. Nta kwizera na busa impunzi itahutse kwashobokaga. Impunzi zafatwaga nk'«abantu babi muri kamere yabo». Abari barahunze mu wa 1959 bo barushagaho kwitwa babi : hari uburutane mu bubu bw'impunzi⁷⁴. Ni yo mpamvu gucumbikira impunzi zitahutse byafatwaga nk'ikosa rikomeye ryo kuba ikitso cy'umwanzi. Nubwo hari uko kwishisha no kugenzura impunzi zitahutse, ntibyabuzaga ko hari Abanyarwanda benshi biharaga maze bakambuka imipaka bagemuriye abavandimwe babo, inshuti cyangwa abaturanyi, babaga mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda. Hari n'impunzi zizwi, cyanecyane muri Kivu y'amajyaruguru, zacumbikiraga abana b'Abahutu ngo bashobore kwiga amashuri yisumbuye (muri Zayire). Imipaka y'u Rwanda na Zayire na poritiki yo kwanga Abatutsi ya Repubulika zombi ntibyashoboye kvanaho umubano mwiza hagati y'Abahutu bo mu Rwanda n'impunzi z'Abatutsi. Nubwo Leta y'u Rwanda yari yarasabye kuva mu wa 1964 ko impunzi zituzwa mu bihugu byazakiriye, nta cyo yakoze ngo izibifashemo. Ahubwo poritiki yayo yabaye iyo kubateza ibibazo muri ibyo bihugu. Ba ambasaderi b'u Rwanda bari bafite inshingano zo guhora bagenzura impunzi mu bihugu zahungiyemo.

Mu wa 1973 ku gihe cya Repubulika ya 2, u Rwanda na Uganda byashyizeho komisiyo igamije gucyura impunzi zabaga Uganda. Iyo komisiyo yateraniye rimwe gusa i Kampala (kuva ku itariki ya 21 kugeza kuya 28 Nyakanga 1974) kuko bamwe mu bategetsi b'u Rwanda barwanyaga bivuye inyuma ko impunzi zitahuka. Amabwiriza yo ku itariki ya 25 Ukwakira 1973 yasubiyemo ayari asanzweho ajyanye n'itahuka ry'impunzi. Byose byategekwe na perefere na we agategekwe na Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi by'Igihugu. Agatabo katangajwe mu wa 1979 kavugaga ibigomba gukurikizwa ngo impunzi itahuke: yagombaga kwandika avuga ko yifuza gutahuka, iyo baruwa ikoherezwa mu Rwanda inyuze kuri HCR no kuri Leta imucumbikiye, u Rwanda rwagombaga kugira icyo ruvuga kuri iryo saba, igisubizo kikazagezwa ku wasabye binyuze kuri HCR na guverinoma imucumbikiye, uwangiwe yagombaga kuguma mu gihugu cy'ubuhungiro cyanga agashaka ikindi.

Hari impunzi zashakishwaga na guverinoma y'u Rwanda zafashwe zirafungwa zimwe ziricwa. Mu wa 1982, impunzi zigera ku 60.000 zoherejwe ku ngufu mu Rwanda na guverinoma ya Obote (wa Uganda). U Rwanda rwemeye gusa impunzi zigera ku 1.026 ruvuga ko ari zo zujuje ibya ngombwa byo kuba Abanyarwanda. Iyo migenzereze yatangaje impunzi ndetse n'abantu benshi mu Rwanda⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ Mugesera A., *op.cit.*, p.102

⁷⁵ Urugero ni muri Kinyamateka nos 1144-1145, Ukuboza 1982, p.5

Guverinoma y'i Kigali yatezaga amacakubiri mu mpunzi ubwazo cyangwa ikaziteranya n'abaturage bo mu bihugu zahungiyemo. Ni muri urwo rwego yashyigikiraga amashyirahamwe yarwanyaga Abatutsi mu bihugu bikikije u Rwanda, nka Magrivi⁷⁶ yo muri Kivu y'amajyaruguru n'Ishyirahamwe ry'Abahutu b'Abanyarwanda bo muri Uganda (Abanyarwanda-Bahutu Association).

Mu 1982, J. Habyarimana yagarutse ku kibazo k'impunzi ko zigomba gutuzwa aho ziri kuko u Rwanda rutuwe ijana ku ijana, ko rutagifite ubutaka zatuzwaho⁷⁷. Mu 1986, Komite nyobozi ya M.R.N.D yagarutse kuri icyo kibazo maze isaba ko impunzi zihabwa ubwenegihugu n'ibihugu zituyemo. Impunzi zimaze kubyanga ni bwo Leta y'u Rwanda yashyizeho "Komisiyo yihariye yiga ibibazo by'impunzi" Iyo komisiyo itanga raporo yayo ya mbere mu wa 1990 yiswe "U Rwanda n'ikibazo k'impunzi. Uko giteye, amateka yacyo, isesengura ryacyo n'inzira zo kukibonera igisubizo". Hatangwaga ibisubizo bibiri : gucyura impunzi no kuziha ubwenegihugu bw'ibihugu zirimo (gutuzwa aho zahungiyemo). Ku birebana no gucyura impunzi, raporo igira iti: «Guverinoma y'u Rwanda isanga gucyura impunzi ari cyo gisubizo kiza kuruta ibindi. Ariko gifite ingorane zo kubonera ikizatunga impunzi itahutse, byashakwa n'impunzi ubwayo cyangwa bigakorwa n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga⁷⁸. Ibi nta ho bitandukaniye n'ibyari byaratangajwe na MRND mu wa 1986 kuri icyo kibazo.

Kugeza mu wa 1990, abayobozi b'u Rwanda ntibari bagifata impunzi nk'Abanyarwanda⁷⁹. Guverinoma yababuzaga kugaruka mu gihugu cyabo, ikababuza n'amahoro aho bahungiyemo; yashakaga ko bakwicwa n'ubutindi bagashira burundu. Ni amasezerano y'Arusha yashyizweho umukono mu wa 1993 yashubije impunzi uburenganzira bwazo⁸⁰.

⁷⁶ Magrivi = Mutuelle des Agriculteurs des Virunga

⁷⁷ Interview dans Courrier-ACP, no 72, mars-avril 1982, p.16

⁷⁸ Rapport de la Commission spéciale sur les problèmes des émigrés Rwandais. *Le Rwanda et le problème de ses réfugiés. Contexte historique, analyse et voies de solution*, p.47

⁷⁹ *Le Soir* yo ku wa 4 Ukwakira 1990 isubira mu magambo ya Perezida Habyarimana ku kibazo k'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda ikagira iti : «Nta myanya dufite yo kubatuzza. Bari bakwiye gukurwaho izina impunzi maze bagashobora kubona ubwenegihugu bwa Uganda cyangwa bwa Zayire. Bashobora kujya baza mu Rwanda by'igihe gito, mu biruhuko bagasura imiryango yabo»

⁸⁰ Kuva hajyaho amasezerano ya Leta y'Ubumwe yo ku itariki ya 18 Nyakanga 1994, gutahuka kw'impunzi ni uburenganzira bwabo.

5.2.4. Gutangiza urugamba rw'intambara rwa F.P.R.- Inkotanyi : tariki ya Mbere Ukwakira 1990

a. Amavu n'amavuko y'urwo rugamba

Ikicro kirangiye kivuga amateka yo mu myaka ya 1950-1962 gitanga impamvu zose zerekana ukuntu kuva mu bukoroni bw'u Rwanda bwakozwe nabi nk'uko byagendekeye mu by'ukuri Afurika mbirigi yose muri rusange. Kuva mu bukoroni byatunguye abakoroni ubwabo bituma babihubukira maze baba babibye imbuto y'amakuba mu Burundi, Kongo n'u Rwanda babayemo. Irondabwoko ryibasiraga Abahutu mu gihe cy'ubukoronu ryasimbujwe irondabwoko ryibasira Abatutsi kuva mu myaka ya za 1950. Kuva Parmehutu icyaduka, ingeso nziza zose zitirirwaga Abatutsi zahindutse ingeso mbi naho ingeso mbi zose zitirirwaga Abahutu zihindurwa nziza, byitwa ko ari nyamwinshi yakandamijwe na ba gashakabuhake imyaka amagana n'amagana.

Ingaruka zatewe n'ubutegetsi bushingiye ku ngengabitekerezo y'ivangura zirazwi: habaye isenyuka ry'igihugu, iyangizwa ry'imitungo y'Abatutsi, ubwicanyi, ubuhunzi imbere n'inyuma y'igihugu. Imyitwarire kuri ako karengane yabaye gutegereza urwaje kw'abantu benshi, intambara y'inyenzi no kugerageza uburyo bwo kubaho mu butegetsi bushya mu Rwanda cyangwa mu bihugu by'ubuhungiro. Nubwo ishyaka rya Unar, igice cyo hanze, ryari rishyigikiwe n'ibihugu bitaratera imbere mu majyambere, ibihugu bigendera ku matwara ya gisosiyarisiti ndetse n'ibihugu by'Afurika n'Aziza, ryazimye mu wa 1965. Impunzi zitangira gutekereza indi mibereho: gushyiraho uburyo bwo kubaho, gushaka uko babaho mu buzima bw'ibihugu byabakiriye, gushaka uko babaho mu Rwanda, kwita ku burezi bw'abana babo no kureba uko u Rwanda n'ibihugu impunzi zibamo bigenda bihinduka.

Ni nyuma yo kuvoma amasomo mu byabaye byose, habaye gukanguka muri poritiki byaje gukomezwa no gushaka kongera kubona igihugu cyababyaye n'uburenganzira bwose bwemerewe buri muturage mu gihugu ke. Uko G. Prunier yabibonye ni byo: mu Banyarwanda bose b'impunzi, gukangukira umuco wabo byabanjirije gukangukira ibya poritiki. Mu myaka ya za 1970, hafi ya hose hari uruhurirane rw'amashyirahamwe y'umuco: umuco w'Abanyarwanda wahuzaga impunzi ariko nyuma byagiye

birushaho gukomera no kurushaho kubahuza no kubateramo “ikizere” ndetse haremwa amashyirahamwe y’umuco aho atabaga, batangira gukora ibitaramo, kuzenguruka hirya no hino, kwigisha abato indirimbo n’imbyino za kinyarwanda n’ibindi. Ibyo kwitangira umuco harimo gukumbura u Rwanda byaje kuba urubuga rwiza rwo gukangukira ibya poritiki no gushyigikira byimazeyo FPR mu rugamba rwayo rwo kwibohoza. Kwita ku bya poritiki byaje nyuma yuko gushaka kuba abenegihugu byaho bahungiyeye bifashe ubusa (muri Uganda ku butegetsi bwa Idi Amin no kwirukana impunzi nyinshi ku bwa Obote mu wa 1982; ubwenegihugu budafututse muri Zaire mu myaka ya 1980; itotezwa rihoraho ry’impunzi i Burundi uko Abatutsi b’Abarundi bagiraga ibibazo; kugaragara ko Umututsi mu Rwanda adafite uburenganzira nk’ubw’undi muturage ahubwo ahora abuzwa agaciro, anatotezwa. Ibyo byose byatumye abantu bakangukira ibya poritiki, hakaba impaka hagati y’inshuti cyangwa ababyeyi, hagenda havuka umutima wo guhuriza hamwe ingufu mu barebwaga bose n’uko guhezwa⁸¹.

Iryo kanguka muri poritiki ryabyaye Ishyirahamwe ryitwa Rwandese Alliance of National Unity (RANU): «Ishyirahamwe ry’Abanyarwanda mu Kubaka ubumwe bw’Igihugu», rihimbwe n’abasore b’impuguke bize Makerere (Uganda) bibazaga uko ubuzima bw’ababo buzamera mu gihe kiri imbere. Mu mwaka wa 1979, agatsiko k’impuguke kafashe ikemezo cyo gukora ibi bikurikira:

- 1) Gushinga urubuga (forum) abantu bahuriraho bakaganira ku bibazo byerekeye impunzi z’Abanyarwanda zinyanyagiye ku si yose kandi zitagira kivugira;
- 2) Gushyiraho agatsinda gashinzwe kunoza intego z’urwo rubuga. Impamvu y’itsindwa rya Unar ryazaga mu biganiro kenshi. Nubwo Ranu yari itandukaye na Unar, ariko iby’ingezi bya Unar yarabigumanye: ubumwe bw’Abanyarwanda no kwigenga k’u Rwanda. Iryo tsinda kandi ryigaga imiterere y’ubutegetsi bwo mu Rwanda n’ibisubizo bikwiye bwabonerwa. Intego za Ranu zari izi: Kurwanya ivangura rishingiye ku moko na poritiki igendera ku ngengabitekerezo y’amacakubiri ya Leta y’i Kigali ; Kurwanya agatsiko k’abategetsi bihariye umutungo

⁸¹ Prunier G., «L’Ouganda et le Front Patriotique Rwandais », in Guichaoua A. (ed.), *Enjeux nationaux et dynamiques régionales dans l’Afrique des Grands lacs*, Lille, Faculté des Sciences économiques et sociales, 1992, pp.43-49; Prunier G., «Eléments pour une histoire du Front Patriotique Rwandais», in *Politique Africaine*, no 51, 1993, pp.121-138.

w'igihugu; Gukangurira Abanyarwanda kumenya uburenganzira bwabo; Kubonera igisubizo gikwiye ikibazo k'impunzi; Kurwanya ubutegetsu buvangura kandi bw'igitugu bwa Kigali.

Umugambi ni ugukangurira Abanyarwanda bose bize bo mu Rwanda no mu mahanga guharanira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu matwara ya "Repubulika igendera kuri demokarasi n'amatwara ya gisosiyarisiti".

Ranu yashakaga ko buri wese yemera iyo migambi ku giti ke bitanyuze mu mashyirahamwe. Yatangiye buhorobuhoro kubikangurira Abanyarwanda no kubonana mu ibanga na za ambasade zimwe na zimwe ndetse no kohereza inyandiko mu Muryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA). Yari igamije gukangurira Umuryango mpuzamahanga ikibazo k'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda cyari cyaribagiranye mu by'ukuri uretse aho cyavugwaga hake. Inkunga y'imfashanyo zatanze zabaye nke: insinzi nini yavuyemo yabaye iyo kumvisha impamvu z'urugamba rwatangiye tariki ya Mbere Ukwakira 1990.

Inzego nkuru za Ranu zari: Kongere (yabaga buri myaka 2); Inteko rusange yabaga buri mwaka ; Komité z'Intara zabagaho kuva ku rw'ibanze kugera ku karere ukazagera ku rwego rukuru.

Ranu mu gushaka abayoboke yashyizeho umuco wo kurahiza abinjira kandi ibyemezo bigafatwa mu muco wa demokarasi: ibyemezo byafatwaga ku bwiganze bw'amajwi. Itangazamakuru yifashishaga ikanashaka abayoboke ryari: "Alliance" yaje gusimburwa na "Vanguard" mu wa 1987na yo yaje guhagarara mu wa 1990 intambara itangiye.

Ranu igitangira yibandaga ku Banyarwanda bize no ku Muryango mpuzamahanga. Uko igenda irushaho kwiga ibibazo, yageze aho yemeza ko inzira yo kuzakoresha intwari izakurikizwa, inabona ko kubumbira hamwe Abanyarwanda bose mu mugambi wayo ari ngombwa, ihereye ku mbaga y'impunzi mbere y'abize, inahitamo ko hagomba kubaho abakada bahoraho kandi bize bihagije bo kuyobora Umuryango no kuwukangurira abayoboke. Inzira y'intambara imaze kwemezwa, itotezwa ry'Abanyarwanda n'Abaganda bavuga Ikinyarwanda mu wa 1982 ryabaye intandaro ku basore b'Abanyarwanda yo gusanga inyeshyamba za Museveni ngo bahigire uburyo bazashobora kugaruka mu

Rwanda ku ruhembe rw'umuheto. Kuba muri izo nyeshyamba n'insinzi y'urugamba rwa Museveni byabaye intambwe ikomeye mu buzima bw'Umuryango. Ranu imaze kubona ko igizwe ahanini n'abantu b'inshuti kandi bize, yafashe ikemezo cyo guhinduka umuryango wa rubanda; imaze no kubona ko ikoresha abantu b'abakorerabushake ariko b'igihe gito kandi batize, yahisemo gushaka abahoraho bize, ikanakomeza kubahugura mbere yo kubaha inshingano zo gushaka abandi bayoboze no guhugura abandi bakada mu Rwanda no mu mahanga y'impunzi, no gukangura rubanda bahereye ku barenganye cyanecyane abo mu nkambi z'impunzi. Ni nyuma y'ibyo byose Ranu yahindutse FPR-Inkotanyi. Intebe y'Umuryango yimurirwa i Kampala (nyuma y'insinzi ya Museveni) aho kuba i Nairobi.

b. Gutangiza urugamba rw'intambara n'ingaruka zabyo

FPR-Inkotanyi imaze kujyaho muri kongere ya Ranu yo mu Kuboza 1987, imyiteguro y'intambara yarushijeho kwihuta: inzego z'Umuryango zirakomera, gahunda y'igihe gito, iy'igiciriritse n'igihe kirekire zirafutuka, ikerekezo na porogaramu poritiki birushaho kunoga (bihuza Abanyarwanda bose, ab'imbere n'inyuma y'igihugu, Abahutu, Abatutsi n'Abatwa) byose bishingiye ku isesengura ry'imiterere y'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali no muri aka Karere by'umwihariko ahari imiryango y'abavuga Ikinyarwanda n'Abanyarwanda⁸². FPR yanasesenguye neza ukuntu indi miryango yo kwibohoza yarwanye hirya no hino ku isi kandi kumenya imikorere ya NRM ya Museveni bituma idakora amakosa nk'ayari yarabonetse muri uwo muryango.

Kuba muri FPR harimo abakada babaye mu ishyamba muri NRM byarayifashije cyane: byatumye idahora mu magambo gusa, ikajya iteka yerekana neza intego zayo, n'ibyangombwa bikenewe ari abantu cyangwa ibintu mbere yo gushoza urugamba. Hifashishijwe inzego zari zaragiye hagati ya 1987 na 1990, FPR yari izi ko ishobora kwifashisha imbaga y'abantu benshi mu mpunzi mbere na mbere no mu Banyarwanda b'imbere buhorobuhoro ngo ishobore kubona abajya ku rugamba n'abatara inkunga urwo rugamba.

⁸² Guichaoua A. (éd), *Les crises politiques au Burundi et au Rwanda (1993-1994)*, Lille, Université des sciences et technologies de Lille, 1995; Monique Mass, Paris-Kigali, 1990-1994. *Lunettes coloniales, politiques du sabre et action humanitaire. Pour un génocide en Afrique*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1999; Prunier G., *Rwanda 1959-1994. Histoire d'un génocide*, Paris, Dagorno, 1995

Yari yarashoboye kumenya ahari inshuti, abatayitayeho n'abanzi. Nta n'umwe ariko washyigikiye FPR ku mugaragaro. Yagiye ibona inkunga y'abantu ku giti cyabo n'inshuti. Igikuru ku Muryago cyari ko Umuryango Mpuzamahanga wumva ko FPR irwanira ukuri kandi ko yahisemo gufata intwaro kubera ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali n'inshuti zabwo.

Impamvu zatumye FPR ishoza intambara zikubiye mu magambo avunaguye muri porogaramu poritiki ya FPR: ni ikibazo cyanecyane k'ironwabwoko (ryibasiye Abatutsi), amacakubiri y'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali, konona umutungo w'igihugu n'ikibazo k'impunzi guverinoma y'u Rwanda itashakaga kubonera igisubizo.

Kuba abasirikare bakuru b'Abanyarwanda baragize uruhare mu rugamba rw'intambara ya kinyeshyamba ya NRM no kuba nyuma y'insinzi yarwo barabaye mu nzego za gisirikare za Uganda byatumye bashobora kwinjiza mu gisirikare Abanyarwanda benshi. Intambara itangira mu wa 1990, FPR yari yizeye kuba ifite hafi abasirikare bageze ku 3000 bo mu nzego zitandukanye zabitowe.

Ni ku itariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990 mu gitondo, perotoni ebyiri za APR zateye ku mupaka wa Kagitumba ziwufata bitarukanije nyuma y'imirwano mito. Uwo munsu saa kumi, Generari Majoro Fred Rwigema yavuze ijamba imbere y'abasirikare bagera kuri 500 bari bahuriye hamwe ku butaka bw'u Rwanda. Abandi basirikare bari bavuye mu nkambi za gisirikare zinyuranye bari bakigenda bahurira ahantu hanyuranye ku mupaka w'u Rwanda. Intambara yo mu kigobe cya Golf yari imaze amezi 2 itangiye, iyo nshya itari yiteguwe na yo yahise imenyekana mu miryango mpuzamahanga.

c. Uko Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yabyifashemo.

Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yifashe nk'itunguwe n'icyo gitero kandi buri wese n'umuturage usanzwe yari azi ko impunzi zitegura gutera. Ingengabitekerezo y'ironwabwoko rirwanya Abatutsi yahise yongera kubura muri disikuru no mu itangazamakuru ry'u Rwanda; invugo yashyizwe imbere nuko ngo Inkotanyi ari inyenzi zo muri za 1960 ziyuburuye, zikaba zigizwe n'Abatutsi ba gashakabuhake batigeze bemera revorisiyo y'Abahutu yo mu wa 1959.

Igitero k'Inkotanyi cyatumye ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali buhita bwishora mu gikorwa cyo kumara abatavuga rumwe na yo, bumaze kurasa amasasu mu mugwi wa Kigali mu ijoro ry'uwa 4 na 5 Ukwakira 1990. Ubutegetsu bwavuze ko ari ibitero by'abanzi kandi mu by'ukuri ryari ikinamico ry'ibitero ryahaga abari ku ruhande rwa Perezida uburyo bwo gufata Abatutsi n'abandi batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu. Abantu bari hagati ya 7000 na 10000 barahagaritswe, barafungwa barengana. Ubwo buryo bwo gufata abantu bwarakoreshejwe n'ahandi mu gihugu (Kibirira, Mutara, Mukingo, Murambi, Bugesera...) aho Abatutsi bakubiswe, bagafungwa abandi bakicwa, kimwe n'abari baratinyutse kunenga ubutegetsu; biswe "abagambanyi" cyangwa "ibitso".

Nyuma, ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali bwatangiye urugamba rwa diporomasi ikomeye, by'umwihariko mu nshuti n'abanyaburayi no mu bamisiyoneri bigamije kwamagana ibyo bitero bya "ba gashakabuhake bashyigikiwe na Uganda", yafatwaga nkaho ari yo yateye. I Kigali bavugaga ko umwanzi ashigikiwe n'ibihugu bivugaga icyongereza n'Abongereza barwanya igihugu kivuga igifaransa. Ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali bwirinze kuvuga impamvu nkuru z'intambara zavugwaga na FPR.

c. Uko Umuryango mpuzamahanga wabyifashemo

Igihugu cya Uganda cyafatangwa nk'icyateye u Rwanda cyangwa se nk'umuterankunga utisubiraho wa FPR cyagumye guhakana muri rusange ibyo birego. Cyanze cyanecyane guterana amagambo n'ubushotoranyi bwa gisirikare bw'i Kigali. Ahubwo yagiye ikora uko ishoboye ngo habe ubwumvikane, yemera ko haba indorerezi z'abasirikare ba Loni ku mupaka w'u Rwanda, inakira abadepite b'Ubumwe bw'u Burayi bemeje mu myanzuro yabo ko Uganda ari umwere ku birego yaregwaga n'u Rwanda. Igihe cyose intambara yamaze, imyifatire ya Perezida Museveni ntiyari isobanutse. Igihe hibukwaga ku nshuro ya 10 jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, Museveni yatangaje ko nubwo hari ubugenzuzi bw'Umuryango mpuzamahanga, Uganda yagize uruhare mu guhagarika jenocide.

Zayire yahise yohereza ingabo gutabara ubutegetsu bwa Kigali. Ku mpamvu zitasobanutse neza, izo ngabo ntizatinze cyane mu Rwanda. Abasirikare b'Abazayirwa bari barafunzwe ni bo nyuma bafunguwe baje gutanga ubuhamya buvuga neza FPR: abantu

bazi neza impamvu barwanira, ingabo zifite disipurini kandi zifite umurongo zigenderaho. Umukuru w'ingabo z'Abazayirwa nubwo yari ku ruhande ruzirwanya, ntiyahwemye kurata inkotanyi kuko yari yarakomeje guhabwa icyubahiro kimukwiye. Bisa naho ayo makuru yatumye Perezida Mobutu arushaho kumva Inkotanyi.

U Bubirigi na bwo bwohereje abasirikare bashinzwe gucyura abaturage babo bifuzaga gutaha iwabo. Kugumisha abasirikare b'Ababirigi mu Rwanda byakuruye impaka nyinshi biza kugeza aho bazishubirije iwabo mu mpera z'ukwezi k'Ukwakira 1990. Ahubwo u Bubirigi bwagiye bukora za misiyo zo mu rwego rwo hejuru bwerekana ibikwiye gukorwa ariko ibyo ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali ntibwabyishimiraga: u Bubirigi bwavugaga ko Abanyarwanda ari bo bazikemurira ikibazo ubwabo kandi ko kubahuzza bikwiye gukorwa n'ibihugu by'abaturanyi n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika bikabifashwamo n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga. Nyuma ni iyo nama yaje gukurikizwa.

Iyo ntambara igitangira u Bufaransa, buhurujwe na Habyarimana gutabara igihugu kivuga igifaransa cyatewe na ba gashakabuhake bavuga icyongereza n'igihugu cy'amahanga, bwohereje mu Rwanda abasirikare (biswe akazina ka Noroit), ariko biruhije kumenya umubare wabo, bagumye mu Rwanda kugeza mu kwezi k'Ukuboza 1993. Abo basirikare baje biyongera ku bandi bari mu Rwanda mu rwego rw'ubutwererane mu bya gisirikare. Abasirikare b'Abafaransa bari muri urwo rwego bagumye mu Rwanda kugeza mu ntangiriro ya jenocide⁸³.

U Bufaransa bwatanze impamvu nyinshi zitandukanye zisobanura igituma ingabo zabwo zagumye mu Rwanda: Kurinda Abafaransa n'abandi banyamahanga; Kugira uruhare mu kuzana demokarasi mu Rwanda; Kurengera igihugu kivuga igifaransa; Kurengera Abahutu nyamwinshi batewe n'Abatutsi nyamuke, baje bava mu mahanga; Kudakorwa n'isoni imbere y'inshuti zayo z'Abanyafurika.

Nubwo batagiraga uruhare rugaragara mu mirwano nk'uko abasirikare bakuru b'Abafaransa babyivugira ubwabo, ariko abo

⁸³ Braeckman C., *Rwanda-Histoire d'un génocide*, Paris, Fayard, 1994, p.212. (abasirikare b'Abafaransa b'abajyanama bagumye mu Rwanda nyuma yuko abandi bataha, tariki ya 14 Mata 1994).

basirikare bateye inkunga ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda mu myumvire yabwo, Abafaransa kandi babahereye imyitozo abasirikare, babaha intwari banabigishiriza imitwe yitwara gisirikare.

Imiryango n'abantu ku giti cyabo b'Abafaransa n'abanyamahanga banenze rugikubita iyo nkunga Abafaransa bateraga ubutegetsu bw'ingoma y'igitugu n'ironde bwoko byavugwaga ku mugaragaro n'itangazamakuru ry'impehanguni n'abayobozi bakuru b'iyongoma ubwabo. Imaze kotswa igitutu n'abantu b'imihanda yose, by'umwihariko abaturage b'Abafaransa ubwabo, guverinoma y'Abafaransa, mu wa 1998, yashyizeho misiyo y'abadepte bashinzwe gushaka amakuru (mu mwanya wa misiyo y'abadepte yo gokora anketi) yakoze Raporo ihanaguraho icyaha icyo ari cyo cyose u Bufaransa «bwarezwe burengana».

Imyanzuro y'iyi raporo ntiyanyuze abantu. Inyandiko nyinshi, harimo n'amashusho n'ubuhamya byerekanye ko ukuri kose kutavuzwe mu bijyanye n'uruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu makuba u Rwanda rwagize. Byageze ku ndunduro mu wa 2004 (ku nshuro ya 10 hibukwa jenocide) ubwo hatangazwaga mu kwa gatatu 2004 igitabo cy'umufaransa Patrik de Saint-Exupery⁸⁴ n'ibindi, i Paris, cya Komisiyo y'anketi y'abaturage, byerekanaga ko Abafaransa bakeneye kumenya ukuri ku myitwarire y'igihugu cyabo mu mahano yabaye mu Rwanda. Iyo nkubiri yerekanye inyandiko nyinshi zakusanirijwe hamwe mu gitabo kiswe *L'horreur qui nous prend au visage. L'Etat français et le génocide au Rwanda*, Karthala, 2005⁸⁵.

Guverinoma y'u Rwanda na yo, ku ruhande rwayo, yashyizeho komisiyo yigenga ishinze gukusanyiriza hamwe ibimenyetso byerekana uruhare leta y'u Bufaransa yagize muri jenocide yo mu wa 1994, ni Komisiyo Mucyo, yitiriwe Perezida wayo, Jean de Dieu Mucyo. Mu wa 2007, iyi komisiyo yasohoye raporo – Raporo Mucyo - yageze ku myanzuro ishinze uruhare rukomeye rw'u Bufaransa mu gutegura no gukora jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ Saint-Exupery P., *L'inavouable-La France au Rwanda*, Paris, les Arènes.

⁸⁵ Twavuga ibitabo bitatu byanditswe mu rwego rwa "Commission d'enquête citoyenne : Coret L. (sous la direction de), *Rwanda 1994-2004 : des faits, des mots, des œuvres*, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2004 ; Coquio C., Rwanda. *Le réel et les récits*, Berlin, 2004 ; (G. de Pradelle, *Imprescriptible. L'implication française dans le génocide tutsi portée devant les tribunaux*, Paris, Arènes, 2005.

⁸⁶ République rwandaise, Rapport de la Commission nationale indépendante chargée de rassembler les preuves montrant l'implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide

d. Imikomerere y'intambara

Ku birebana na gahunda y'urugamba ubwarwo, urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema ku munsu wa kabiri w'imirwano, rwahungabanije byose. Gahunda yongeye kufata intera hongeye kujyaho Ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo bushya, ingabo zikongera kwisuganya Paul Kagame amaze kugaruka, imitere y'imirwanire igahindura isura, imirwanire isanzwe igasimburwa n'imirwanire ya kinyeshyamba ndetse hagashozwa ibirindiro by'imirwano bishya by'umwihariko icyo mu birunga, ni ho ibintu byongeye kugira ingufu mu ngabo za APR.

Urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema rwakurikiwe n'urwa Peter Bayingana na Chris Bunyenenzi nyuma y'ibyumweru bitatu zafashwe kenshi n'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali n'inshuti zabyo nk'ingaruka z'umwiryane mu ngabo za FPR. Ariko si ko byari bimeze.

Ihungabana rya APR ryatumye ingabo z'u Rwanda zifataniye n'izo muri Zaire ndetse zinashyigikiwe n'iz'Ababirigi n'Abafaransa zishobora gutsinda urugamba ku buryo ndetse Kigali yakoresheje ibirori mu gihugu hose byo kwishimira ko intambara irangiye. Hose habaye umuhango wo guhamba Rwigema, umwanzi w'u Rwanda, mu byishimo by'abaturage bose. Ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali bwabyitaga «Intambara y'Ukwakira» nk'aho intambara yarangiye burundu. Nyamara APR imaze kwisuganya yahise yongera gufata iya mbere mu gushoza ibitero birimo insinzi nk'icyo gufungura uburoko bwa Ruhengeri cyari gitinyutse kandi gitangaje.

Nyuma y'ingorane zakurikiye urupfu rwa Fred Rwigema, APR yabikuyemo isomo, itangira umurimo wo guhuza inzego za gisirikare n'iza gisiviri, yinjiza abacuruzi n'abashoramari n'abize bari bakenewe mu nzego zayo, ishyira ingufu mu mashuri ya poritiki, ishyiraho gahunda y'ingendo zo gusura ibirindiro, inarushaho gutanga amakuru ajyanye n'urugamba. Ibi Radiyo Muhabura yabigizemo uruhare runini, itangaza porogaramu za FPR, inyomoza ibyavuzwe n'itangazamukuru ryo mu Rwanda, ryaba irya Leta cyangwa iryigenga ribogamiye kuri Leta kandi ibyo rivuze bigasubirwamo n'itangazamukuru ryo hanze y'igihugu rishyigikiye Leta y'i Kigali.

FPR imaze kubona uko ibintu byari byifashe hanze, yakoze umurimo ukomeye wa diporomasi cyanecyane mu bihugu

perpétre au Rwanda en 1994, Kigali, 2007.

by' Afurika n'u Burayi. Kampala (ku bashakaga gusura urugamba), Buruseli na New York byagize akamaro gakomeye uko intambara yagendaga ikura. Uretse izo ntumwa zabaga zoherejwe henshi ku isi, FPR yakoresheje kandi inzego zari zagiyeho hafi ku isi yose nyuma y'itangira ry'intambara.

Abazungu b'inshuti za Habyarimana bageze aho bamwumvisha ko agomba gushakira igisubizo intambara u Rwanda rwarimo mu bihugu birukikije. Abaminisitiri batatu b'Ababirigi (Minisitiri w'Intebe, uw'Ububanyi n'Amahanga n'u Ingabo) bakomeje kuvuga ko baje mu Rwanda kubwira Abanyarwanda ko igisubizo k'ibibazo by'u Rwanda kiri mu Banyarwanda ubwabo. Hashize igihe kirekire Habyarimana yanga kubonana na FPR, kandi habaye inama nyinshi FPR itari yemerewe gutumirwamo. Ahubwo akenshi izo nama zigaga ikibazo k'impunzi kandi ubundi ari ikibazo kimwe mu bibazo byinshi biri muri porogaramu poritiki ya FPR. Mwanza (17 Ukwakira 1990), Gbadolit  (26 Ukwakira 1990), Zanzibar (17 Gashantare 1991), Dar-es-salam (19 Gashyantare 1991), Dar-es-salam (19 Gashyantare 1991). Izo nama zose zigaga ikibazo k'impunzi.

Nubwo Inyandiko shingiro yayo FPR yiyiheshaga uburenganzira bwo kujya muri izo nama, ariko hakaba nta n'imwe yashyizeho umukono, FPR yitabiraga izo yatumizwagamo zose. Yabaga ishaka kwerekana ko ifite ubushake no kuvugira muri izo nama uruhande ihagazeho kuko intumwa nyinshi zayibazaga icyo itekereza.

Amasezerano ya N'sele (Zayire) yo ku itariki ya 29 Werurwe 1991 ni yo yabaye aya mbere yashyizweho umukono hagati ya Leta y'u Rwanda na FPR-Inkotanyi. Hari ibintu bibiri ariko bigomba kuyavugwaho: abayashyizeho umukono ntibahuriye ku meza amwe cyangwa mu cyumba kimwe ngo bage impaka ku bikubiye muri ayo masezerano. Ayo masezerano nta n'icyo yamaze. U Rwanda na FPR byakomeje kuregana kuba buri wese atubahiriza ihagarikwa ry'intambara; bakitana bamwana mu kutubahiriza amasezerano bari bashyizeho umukono. Hakurikijwe ibyatangajwe na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga w'u Rwanda ageze i Kigali, amasezerano yasinyiwe i N'sele abaye nk'itsindwa rya FPR⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ Kureba Ijambo rya Perezida Habyarimana ryanyuze kuri Radio Rwanda tariki ya 29 Werurwe 1991, aho yavugaga ati: «Magingo aya, ku butaka bw'u Rwanda, nta mwanzi waduteye ukiharizwa. Nongeye gusubira mu byo nabwiye abafashe intwari maze bagatera u Rwanda, kandi nta cyo bizabagezaho, ko mbasaba kureka imirwano mu cyubahiro, nta cyo basize inyuma kandi nta rwango, maze bagashyira intwari hasi, bagataha mu Rwanda nta cyo bishisha. Ni muri urwo rwego twakubye inshuro ebyiri ahakirirwa abatahutse». Ageze ku kibuga k'indege i Kigali, Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahan-

Ni mu nama y'i Parisi yo ku itariki ya 6 n'ya 8 Kanama bwa mbere Leta y'u Rwanda na FPR zahuriye hamwe ngo zishyireho inkingi z'imishyikirano ya poritiki bahuriyeho bombi. U Rwanda n'u Bufaransa byifuzaga ko u Bufaransa buba umuhuza. FPR yanze icyo kifuzo kuko uretse ko n'u Bufaransa bwari bwarijanditse mu bibazo by'u Rwanda ariko ntiyanashakaga ko umuhuza aturuka mu bihugu by'abakoroni. U Rwanda rwasabye ko igihugu cya Senegali ari cyo kiba «umuhuza» kuko icyo gihe Perezida Diouf wa Senegali ari we wari na Perezida w'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika (OUA). FPR ihitamo ko hakwifashishwa ibihugu bituranye n'u Rwanda. Perezida Mobutu na Perezida Nyerere baba ari bo bemerwa kuba «Abahuza» no kuba «abayobozi b'imishyikirano». Ariko aya magambo ntiyigeze asobanurwa.

Imishyikirano yatangiye neza Arusha mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1992, iza kurangira tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993. Ni ngombwa kwibutsa ko icyo mishyikirano yabaga isunikwa cyane n'Umuryango mpuzamahanga kandi na FPR ubwayo yotsa igitutu cya gisirikare Leta y'u Rwanda.

Igihe k'imishyikirano, hakwibutswa ko yahurirwagamo n'abo bireba b'Abanyarwanda (Leta y'u Rwanda, abatavuga rumwe na yo ariko batafashe intwari na FPR) n'indorezezi z'abanyamahanga ba Leta zo muri aka akarere, ab'Umuryango w'Ubumwe by'Afurika, ab'u Bubirigi, u Bufaransa n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye.

Igihe k'Imishyikirano, Leta y'u Rwanda ntiyavugaga rumwe. Hari uruhande rwa MRND n'uruhande rwa Minisitiri w'Intebe n'abaminisitiri bava muri opozisiyo. MRND n'inze zayo zose zifite ubutegetsi yari yaragiye mu mishyikirano bya nyirarureshwa nk'uko bigaragazwa n'imvugo y'abayobozi bayo. Kazimiri Bizimungu, wari Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga mbere yuko hajyaho guverinoma iyobowe na Minisitiri w'Intebe uvuye muri opozisiyo, D. Nsengiyumva, yabwiye Perezida Habyarimana ko ubwo imishyikirano itangiye hakwiye koherezwayo abatekinisiye bo mu rwego rwo hasi rushoboka. Habyarimana ubwe yise Amasezerano ya Arusha «ibipapuro», banakoraga ibishoboka

ga wari umaze gushyira umukono ku masezerano yavuzwe, yatangiye radio y'Abafaransa RFI ko ingingo isaba ko abasirikare b'Abafaransa basubira iwabo nta shingiro ifite. Asubiza abanyamakuru bamubwiraga ko kugumisha abasirikare b'Abafaransa mu Rwanda ari ukwica amasezerano ya N'Sele, ambasaderi w'Abafaransa i Kigali yashubije ko u Bufaransa buticaga amasezerano ya N'Sele, kuko butayashyizeho umukono. Ku itariki ya 23 Mata 1991, Perezida Habyarimana yasuye ku mugaragaru u Bufaransa, ni ukuvuga nyuma y'isinywa ry'amasezerano ya N'Sele atari afite icyo amubwiye na busa we n'abamwakiriye.

byose ngo imishyikirano ye kugira icyo igeraho, nk'ukuntu abaminisitiri ba MRND basibaga inama za guverinoma zigomba gutangirwamo umurongo uzakurikizwa kuri buri ngingo izigwa mu mishyikirano, ibyo byose ni ibimenyetso bibyemeza. Intumwa za guverinoma ziyobowe na Boniface Ngurinzira, Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga zo zari zishyigikiye imishyikirano ngo intambara irangire.

Amashyaka wo muri opozisiyo idakoresha intwari yari ahuriye mu Ishyirahamwe ry'Ingufu za Demokarasi zigamije Guhindura ibintu, rigizwe na MDR, PL, PSD, PDC yabonye na FPR hatangira ibiganiro bishingiye kuri porogaramu poritiki zayo. Muri ayo mashyaka yo muri opozisiyo habonekagamo ibice bitatu. Hari abemeraga kwinjira muri porogaramu poritiki ya FPR naho bagira utwo bahinduramo duke. Hari ababonyaga ko bashobora kugira urwego bahuriraho na FPR ariko buri shyamba rikagumana indagakamere yaryo. Igice cya nyuma cyari kigizwe n'abatemeraga Habyarimana na MRND ariko ntibanemere na busa porogaramu za FPR. Icyo gice ni cyo cyaje kwifatanya na Hutu Power.

Ku birebana na FPR, imishyikirano yabaye intambwe y'ingirakamaro mu rugamba rwayo. Yakoresheje uburyo bwose ngo iyo mishyikirano igire icyo igeraho. Hari intumwa zayo zashyizweho ziyobowe na Pasiteri Bizimungu ngo zikurikirane iyo mishyikirano kuva igitangira kugeza ku ndunduro yayo. Bitewe n'ingingo zagombaga kwigwa, abandi bantu bongerwaga muri izo ntumwa. Kuri buri ngingo yagombaga kwigwa, urwego rukuru rwa FPR rwabanzaga kugisha inama abantu bayo banyanyagiye ku isi yose mbere yo gukora inyandiko itanga umurongo w'ibyo intumwa zayo zizatanga mu mishyikirano y'Arusha. Hari ubuhamba buhurirana bwemeza ko ari inyandiko ya FPR yashingirwagaho kenshi nk'inyandiko fatizo y'ibiganiro.

Ibiganiro by'Arusha byitabiriwe n'ibihugu byo muri aka karere, by'umwihariko u Burundi, Uganda, Tanzaniya yari umuhuza, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika n'u Bubishi, Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika, u Bufaransa, n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye. Nk'uko zimwe muri izo ndorererezi zitari zifite aho zibogamiye ni na ko izindi, by'umwihariko Abafaransa n'Ababirigi bitwaye kenshi nk'abajyanama b'intumwa z'u Rwanda cyanecyane abo ku ruhande rw'intagondwa. Intumwa z'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika n'iza Tanzaniya zagize uruhare rwiza cyane muri icyo mishyikirano.

Amasezerano y'Amahoro yashyizweho umukono tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993 yari umusozo w'imibonano myinshi yabaye kuva tariki ya 17 Ukwakira 1990. Ibigize ayo masezerano ni ibi bikurikira:

- I. Amasezerano yo guhagarika imirwano yashyiriweho umukono i N'Sele tariki ya 29 Werurwe 1991 hagati ya Repubulika y'u Rwanda na FPR nk'uko yahinduwe i Gbadolite tariki ya 16 Nzeri 1991 n'Arusha tariki ya 12 Nyakanga 1992.
- II. Porotokole y'Amasezerano hagati y'u Rwanda na FPR yerekeranye na Leta igendera ku mategeko yashyizweho Arusha tariki ya 18 Kanama 1992.
- III. Za porotokole z'Amasezerano hagati y'u Rwanda na FPR zerekeranye no gusangira ubutegetsu muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye yashyizweho umukono Arusha tariki ya 30 Ukwakira 1992 no ku itariki ya 9 Mutarama 1993
- IV. Porotokole y'Amasezerano hagati y'u Rwanda na FPR yerekeranye no gucyura impunzi no gutuza abakuwe mu byabo yashyizweho umukono Arusha tariki ya 9 Kamena 1993 ;
- V. Porotokole y'Amasezerano hagati y'u Rwanda na FPR irebana no gukora umutwe umwe w'ingabo zo bombi yashyiriweho umukono tariki ya 3 Kanama 1993 ;
- VI. Potokole y'Amasezerano hagati y'u Rwanda na FPR ku bibazo bitandukanye n'ingingo zisoza yashyizweho umukono tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993.

Kuri buri Porotokole yashyizweho umukono Arusha, habonekamo buri gihe itandukanirizo hagati ya FPR na MRND n'udushami twayo. Dore ingero eshatu:

Porotokole y'Amasezerano arebana no gushyiraho Leta igendera ku mategeko. Nubwo ayo masezerano yibanda ku kubahiriza ubuzima bw'ikiremwa muntu, bigaragara ko muri icyo gihe hari ubwicanyi bw'inshi bwibasiye abantu bubaziza ko bavutse ari Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe na Leta koko cyangwa babyitirirwa, hari imyigaragambyo n'ubwicanyi bushyigikiwe na Reta. Uko kutubahiriza amasezerano yashyizweho umukono, by'umwihariko uko kutubahiriza uburenganzira ku buzima, byatumye FPR yubura imirwano tariki ya 8/9 Gashyantare 1993. Nyuma yo kwihanangiriza ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali no gutangaho umugabo kenshi Umuryango mpuzamahanga ku marorerwa akorwa n'ubutegetsu, FPR yubuye imirwano. Ingaruka ya mbere

yabaye y'icyo kemezo cya FPR yabaye iyo kwerekana intege nke z'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Yanatumye Umuryango mpuzamahanga wamagana icyo gikorwa kubera kwita cyanecyane ku bubabare bw'abavanywe mu byabo bari mu nkengero z'umugi wa Kigali aho kwita ku marorerwa yakorwaga n'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Muri opozisiyo kandi hari abatangiye gutinya ko FPR nubwo yakoraga imishyikirano yaba ishaka gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu. Ikindi nuko u Bufaransa bwongeye gutabara Leta y'i Kigali bwohereza izindi ngabo zije kubuza ko Kigali yafatwa.

FPR yemera gusubira mu birindiro byayo bya mbere y'itariki ya 8/9 Gashyantare 1993 ikanasaba ko aho yari yafashe hahindurwa ahantu hatari abasirikare, hakagenzurwa n'abasirikare badafite aho babogamiye, yerekanye ko yari ishyingikiye imishyikirano. icya nyuma nuko nubwo Amasezerano yitaga cyane kuri demokarasi, MRND n'inshuti zayo bo byari ukuvuga ubwinshi cyangwa ubuke bw'ubwoko kavukire ikabyitiranya na demokarasi poritiki ishingiyeye ku bwinshi cyangwa ubuke bw'abasangiye ibitekerezo.

Amasezerano yo gusangira ubutegetsu muri guverinoma y'Inzibacyuho yaguye yerekena ko itumvikanwagaho kimwe. Ku bwa MRND, gusangira ubutegetsu na FPR byari uguha FPR imyanya yo mu rwego rwa Minisitiri muri guverinoma iyobowe na Minisitiri w'intebe, irimo n'abandi bava mu mashyamba atavugaga rumwe n'ubutegetsu bwa MRND. Ariko FPR si uko yumvaga ibyanditswe muri ayo Masezerano; yumvaga ko imiterere muri kamere y'ubutegetsu bwa MRND igomba guhinduka. MRND ntiyemeye ko, mu gihe k'inzibacyuho, Perezida agabanirizwa ububasha bugashyirwa muri guverinoma. FPR ntiyemeraga ko mu gihe k'inzibacyuho Perezida agumana ububasha bwinshi yemererwaga n'Itegeko nshinga ryariho icyo gihe.

Mu byagaragariraga mu masezerano yari yarashyizweho umukono, MRND n'abari kumwe na yo bari bafite amahirwe make yo guhagarika ibyemezo guverinoma yafata. Ni na cyo cyatumye bashakira kwinjira CDR mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko. FPR yanze CDR kuko kuri yo, ryari ishyamba ryatandukanyaga Abanyarwanda. Byatumye Perezida atangira kubiba amacakubiri mu buyobozi bw'Amashyamba. Yaje no kubigeraho.

Amasezerano agamije kurema umutwe umwe w'ingabo na yo yarimo ibitavugwagaho rumwe kandi bikomeye. Kuri MRND, guhuza ingabo zombi byagombaga kubahiriza iringaniza

ry'amoko mu Rwanda: kuri FPR, ingabo z'u Rwanda ntizari ingabo nyakuri kuko zicaga abaturage ubundi zishinzwe kurinda. Guhuza ingabo byagombaga guha uruhare runini ingabo za FPR. Ku byayo iringaniza ryahoraga rishyirwa imbere na MRND nta gaciro ryari rifite. Ayo masezerano yanenzwe cyane n'abari ku ruhande rw'ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali bemeraga ingengabitekerezo yabwo, bakumva ko ibyo FPR isaba bikabije. Itangazamakuru ryavuze ko Tewonesiti Bagosora wari na we mu mishyikirano yo guhuza ingabo yavuye Arusha yiyemeje kujya kumara abantu nk'ibyo ku "munsi w'imperuka".

Perezida Habyarimana n'abe, bamaze kunanirwa kuburizamo gushyira umukono ku Masezerano y'amahoro bakoze uko bashoboye ngo ishyirwa mu bikorwa ryayo rinanirane. Babanje kubifashwamo no gutinda gushyiraho ingabo za MINUAR⁸⁸. Ubundi yagombaga kuba yaragiyeho nyuma y'iminsi 37 amasezerano ashyizweho umukono tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993; ariko igice cyayo kinini cyagiyeho mu mpera z'Ugushyingo n'intangiriro z'Ukuboza 1993. Hagati aho Perezida yakomeje kubiba amacakubiri mu mashyaka ngo abone uko yongera umubare w'abazamushyigikira muri Guverinoma no mu Nteko Inshinga amategeko y'agateganyo. Gushaka kwemeza urutonde rw'abo ku ruhande rwe byafashe ubusa; perezida w'urukiko rushinzwe Itegeko nshinga, Yozefu Kavaruganda, wari wenyine ufite ububasha bw'abatanzwe n'amashyaka ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko bugomba kujya mu Nteko Inshinga Amategeko y'Agateganyo yagiye yanga kenshi urutonde rwakozwe ku buryo bufitse n'abari ku ruhande rwa Y. Habyarimana.

Habyarimana yagerageje kandi, nubwo amategeko atabimwemereraga bwose, kurahiza abadepite n'abaminisitiri. Imihango yo kurahira yateguwe n'abayobozi babifitiye ububasha yagiye iburiramo kuko imitwe yitwara nk'abasirikare yo ku ruhande rwa MRND/CDR yahagararaga imbere y'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko ngo ibuze kwinjira abo idashaka bagombaga kurahira.

Mu rwego rwo kuburizamo amasezerano y'Arusha bateze umutego imodoka zari zizanye abanyaporitiki ba FPR bagombaga kujya mu nzego z'inzibabacyuho. Ku bw'amahirwe, abo bantu bari batinze kuza i Kigali, umutego uhitana umusirikare umwe,

⁸⁸ Minuar ni ikigo cyashyizweho na Loni cyari gishinzwe umutekano mu Rwanda no kurinda imyubahirize by'amasezerano yasinyiwe Arusha ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993.

unakomeretsa undi. Habyarimana ni we wenyine warahiye tariki ya 5 Mutarama 1994. Ariko kugeza ku ndunduro yashoboye gukomeza kuburizamo irahira ry'izindi nzego zari ziteganijwe n'Amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha.

5.2.5 Kubangamira iterambere ry'amashyaka menshi

Imihindagurikire ya poritiki ku isi mu myaka ya za 1990 ntiyaretse u Rwanda. Nyuma y'ivugururwa rya demokarasi mu bihugu by'i Burayi bw'u Burasirazuba (ibihugu byahoze bishamikiye kuri Rusiya), Afurika ni yo yagezweho. Imyivumbagatanyo y'imbere mu gihugu yaharaniraga impinduka yiyongereyeho ko ibihugu by'i Burayi na byo byashakaga ko haba impinduka, by'umwihariko u Bufaransa na Leta Zunze ubumwe z'Amerika, imiryango mpuzamahanga n'ibigega bishingiye ku masezerano ya Bretton Woods byasabaga za Leta zariho kwemera amashyaka menshi, bitaba ibyo ntibyongere guhabwa imfashanyo. Perezida Habyarimana yabaye umwe mu bakuru b'ibihugu by'Afurika banze ayo mabwiriza yitwaje ko “*Amashyaka menshi atari ngombwa ngo habe demokarasi*”⁸⁹. Kwagura amarembo ya poritiki yabyemeye ku ngufu.

Mu gihugu imbere ku tariki ya 1 Nzeri 1990, “impuguke 33” zasabye ko habaho amashyaka menshi na demokarasi mu Rwanda, ariko ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali bubanza kwanga. Bumaze gushyirwaho igitutu n'abaturage ndetse n'ibihugu byo hanze, butangira kwagura amarembo ya poritiki bushyiraho “Komisiyo y'Igihugu igamije gukusanya ibitekerezo bya poritiki”. Ku itariki ya 5 Nyakanga 1990, Perezida Habyarimana atangaza ko igihugu kigiye kujya mu nzira ya demokarasi⁹⁰. Mu kwezi kwa Mbere 1991, Komisiyo itanga Umushinga w'amahame ya poritiki wafunguraga amarembo ya demokarasi y'amashyaka menshi. Kugira ngo bishoboke, Komisiyo ishira ahagaragara Umushinga w'Itegeko nshinga rishya ryemera amashyaka menshi, ritorwa n'Inama Nkuru y'Igihugu muri Kamena 1991.

Ikimenyetso kerekanye ko Perezida Habyarimana yatangiye guhinduka yemera amashyaka menshi cyagaragaye ku itariki ya 13 Ugushyingo 1990. icyo gihe ni ho yatangaje ko asaba Komisiyo kuba yarangije inyandiko izifashishwa mbere yuko

⁸⁹ Nsabimana A., “Le cas du Rwanda”, in *Tiers-Monde Afrique*, n° 363, octobre 1992, p.85

⁹⁰ Ni itangazo rya perezida no 1/90 ryo ku wa 24 Nzeri 1990 ryatangaje ku mugaragaro ishyingirwaho ry'iyi komisiyo

umwaka urangira, anavuga ko hazaba Kamarampaka ku Itegeko nshinga rishya tariki ya 15/11/1991 hamaze kuba ibiganiro ku rwego rw'igihugu. Ni muri urwo rwego yaboneyeho gusaba Abanyarwanda gushinga amashyaka menshi. Ishyaka PDC ni ryo ritavuga rumwe na Leta ryashinzwe bwa mbere tariki ya 16/11/1990. Ryakurikiwe n'andi mashyaka. Kugeza muri Nyakanga 1992, amashyaka yageraga kuri 17. Dore amazina y'amashyaka icyo gihe:

Imbonerahamwe ya 16: Ivuka n'iyemerwa ry'amashyaka ya poritiki mu Rwanda

Amashyaka	Itariki yashyizweho	Itariki yemereweho	Ikicaro cyayo
MRND	05/07/1991	31/07/1991	Kigali
MDR	01/07/1991	31/07/1991	kigali
PSD	01/07/1991	05/081991	Kigali
PDC	16/11/1990	10/08/1991	Kigali
PL	14/07/1991	10/081991	Kigali
PSR	09/09/1991	30/01/1991	Kigali
RTD	30/11/1991	.../11/1991	Kigali
PDI	30/11/1991	14/12/1991	Kigali
PECO	02/12/1991	14/12/1991	Kigali
PPJR	25/09/1991	10/01/1992	Kigali
PARERWA	20/12/1991	20/01/1992	Kigali
PADER	18/12/1991	20/01/1992	Byumba
PARTI	28/01/1992	11/03/1992	Kigali
DEMOCRATE			
CDR	16/03/1992	16/03/1992	Kigali
UDPR	?	20/06/1992	Kigali
MFBP	26/12/1991	24/06/1992	Kabuga
PRD	18/07/1992	-	-

Kubera igitutu yaterwaga n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na yo (MDR, PSD, PL na PDC), MRND yemeye kugirana na yo amasezerano y'ubwumvikane yatumye hajyaho guverinoma y'inzibacyuho tariki yo kuri 16 Mata 1992 (iyobowe na Dismas Nsengiyaremye). Nyuma yo gushidikanya kwinshi, kwa Habyarimana wari wakoze ibishoboka byose ngo iyo tariki itinde, hashobora kuvugwa ko habaye insinzi y'amashyaka ya opozisiyo benshi babonyemo ivuka ry'ubutegetsu bushingiye koko kuri demokarasi, ariko kwari ukutamenya uko ubutegetsu

bushingiye ku gitugu bukora. Mu magambo make, porogaramu ya guverinoma yari imaze kujyaho yari ishingiyeye ku ngingo zikurikira:

- Kugarura amahoro mu gihugu bivuye mu mishyikirano;
- Gushimangira umutekano mu gihugu;
- Kuvugurura imikorere mu buyobozi bwa Leta;
- Gukoresha ibiganiro bya politiki birebana n’Inama y’igihugu ;
- Kubyutsa ubukungu mu gihugu;
- Gukemura ikibazo by’impunzi;
- Gutegura amatora.

FPR yabonye iyo porogaramu ya Guverinoma irimo ibitekerezo byiza, «irimwo ubushake bwo gukemura ibibazo byinshi by’igihugu». Ariko yavuze ko D. Nsengiyaremye nta bubasha bwinshi bwokurangiza poritikiyeyari afite kuko ingufu nyinshizari zifitwe na J. Habyarimana mu «gipangu» Perezida wa Repubulika yari yarazitiye. Amashyaka yo muri opozisiyo ntiyari afite amajwi yo kwemeza icyo ashaka muri guverinoma. Kubera iyo mpamvu, ntiyashoboraga gufata ibyemezo ngo ibishyirishye mu bikorwa; kandi ntiyari ahagarariwe mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko. Ikindi nuko porogaramu ya D.Nsengiyaremye itashyiraga mu gaciro. Urugero nuko ikibazo k’impunzi n’icy’amahoro bitari gushobora gukemurwa mu mezi 12 nk’uko yabyemezaga⁹¹. Ibyo ariko FPR yavugaga ko yari yiteguye gukorana n’iyo guverinoma nshya.

Amashyaka amaze gushyirwa ku rubuga rwa poritiki yakoze uko ashoboye ngo yitandukanye na FPR. Mu ntangiriro kuvugana na FPR byabonwaga nk’ikosa rya poritiki, mbese nk’ubugambanyi. Ni muri urwo rwego, mbere yuko D. Nsengiyaremye aba Minisitiri w’Intebe na we yavugaga ko MDR idashobora kugira imishyikirano na FPR. Ishyaka PL ni ryo ryonyine ryitandukanije n’ayandi. Perezida waryo yarivugiye ati: «*Kuvugana si ukugambana.. ahubwo ni ugushakira ineza igihugu*»⁹². Andi mashyaka yaje kwibumbira mu cyo bitaga FDC yari afite ubwoba n’urwango kuri FPR, kimwe n’amashyaka yari mu butegetsi bigitangira.

Ariko, buhorobuhoro amashyaka yagiye yiyegereza FPR, mu cyo umuntuyakwita ubufatanye by’amayeriyo kwishakira uburyo bwo kugabanya ingufu z’ubutegetsi bwa Habyarimana no gukukana

⁹¹ Itangazo rya FPR ryo ku wa 17 Mata 1992

⁹² «Ntabwo kugirana imishyikirano ari ubugambanyi ... ahubwo ni ugushaka gukorera igihugu » (ikiganiro J. Mugenzi yagiranye n’umunyamakuru V. Nshimiyimana , s.d., s.l.).

ubutegets. FPR yari ifite ingufu za gisirikare ayo mashyaka yari akeneye kugira ngo ahangane n'ubutegets bwariho kandi yumvaga ko FPR izayakenera kubera amajwi menshi mu matora ashingiye ku moko, amatora aramutse abaye. Mu bitekerezo bya poritiki FPR n'ayo mashyaka byari bitandukanye cyane. Ariko mu rwego rwo gukora ibishoboka (« realpolitik »), hari ingingo ayo mashyaka na FPR byumvikanyeho cyanecyane igihe k'imishyikirano. Ndetse ukuntu Perezida Habyarimana yabyifashemo nabi byamuviriyemo no kwangwa n'amashyaka amwe yo muri opozisiyo yashoboraga ubundi kumushyigikira.

Ndetse amashyaka ya opozisiyo yatangiye kurushaho kwigirira ikizere, kuva amaze kwinjira muri guverinoma ya D. Nsengiyaremye. Ni cyo cyumvikanisha ukuntu ayo mashyaka ya MDR, PSD na PL yiyemeje guhurira na FPR i Buruseri ku itariki ya 1 Kamena 1992: Uko guhura byabaye «igikorwa mu mateka cyari kigamije kunga Abanyarwanda ubwabo»⁹³. Iyo mibonano irangiye ayo mashyaka yavuze ko «yemeye imigambi ya FPR ariko ko itemeranijwe na yo uburyo bwo kuyigeraho. Turarwanya umwanzi umwe nubwo uburyo dukoresha atari bumwe»⁹⁴.

MRND, yanze kujya muri uwo mubonano, ndetse igihe wariho uba, abantu babiri bo mu Itsinda rigena umurongo ngenderwaho wa poritiki ya MDR, Karamira na J.-M. Nkezabera bahamagaje abanyamakuru i Buruseri bababwira ko batemeye ibyo bagenzi babo, Bagaragaza na Twagiramungu, bemeranije na FPR.

J. Habyarimana yakoze uko ashoboye kose ngo umubonano wa FPR n'andi mashyaka uburiremo maze amasezerano ya Arusha abure icyo ageraho, yakomeje kubuza ko igihugu cyayoborwa neza agendera kuri poritiki y'amacakubiri ya Parmehutu. Ishyaka rya CDR ryashyiriweho icyo. Umugambi waryo wo guhagarika akazi ako ari ko kose mu gihugu ntushidikanywa.

Iyo poritiki yo kurwanya ibyakorwaga yagezweho kuko guverinoma yagiye itakaza ingufu uko intambara yagendaga itinda bishingiye ku bikorwa bya MRND n'ibya CDR no ku mikorere itanoze ya Opozisiyo. Urugero : nko gushaka kwirukana ku buryo bunyuranije n'amategeko MRND mu buyobozi bw'ibanze, ari byo

⁹³ Ibaruwa igenewe Perezida, 17 Ukwakira 1992

⁹⁴ Itangazo rikurikira inama y'i Buruseri hagati ya FPR n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegets, tariki ya 1 Kamena 1992

«kubohoza»⁹⁵, n'amatwara yo kutumvira ubuyobozi ari na byo bisobanura impamu ivugururwa ry'ubuyobozi ryakorwaga na guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye nta cyo bwashoboye kugeraho. Ni icyo gihe CDR yigambye ko guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye nta cyo yagezeho mu minsi 100 imaze ikora⁹⁶. Yavuze ko iyo guverinoma nta cyo yagezeho kubera abayigize; ngo yanze gushyiramo andi mashyaka harimo na CDR ngo ahubwo ihitamo ibyitso by'umwanzi (FPR), by'umwihariko yitaga ishami rya FPR ndetse ivuga ko hari uturere tutagiraga uduhagarariye muri guverinoma nk'akarere ka Kibuye. Guverinoma yerekanye ubwumvikane buke buyirimo : ntabwo abayigize bakoranaga hagati yabo kuko buri minisitiri yakoreraga ishyaka rye.

CDR yavugaga kandi ko guverinoma yerekana ubushobozi buke mu kurangiza porogaramu yayo⁹⁷. Guverinoma ya D. Nsengiyaremye yagambaniye Abahutu: «Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye iriho iratugambanira»⁹⁸. MRND na yo ivuga ku byagezweho n'iyi guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye ni ko yavugaga: « Inzibacyuho yateje icyuho aho kugisiba». Ndetse na Twagiramungu yavugaga ko iyo Guverinoma yabavaniyeho ikizere, ati «Minisitiri w'Intebe ntiyashoboye kuyoborera hamwe ikipe yo muri guverinoma. Aho kwegura cyangwa se ngo asabe abaturage bo mu mashyaka arwanya MRND kumwotsa igitutu, yahugiye mu kwandikirana amabaruwa na Perezida wa

⁹⁵ Muri perefegitura ya Gikongoro, amakomini ya Nshiri (Burugumesitiri wanzwe muri Gicurasi 1992), Kivu, Mubuga muri superefegitura Munini aho superefe Biniga adashakwa n'igice kimwe cy'abaturage. Muri perefegitura ya Butare, amakomini ya Nyakizu, Kigembe (Amazu 40 yasenye n'abaturage batashakaga burugumesitiri wa MRND bashinjaga kubogama; abakonseye n'abaturage barahagaritswe. Muri perefegitura ya Kigari Ngari, amakomini Ngenda na Gashora yabayemo ibintu nk'ibi. Ni kimwe no muri perefegitura ya Kibungo, mu makomini ya Sake, muri perefegitura ya Cyangugu, amakomini ya Gatare, Kagano, Kirambo. Muri perefegitura ya Kibuye, amakomini ya Rwamatamu, Gishoma; muri perefegitura Ruhengeri, Murego D. yakangishije «kubohoza amakomini akagira demokarasi» (Kanama 1992).

⁹⁶ CDR, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho imaze iminsi ijana n'ibiri, s.d., s.l.

⁹⁷ Muri iryo tangazo CDR yemeza ko ivugurura mu butegetsi ryatangijwe na guverinoma rikandamiza Abahutu kuko hari Abatutsi 50% mu nzego za Leta kandi basanzwe ari 9% by'abaturage : imyanya itangwa hakurikijwe amashyaka barimo aho gukurikiza ubushobozi : guverinoma «ifata abakozi bakuru ba Leta ibasimbuza Abatutsi, abenshi bakorerwa inkotanyi, ndetse bamwe bakaba barafungirwe kuba ibyitso) (Itangazo, no 2, 21/7/1992: iri tangazo ritanga urutonde rw'abo Batutsi baheruka guhabwa imyanya 44,6% by'imyanya yo hejuru). Hari n'abapadiri bavugaga ibisa n'ibi: «turasaba abategetsi kudatiza umurindi umwanzi bagabanya ingufu za Leta, mu kwirukana bya huti huti abayobozi akenshi bahorwa ibitekerezo byabo»(Ibaruwa y'abo bapadiri 15 igenewe Papa yo ku itariki 5 Werurwe 1993)

⁹⁸ «Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye iratugambanira» (Itangazo, n° 2, ku buryo burambuye) (itangazo) rigenewe Abahutu bose», 21 Nyakanga 1992).

Repubulika, bigatera guverinoma kurushaho gucikamo ibice. Guverinoma yaretse kuba iy'inzibacyuho ahubwo ihinduka guverinoma yo guhangana»⁹⁹

Indi ntwaro J. Habyarimana yakoresheje ngo ace intege amashyaka atavuga rumwe na we yabaye gucama ibice amashyaka PL na MDR abishingiye ku moko n'akarere. Mu mitekerereze y'abashinze PL, imwe mu ntego z'iryo shyaka yari ukurenga imikorere igendera ku moko cyangwa ku turere¹⁰⁰. Agatsiko k'abayitangiye kari kagizwe n'Abahutu gusa bashatse gushyiramo n'Abatutsi. Umugambi w'uburinganire wa PL wahise ukurura Abatutsi bashakaga ishyaka rya poritiki rikinguye kandi ritavangura¹⁰¹. Kwitirirwa «abatutsi » by'ishyaka PL ntibyashimishije Abahutu bamwe bo muri iryo shyaka bituma havuka ibibazo mu bayobozi baryo bari batangiye kugwa mu mutego w'iringaniza rya MRND! Ibi byagaragaye cyanecyane mu ishyirwa mu myanya ry'abakozi muri za minisiteri zari zifitwe n'ishyaka PL. Gushingira ku bushobozi byazaga kure nyuma yo gushingira ku ivuko n'ubwoko by'umukandida¹⁰². Intara y'Amajyaruguru yakomeje kutizera ibitekerezo byo kwishyira ukizana bya PL. Abakomoka muri iyo ntara ntibashakaga kujya mu mirimo ya PL. Barwanaga ishyaka rya nyirarureshwa.

Kuri ibyo bibazo bishingiye ku bwoko n'uturere, muri PL hiyongeragamo ibindi yari yifitiye : kubura ubuyobozi bituma ibyemezo bifatwa bihubukiwe (komite nyobozi yari muri guverinoma bigatuma idakurikirana ibibazo by'ishyaka), kutagira intego ihamye : ibintu bitobito ni byo byafataga ingufu nyinshi kurusha iby'ingenzi, gucunga umutungo bitanyuze mu mucyo, za mitingi zimeze nk'ikinamico kurusha kwegera abantu bake bazashyigikira amatora, imibanire idasobanutse ya PL n'andi mashyaka yo muri opozisiyo na FPR. Ubwumvikane buke muri PL bwafashe intera nini igihe cyo gushyiraho abadepite mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho¹⁰³ L. Ndasingwa (Lando) yiyamamaje kuzaba Perezida wa ANT kandi Prezida wa PL yarashakaga gushyiraho undi witwa Bayigamba Adalbert. Kugira ngo icyo kibazo gikemurwe, agace ka Lando kasabye ko

⁹⁹ Twagiramungu F., 1993, *op.cit.*, p.3.

¹⁰⁰ Kameya A., Mémoire sur le Parti Libéral, 5 septembre 1992, p.2.

¹⁰¹ imikono ya mbere yashyizweho kuva tariki 14 Nyakanga 1991

¹⁰² Kameya A., 1992, *op.cit.*, p.2.

¹⁰³ Ibaruwa ya Perezida igenewe Landuald Ndasingwa, Tariki 2 Nzeri 1993 n'igisubizo cyatanze n'agatsiko k'uyu kuri perezida, tariki 3 Nzeri 1993

hatumizwa Kongere ya PL (abayigize bo mu nzego za perefegitura) -kuko ari yo igenewe gukemura ibibazo bikomeye by'mashyaka-ngo itoranye abakandida minisitiri n'abazajya mu nzego za poritiki¹⁰⁴. Perezida wa PL ntiyahamagaza iyo Kongere kuko atashakaga ko iba.

Amacakubiri muri MDR yatangiye igihe yagombaga kwitoramo uzaba Minisitiri w'Intebe muri guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye. Kandidatire ya Nsengiyaremye yatanzwe na Biro Poritiki ya MDR (tariki ya 4 Mata 1993) yemezwa ku mugaragaro na Perezida wa Repubulika ayishyikiriza guverinoma (tariki ya 10 Kamena 1993). Inama y'abaminisitiri isuzuma iyo kandidatire ya Nsengiyaremye ku itariki ya 22 Kamena 1993, ntiyemerwa n'abaminisitiri bava mu mashyaka ya MRND, PSD na PL. Perezida wa Repubulika asaba ishyaka rya MDR gutanga indi kandidatire. Biro poritiki ya MDR yongera gutanga kandidatire ya Nsengiyaremye (24 Kamena 1993). Hagati aho Nsengiyaremye yikoma F. Twagiramungu wari Perezida wa MDR avuga ko ari we utuma atemerwa. Perezida wa Repubulika yongeye gusaba ishyaka MDR gutanga umukandida waryo ariko arisaba kudasubira gutanga kandidatire ya Nsengiyaremye¹⁰⁵. Inama y'abaminisitiri yongera kwanga kandidatire ya Nsengiyaremye¹⁰⁶. Biro poritiki bya MDR na yo yanga kuva ku izima¹⁰⁷. F. Twagiramungu yitandukanya n'uko kunangira kwa Biro poritiki. Perezida wa Repubulika atumiza amashyaka atanu (tariki ya 15 Nyakanga 1993) ngo asuzume ukuntu guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yakomeza gukora. Amashyaka asaba ko kugira ngo guverinoma ishobore gukora, MDR igomba gutanga undi mukandida wayobora guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye.

F. Twagiramungu yirengagiza ikemezo cya Biro poritiki k'ishyaka rye, atanga kandidatire ya Mme Agathe Uwiringiyimana ngo abe ari we uba Minisitiri w'Intebe¹⁰⁸. Kandidatire ya A. Uwiringiyimana yakirwa na Perezida wa Repubulika ndetse arayihamya¹⁰⁹. Manda y'iyi guverinoma yari iy'amezi 3. Ni muri ubwo buryo agace ka F. Twagiramungu katsinze intambara y'ihitamo rya Minisitiri w'Intebe ariko amakimbirane muri MDR yo ajya ku mugaragaro: hagati ya F. Twagiramungu n'igice kigizwe n'intagondwa ziyobowe

¹⁰⁴ itangazo ryo ku itariki 19 Nzeri 1993.

¹⁰⁵ Ibaruwa ya Perezida wa Repubulika tariki 28 Kamena 1993

¹⁰⁶ Inama y'abaminisitiri yo ku itariki 8 Nyakanga 1993

¹⁰⁷ Inama y'amashyaka yo ku wa 12 Nyakanga 1993

¹⁰⁸ Mu nama y'amashyaka kuwa 16 Nyakanga 1993

¹⁰⁹ Iteka rya perezida n° 326/01 na 327/01.

na D. Murego (Umunyamabanga mukuru), F. Karamira na Nsengiyaremye (visi Perezida wa mbere)¹¹⁰.

Agace k'intagondwa za MDR kahamagaje kongere idasanzwe ku itariki ya 23 na 24 Nyakanga 1993 ku Kabusunzu! Muri icyo kongere, F. Twagiramungu na Mme A. Uwiringiyimana birukanwa mu ishyamba ryabo. Ni icyo gihe izo ntagondwa za MDR zatangiye kwifatanya n'ishyamba CDR. Abantu bagaragaje kunga utwo duce twa MDR, cyanecyane abanyamadini, ariko birananirana kubera ubutava ku izima bw'utwo duce twombi¹¹¹.

5.2.6 Imvururu n'umutekano muke nk'intwari ya poritiki

Mu micungire y'intambara n'ingaruka zayo, ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana bwitaye cyanecyane kurengera abari ku butegetsu kurusha kurengera abaturage muri rusange. Twabibonye mbere, igihe FPR iteye tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Habyarimana yabyiririyeho ahagarika abantu benshi ku buryo budakurikije amategeko avugako ari ibyitso bya FPR, atangira mu nyungu ze gukoresha politiki y'amako n'iyi kubeshyera amashyamba atavugako rumwe n'irye. Abenshi mu bafashwe icyo gihe barekuwe muri Werurwe 1991, kubera kotswa igitutu n'amahanga n'imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu yakoreraga mu gihugu. M. Sylvestre Nsanzimana wari Minisitiri w'Ubutabera icyo gihe, yabagize abere, naho abari ibyegera bya Habyarimana bakavugako bahawe imbabazi n'umubyeyi.

Nyuma y'umukwabu wo mu Kwakira 1990 wakorewe abantu, nta musirikari, umujandarume cyangwa umuporisi wigeze uhanirwa kuba yarishe abantu urubozo cyangwa kuba yarabakoreye ibikorwa bitesha agaciro imfungwa cyangwa undi wakekwagaho icyaha. Igihe abantu bahagarikwaga, Minisitiri w'Ubutabera w'icyo gihe yavuze ko "ubwicanyi bwatewe n'ubushotoranyi bw'abatutsi n'ubwoba bwateye abaturage"¹¹². Mu bantu bahagaritswe mu Kwakira 1990, 25 baciriwe urubanza n'Urukiko Rukuru rwa Leta rushinzwe umutekano, muri bo 7 bacirwa igihano cyo gupfa mu rubanza rutakozwe mu bwisanzure¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Twagiramungu F. avugako Nsengiyaremye atari umuhezanguni. Yifatanyije n'igice cy'abahezanguni nk'amayeri ya poritiki kurusha kuba ingengabitekerezo yemera" (Twagiramungu F., 1993, *op.cit.*, p.7)

¹¹¹ Itangazo ry'abahagarariye amadini gatorika n'abaporotesitanti ku birebana n'uruhare rwabo mu gushyigikira ubwiyunge mu ishyamba MDR, 24 Ukuboza 1993.

¹¹² Amnesty International, 1992 : 23

¹¹³ Amnesty International, Itangazo ryo ku wa 20 Gashyantare 1991

Abanyamakuru na bo babaye urundi rwego rwibasiwe n'inzego z'umutekano z'ubwo butegetsi bwa kera. Abarenze 12 muri bo bafunguwe kuba baratutse umukuru w'igihugu. Ibiro bikuru by'imirimo ya gisirikare mu ngabo za Leta byahoraga binegura itangazamakuru n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta biyashinja kuba akoreshwa na FPR¹¹⁴.

Nyuma y'igitero k'Inkotanyi cyo ku 1 Ukwakira kugeza ku itariki ya 18 Nyakanga 1994, ubugome n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye abantu, bwishe abarenze abaguye mu ntambara nyirizina. Ubwo bwicanyi bwakorwaga ku buryo butandukanye kandi bugakorerwa akenshi ahiherereye kure y'urugamba. Habaye ubwicanyi bwibasiye imbaga y'abantu: mu wa 1990 muri perefegitura ya Byumba, Ruhengeri na Gisenyi, Mutara, Ngororero-Kibirira; mu wa 1991 mu muri perefegitura ya Kibungo, Byumba, Kigari Ngari; mu wa 1992 mu Bugesera, n'ahandi. Ubwo bwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi ntibwakorwaga nk'uko ikwizabitekerezo ya Leta ryabivugaga! Ikindi kandi ntibwari buturutse ku nzangano za kera zishingiye ku moko. Bwari ubwicanyi bw'urugomo rwateguwe n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare ya MRND na CDR na "Hutu Power" muri rusange.

Ubutegetsi bwakoresheje n'imyigaragambyo kugira ngo bwerekane ko budashaka imishyikirano; bene iyo myigaragambyo yateje imvururu zagiye zikura uko kugabana ubutegetsi byagendaga bigerwaho mu mishyikirano y'Arusha. Buri porotokore yose yashyirwagaho umukono yafatwaga nk'ikimenyetso k'itsindwa ry'ubutegetsi, igakurikirwa n'ubwicanyi. Mu mvururu zabereye i Kigali muri Gicurasi 1992, abaporisi bishe abarwanashyaka batatu ba PSD. Izo mvururu zakomereje mu mugwi wa Gisenyi (Mukamira, 31 Gicurasi 1992) na Ruhengeri. Abishwe bagera ku bantu 27, abandi benshi barakomereka. Urwitwazo rw'izo mvururu rwari ikibazo cy'abagombaga kuva mu gisirikare. Muri Nyakanga 1992, igihe hari hatangiye imishyikirano y'Arusha, insoresore za MRND zashoje imvururu za poritiki zibasiye abo muri MDR na PSD mu bice bya Kigali, Gikondo (hapfa abantu 2 n'abandi benshi barakomereka).

Mu gihugu hose haturitse ibisasu bya gerenade ziterwa cyanecyane ahantu hahurirwa n'abantu benshi: Gicurasi 1993 ijya guhera, hari hamaze guterwa mine 34 zaturitse.

¹¹⁴ Amnesty International, Itangazo ryo ku wa 1 Ukuboza 1991

Abarwanyaga amasezerano y'Arusha na cyanecyane porotokole zajyanaga na yo zari zimaze gusinywa, ukwezi kose kwa Mbere 1993 kwaranzwe n'umutekano muke wari wibasiye Abatutsi n'Abahutu bo muri opozisiyo muri Kibirira no muri komine Rutsiro (Kibuye). Umutekano muke ku Gisenyi wahitanye abantu bagera kuri 350, haba impunzi 4.400 n'inkomere nyinshi. Imihanda yarafunzwe ku Gisenyi, Cyangugu, Ruhengeri, Kigali na Kibungo. Amashyaka MRND na CDR yakoresheje imyigaragambyo itemewe n'amategeko hafi muri perefegitura zose kubera amasezerano y'Arusha. Imyigaragambyo ya MRND i Kigali muri Mutarama 1993, yahitanye abantu 47 n'abandi benshi barakomereka. Za gerenade zaturitse mu gihugu hose. Inama ya guverinoma yavuze ko ari MRND na CDR byari inyuma y'ibyo bikorwa by'imvururu zafashe intera idasanzwe kandi zigakwira hose kuva tariki ya 18 Mutarama 1993.

Inama ya guverinoma yo ku itariki ya 6 Gashyantare yemeje, hatarimo aba MRND, ko mitingi z'amashyaka zihagarara muri za perefegitura za Gisenyi na Ruhengeri no guhagarika by'agateganyo bamwe mu bayobozi bari baragize uruhare mu mvururu¹¹⁵. Urugero ni ba burugumesitiri ba Rutsiro, Giciye, Ramba na Gaseke na bamwe mu bayobozi (nka Lewo Mugesera).

Kubera imvururu zari zimaze gufata intera, abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda (cyanecyane ab'i Burayi) n'abagize umuryango mpuzamahanga bagejeje kuri Perezida impungenge bafite bamusaba gukora itangazo ryo kwamagana ubwicanyi no kugarura umutekano. Bamubwiraga ko natabikora bazahagarika inkunga zabo. Perezida ahitamo kutagira icyo avuga.

Mu mezi ya Mata/Gicurasi 1993, habaye izindi mvururu zahungabanije igihugu cyose. Mu mugi wa Kigali, habaye ibikorwa by'urugomo bikoze n'abasirikare, mini zaraturitse, za gerenade n'ubwiby bwitwaje intwaro. Muri Gicurasi 1993, hirya no hino mu gihugu (Gisenyi, Butare, Kigali ...) za gerenade zaturikiye mu masoko n'ahandi henshi abantu bateranira. Habaye ubwicanyi bukomeye muri perefegitura ya Kibuye (Kabengeru, Kirambo...). I Kigali, habaye ibitero nka 2 cyangwa 3 bya nijoro (urugero : kuri Stanislas Mbonampeka, Minisitiri w'Ubutabera mbere yuko ahinduka Hutu power, no kwa Ignace Ruhutana warwaniraga uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu mu muryango utegamiye kuri Leta, Kanyarwanda); abateraga ibyo

¹¹⁵ Inama ya guverinoma yo ku wa 9 Gashyantare 1993

bitero bari abasore b'abasirikare. Muri Kanama 1993, igisasu kinini cyaturikiye mu isoko rya Nyarugenge gihitana abantu benshi abandi barakomereka.

Mu wa 1992, ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi bwabaye muri perefegitura cyanecyane ya Kibuye. Muri Komini ya Gishyita (18-19 Kanama 1992), amazu y'Abatutsi yaratwitswe (hafi 197), insina n'ibiti by'ikawa biratemwa, inka ziricwa izindi zirashimutwa. Muri Kanama/Nzeri 1993, imvururu nk'izo zavuzwe muri komini Taba (Gitarama): hakomeretse abantu benshi. Mu rwego rwo gufatira ku byabereye i Burundi (urupfu rwa Perezida M. Ndadaye n'ubwicanyi bwarukurikiye), hari abantu mu Rwanda batangiye guhungabanya umutekano muri Cyangugu (Bugarama) na Kibuye (Rwamatamu), bavuga ko bagiye kwica Abatutsi.

Itangazamakuru rya Leta ryashyizwe mu maboko ya «gouvernoma yemewe n'amategeko yo mu buhungiro» ngo ishobore gusobanura uko ibintu bimeze, inake n'inkunga no gushyigikirwa muri diporomasi (ikiganiro cya Minani kuri Radio Rwanda : guhamagarira Abahutu b'i Burundi kwica Abatutsi). Nyuma y'iryo hirikabutegetsi n'ubwicanyi bwibasiye Abatutsi bwayikurikiye, haje impunzi z'Abarundi (zigera ku 400.000 mu Gushyingo 1993) mu turere twa Bugesera na Cyangugu. Mu turere tumwe na tumwe, izo mpunzi z'Abarundi zaje kugira uruhare rukomeye mu bwicanyi na jenocide byo mu 1994.

Mu mpande nyinshi z'igihugu, imvururu zashozwaga no gupfubirana kw'abashyigikiye amashyaka ya poritiki; akenshi babaga ari abashyigikiye CDR na MRND bateraga abo mu yandi mashyaka. Mu wa 1992 i Rwamatamu imvururu zashojwe na CDR yibasiye abayoboke ba PSD, muri superefegitura ya Rwesero (Cyangugu) hapfubiranye abayoboke ba MDR n'aba MRND, bene ibyo byanabaye muri perefegitura ya Kibungo (Sake, Mugesera, Kigarama na Birenga) no muri komine za perefegitura ya Gitarama.

Ubwicanyi bwibasiye abanyaporitiki bakomeye : nka Mme A. Uwiringiyimana wari Minisitiri w'Uburezi bw'Amashuri Mato n'Ayisumbuye, waje nyuma kuba Minisitiri w'Intebe, watewe na ba bandi bitwaje za gerenade, imipanga n'ubuhiri; Gapyisi Emmanuel wari perezida wa «Forum pour la Paix et la Démocratie (FPD)» yari ifite ikinyamateka kitwa «Paix et Démocratie», akaba na Perezida wa MDR/Gikongoro, yarashwe n'abantu babiri ku

itariki ya 18 Gicurasi 1993 ; muri Kanama 1993, burugumesitiri F. Rwambuka (Kanzenze) wari waragize uruhare mu bwicanyi bwo mu Bugesera na we yishwe n'abagizi ba nabi bakomeye. Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Mata 1994, iyicwa rya F. Gatabazi ryakurikiwe n'iyicwa rya Bucyana wari umuyobozi wungirije w'Interahamwe. Kuva ubwo umutekano muke watangiye gusakara hose, cyanecyane mu murwa mukuru wa Kigali.

Kubera uwo mutekano muke wakorwaga n'ubutegetsu bwa Habyarimana, guverinoma yageze aho irananirwa. Minisitiri w'Intebe, Bwana D. Nsengiyaremye, yagerageje kenshi kwamagana ubwo bwicanyi bwaterwaga n'uduco dushingiye ku mashyamba ariko birananirana. Igihugu cyasaga n'ikiyobowe n'izindi ngufu, atari guverinoma. Nta buyobozi bwari bugihari kandi ni byo byari bigamijwe n'abateraga imvururu¹¹⁶.

Ibinyamakuru mpuzamahanga byamaganye ihohoterwa ry'ikiremwa muntu n'umutekano muke. J. Afurika wayoboraga ikinyamakuru cyasohokaga rimwe mu kwezi, kitwaga Umurava, yabwiye umunyamakuru witwaga Fr. Misser ko mu by'ukuri ari mu gatsiko k'abacanyi kitwaga "réseau zero" kari gakuriye amakipe kabuhariwe y'ubwicanyi (escadrons de la mort). Yareze Serafini Rwabukumba wari muramu wa J. Habyarimana kuba ari we uri ku isonga y'abo bicanyi.

Minisitiri w'Intebe na we yabwiye Perezida ko guverinoma itagikora, kandi ko uruhare runini rufitwe n'Ishyamba rye¹¹⁷: yamuregeye abaminisitiri ba MRND kuba babuza ibyemezo bya guverinoma gushyirwa mu bikorwa no kurengera ba burugumesitiri bashinjwaga kugira uruhare mu bwicanyi (i Murambi, Kibuye, Kibirira...) kandi bakaba bataza mu nama za guverinoma. Minisitiri w'Intebe yanareze Perezida ubwe kuba nyirabayazana w'ibitagenda, agira ati: «Uruhare rwawe mu gutuma guverinoma idakora rugaragara ku buryo bubiri: nka Perezida ufite inshingano yo gutuma inzego zikora neza no kuba kandi uri Perezida wa MRND, ishyamba rifite kimwe cya kabiri k'imyanya y'abaminisitiri kandi ikaba ari yo ibuza imikorere myiza y'Inama y'abaminisitiri»¹¹⁸.

Amashyamba 4 atavugaga rumwe na MRND n'udushyamba tuyigenderaho, yakoresheje ikiganiro n'abanyamakuru yiyama

¹¹⁶ Urugero ni mu butumwa agenera Abanyarwanda, ku wa 28 Nyakanga 1992

¹¹⁷ Ibaruwa ya Minisitiri w'Intebe kuri Perezida wa Repubilika, ku wa 22 Nzeri 1992

¹¹⁸ Ibaruwa ya Minisitiri w'Intebe kuri Perezida wa Repubilika, ku wa 22 Nzeri 1992

“ibikorwa by’iterabwoba n’ubwicanyi”¹¹⁹. Asubira kuvuga ko ashyingikiye imishyikirano ya Arusha kandi yihaniza ARD (udushyaka dushyigikiye ubutegetsu) kuko ibyo ikora bingana no «gushyigikira ubutegetsu bw’igitugu». Guceceka kwa Minisitiri w’ubutegetsu bw’igihugu (MRND) byafatwaga nko gushyigikira ibibi bikorwa. Ayo mashyaka 4 yakoresheje imyigaragambyo, tariki ya 15 Ugushyungu 1992, yo kwamagana MRND: yaritabiriwe cyane. Ariko abasore b’amashyaka ashyingikiye Perezida bashojemo imvururu zibasiye abarwanashyaka b’ayandi mashyaka.

Nyuma y’inama yari yahuje, tariki ya 16 kugeza ku ya 25 Ugushyungu 1992, intumwa z’amadini n’intumwa z’amashyaka akiri muri guverinoma zasabye ko hakorwa ibishoboka byose umutekano muke ukarangira mu gihugu. Ariko nta cyakozwe! Ahubwo umutekano muke wafashe indi ntera kubera intwari zagiyeye zikwirakwizwa mu baturage. Mu nama yahuje amashyaka 13 n’abahagarariye amadini muri Werurwe 1993, umwe mu myanzuro yafashwe wabaye ko bagomba gushyaka abasiviri bakabaha intwari ngo barinde igihugu. Byateye impungenge Leta maze mu nama y’abaminisitiri, guverinoma itegeka Minisitiri w’Ingabo “gutahura” intwari zose zari zaranyanyagijwe mu baturage (Werurwe 1993). Ariko ntibyubahirijwe; ahubwo ubujura n’ubwicanyi bikoreshejwe intwari byarushijeho kwiyongera.

Guhohoterwa ikiremwa muntu byari bimaze iminsi mu gihugu byaje kwemezwa n’anketi yakozwe na Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yari ihuriwemo n’imiryango iharanira uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu¹²⁰. Iyo komisiyo yari yatumiwe n’imiryango y’uburenganzira bw’ikiremwa muntu mu Rwanda ngo ize gukora anketi ku ihohoterwa ry’ikiremwa muntu mu Rwanda. Iyo komisiyo yari igizwe n’abantu 10. Ni Madamu Alison Des Forges wari uyiyoboye kandi agahuriza hamwe ibikorwa byayo. MRND yanze ko ibaho ariko inama y’abaminisitiri irabyemeza. Komisiyo yageze mu Rwanda ku itariki ya 7 Mutarama 1993. Yasuye perefegitura 5 kuri 11 (Kigari Ngari, Umugi wa Kigali, Gisenyi, Ruhengeri na Byumba). Ariko ntiyashoboye gusura no gukora

¹¹⁹ Ikiganiro cy’amashyaka menshi n’abanyamakuru ku wa 13 Ugushyungu 1992

¹²⁰ Komisiyo mpuzamahanga ishinze gupereza ku ihohoterwa ryakorewe ikiremwa muntu kuwa tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990. Iyo komisiyo yari igizwe n’aba bakurikira: Human Rights Watch (New York), Fédération internationale des Ligues des Droits de l’Homme (Paris), Centre International des Droits de l’Homme et des Peuples (Ouagadougou).

anketi mu buroko, ku ihohoterwa ry'abanyamakuru no kureba uko imanza zicibwa; ntiyashoboye kujya mu bigo bya gisirikare n'ahandi hantu hafungirwa abantu (urugero : burigade).

Komisiyo yabonye imirambo, aho biciye abantu n'ibyobo rusange bahambwemo byinshi aho yasuye mu gihugu. Yemeje ko mu gihugu hakomejwe ubugizi bwa nabi, iterabwoba n'ubwicanyi. Yavuze ko ubwo bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsu. Ku birebana n'Abatutsi, Komisiyo yarangije itanga umwanzuro ko "bakorewe jenocide nk'uko amategeko mpuzamahanga abivuga". Eric Gillet, umwe mu bari bagize iyo Komisiyo yavuze ko "kuba harabayeho jenocide ku Batutsi ari ukuri". Yongeraho ati: «Habaye ubushake bwo kuzimya ubwoko bw'Abatutsi»¹²¹. Jean Carbonare, na we wari umwe mu bagize iyo Komisiyo na we ni ko yabibonye. Yahakanaga ko atari isubiranamo ry'amoko. Ati ni poritiki yateguwe. Ubwicanyi ntibwafuye kwizana. Habayeho «kumara ubwoko», «jenocide» ni «icyaha kibasiye inyoko muntu»¹²². Muri ubwo bwicanyi, uruhare rwa Perezida, ibyegera bye n'umuryango we ntibishidikanywa¹²³.

Mu butegegi bwo hasi, uruhare mu bwicanyi rwagizwe n'abayobozi barwo (burugumesitiri na ba konseye, nk'uko byabaye i Kibirira na Bugesera). Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yerekanye ko abakozi ba Leta ari bo bashozaga imvururu n'iterabwoba, bagateza umutekano muke bica bakanafata abagore ku ngufu. Abaturage bakoreshwaga icyo interahamwe zishate. Ubucamanza bwari butagikora bwarahagaze (abajuri nta bumenyi bari bafite kandi Perezida ni we wari umukuru w'Inama y'ubucamanza). Perezida Habyarimana yagenzuraga inzira zose zanyurwagamo n'abicanyi.

Komisiyo mpuzamahanga yareze ingabo za Leta (ari zo FAR). Yerekana muri raporo yayo ihohoterwa ry'ikiremwa muntu ryakozwe n'ingabo za Leta. Yerekanye ko ingabo za Leta zitubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu ku rugamba nk'uko zitanabigiraga ahatari ku rugamba. Zahagarikaga abaturage nta mpamvu. Ibigo byazo byafungirwagamo abantu. Hafi abanyururu 150 bari barafashwe bagafungwa intambara igitangira barishwe. Abasirikare bafashe abagore benshi ku ngufu.

¹²¹ Radio France Internationale, 23 janvier 1993

¹²² Radio France Internationale, 29 janvier 1993

¹²³ Komisiyo mpuzamahanga ishinze gupereza ku ihohoterwa ryakorewe ikiremwa muntu kuva tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, Raporo, p.7

Raporo mpuzamahanga yateye impungenge Umuryango mpuzamahanga (u Bubishi, u Bufaransa n’Amerika). Abaterankunga bashakaga guhagarika imfashanyo zabo nk’uko bari babisabwe n’abakoze iyo Raporo, bagira bati: «Igihe kirageze ngo ibihugu by’i Burayi bifasha bihindure uburyo bibikora. Igihe cy’ubucuti n’ibihugu bitubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu kigomba kurangira hakaza igihe cya demokarasi ishyigikiwe na za guverinoma n’ibihugu by’i Burayi»¹²⁴.

J. Habyarimana yanenze iyo raporo avuga ko yibanze ku kibazo cy’amoko aho kubona ibibazo by’ihangana biri mu gihugu. Yavuze ko amashyaka yose abufitemo uruhare, kandi ko umwanzuro w’iyo raporo wanditswe «hutihuti» ukibanda «ku ruhanda rumwe».

Guverinoma yatangaje icyo ivuga kuri iyo raporo, ivuga ko ituzuye ku byerekeye ibibazo byo kutubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu. Iryo tangazo ryasinywe na Perezida na Minisitiri w’Intebe. Ryahanaguraga kandi kuri Perezida n’ibyegera bye uruhare bari bafite mu kutubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu¹²⁵.

FPR yashimiye Komisiyo mpuzamahanga kuba yarerekanye ibibi bikorwa n’ingabo z’u Rwanda n’imitwe yitwara gisirikare ya MRND na CDR n’amakipe y’ubwicanyi no kudakora k’ubucamanza¹²⁶. Komisiyo yanenze FPR na yo ko yayimye uburenganzira bwo kwisanzura mu bice byagenzurwaga n’Inkotanyi (kureka abaperereza n’abafata amafoto). FPR yashubije ko Komisiyo itasabye kubonana mu mwiherero n’abari barakuwe mu byabo n’intambara cyangwa abanyururu b’intambara. Komite Mpuzamahanga ya Croix-Rouge yo yarabikoze kandi irabyishimira¹²⁷. Komisiyo ntiyashatse kurara mu gace FPR yari yarafashe, ni cyo gituma hatabonetse igihe gihagije cyo kuganira na yo.

¹²⁴ Ikiganiro perezida wa FIDH yagiranye n’abanyamakuru tariki 15 Werurwe 1993.

¹²⁵ biragoye kumva impamvu Minisitiri w’Intebe atagaragaje uruhare rwa perezida muri iryo hohoterwa. Hari abavuga ko byari mu bwumvikane bagiranye na Habyarimana rwihishwa, maze na we akazamusubiza ku mwanya wa Minisitiri w’Intebe w’inziyacyuho.

¹²⁶ FPR. Icyo FPR ivuga kuri raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga ishinze guperereza ku ihohoterwa ryakorewe ikiremwa muntu, yakozwe muri Mutarama 1993, Byumba, 10 Mata 1993.

¹²⁷ Ubuhamya bwo ku wa 23 Kanama 1992

Dukurikije ibyo Komisiyo yanditse, umutekano muke no guhagarika imishyikirano bigamije kudindiza amasezerano byaterwaga n'abategetsi ba Leta bari bafite uruhare mu bwicanyi. Muri icyo gahunda y'ubwicanyi, ubutegetsi bwakoreshaga uburyo bw'inshi : imvugo ishishikariza abaturage kwishora mu bikorwa bibi, gushora abantu mu bwicanyi, mu macakubiri no kwanga Abatutsi; kudindiza ubucamanza, gukuraho ibihano; kwimakaza umuco wo kudahana abicanyi; kurema no koshya imitwe y'abicanyi bitwaje intwari kandi bitemewe n'amategeko¹²⁸.

5.2.7 Kubura intambira tariki ya 8-9 Gashyantare 1993 n'ingaruka zayo

Nyuma y'amezi atandatu hari agahenge hagati y'abarwana, FPR yubuye imirwano (yari yarahagaze kuva tariki ya 31 Nyakanga 1992) mu ijoro ryo kuwa 8-9 Gashyantare 1993. APR yateye mu birindiro byinshi bya FAR bya za Ruhengeri, Byumba (no mu Mutara) na Kigari Ngari. APR yubura imirwano yari umutwe w'ingabo zifashe neza, zitoje bihagije kandi zabonye inyigisho za poritiki.

Hari impamvu nyinshi zisobanura uko kubura imirwano bya hutihuti n'ukuntu ingabo za FAR zahatakariye byinshi zikubiswe inshuro. icya ngombwa cyagaragaye nuko APR, nyuma y'amezi 6 itarwana, yari yarabonye igihe cyo kwitegura neza no kwitoza bya gisirikare ndetse n'ibya poritiki. Yabonye igihe cyo gutata umwanzi, ibona aho afite ingufu n'aho atazifite. Igihe yateraga igitero, APR yari imaze igihe yisuganya neza kandi yitoza bya gisirikare n'ibya poritiki.

FPR yavuze ko yubuye imirwano kubera kutubahirizwa kw'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ayo masezerano mu gice cyayo kijyanye n'ihagarikwa ry'intambira yashyizweho umukono tariki ya 12 Nyakanga 1992 mu byo yavugaga harimo kwemera amahame yo gushyiraho Leta igendera ku mategeko kandi yubahiriza uburenganzira bw'ikiremwa muntu¹²⁹. Yahamyaga ko nta muntu uri hejuru y'amategeko kandi ko impande zombi ziyemeje kurwanya ingengabitekerezo za poritiki zishingiye ku ironkabwoko, ironkakarere no kutihanganirana (ingingo ya 8). Uruhande rwa Leta ntirwubahirije ayo masezerano mu gihe rwakoraga ubwicanyi ahantu henshi hanyuranye ho

¹²⁸ Komisiyo mpuzamahanga, itangazo ryo ku wa 15 Mata 1993

¹²⁹ Idem

mu gihugu (Gisenyi, Kibuye, Ruhengeri na Bugesera). Ari guverinoma y'inzibacyuho, ari n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na yo, nta cyo byakoze ngo byamagane cyangwa bihagarike ubwo bwicanyi. N'Umuryango mpuzamahanga nubwo watabajwe kenshi na FPR kuri ubwo bwicanyi nta cyo wakoze ngo wotse igitutu ubutegetsu bw'i Kigali. FPR yubuye intambara ngo itume guverinoma yubahiriza uburenganzira ku buzima bw'ikiremwa muntu. Kubura intambara si impamvu ahubwo ni ingaruka yo kutubahiriza amasezerano y'Arusha ku birebana n'ihagarikwa ry'intambara¹³⁰.

Mu ibaruwa yandikiye umuhuza w'imishyikirano ya Arusha, tariki ya 2 Gashyantare 1992, FPR yavugaga ko izasubira mu mishyikirano habanje kubahirizwa ibintu bimwe na bimwe. Yasabye by'umwihariko:

- Kwirukana abayobozi bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi,
- Gushyira mu bikorwa ibyemejwe na Komisiyo yo kuvugurura imikorere y'abakozi, kuko byari byaraburijwemo n'icyahoze ari Ishyamba rimwe, gusubiza mu bikorwa ibyari byarahagaritswe byari bigamije kugenzura imikorere y'abo bayobozi ;
- Kuvugurura imikorere y'imirimo ya Pariki, igakorwa na Minisitiri w'Intebe ;
- Gusesa imitwe y'ubwicanyi no gukurikirana mu nkiko abagize uruhare bose mu bwicanyi.

FPR yubuye imirwano ibyo byose bimaze kutubahirizwa¹³¹. FPR yashakaga no guha isomo J. Habyarimana kubera kutava ku izima kwa guverinoma ye, ku birebana n'imishyikirano y'amahoro, ubwicanyi bwoshywa na Leta bwari bwarakabije mu iyicwa ry'inzirakarengane n'ibihumbi by'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara. Yanashakaga kwerekana ingufu za APR zari zimaze kuruta kure iza FAR, ibyo ariko indorerezi zo hanze ndetse zifite uruhare mu bibera mu Rwanda zasaga n'izitabyemera kugeza icyo gihe.

Intambara yatangiye rimwe mu bice bitandukanye kuva mu Mutara kugera Ruhengeri. Nyuma y'icyumweru, APR yari yafashe akarere kangana n'inshuro eshatu aho yari ifite mbere. Uretse ko APR iterekanye gusa ingufu nyinshi, yanerekanye imbaraga nke za FAR n'ubuyobozi buhubangana bwari mu butegetsu

¹³⁰ Reba itangazo rya FPR ku wa 9 na 10 Gashyantare 1993

¹³¹ Itangazo rusange, tariki 13 Gashyantare 1993

bw'igihugu kandi abaturage bahunga intambara bahise bisuka mu mugwi wa Kagali. Imibereho mibi y'abo bantu yaje nyuma kuba urwitwazo rw'abaterankunga" bari bafite mu by'ukuri umugambi wo gushyigikira Leta y'i Kigali bari bafitanye ubucuti.

Uretse abayoboze n'inshuti za FPR, abandi bose bakurikiraniraga hafi ibireba u Rwanda bamaganye iryo yubura ry'imirwano. Perezida na Minisitiri w'Intebe bombi bamaganye mu rwandiko rumwe uko kubura imirwano kwa FPR¹³². Abo mu mashyamba ane yo muri opozisiyo na bo bamaganye uko kongera gutera kwa FPR. Impamvu zabiteye bazishyiraga kuri FPR cyangwa kuri Perezida J. Habyarimana wadindizaga imishyikirano, ubundi bakazishyira haba kuri MRND, haba kuri CDR. Basabaga ko FPR isubira mu birindiro byayo. Amashyamba ya poritiki yatinye ko FPR yafata umurwa mukuru. Minisitiri w'Ingabo yavugaga ko FPR itari ifite impamvu zo gutera kuko ibyo yari yasabye byose byariho bishyirwa mu bikorwa na guverinoma.

Amahanga na GOMN bavuze ko FPR yarenze ku masezerano, ariko bakemeza ko nta mutekano wari mu gihugu. Basabye ko FPR ihagarika intambara, igasubira mu birindiro byayo bya mbere.

Mu itangazo yashyize ahagaragara tariki ya 21 Gashyantare, FPR yavuze ko ihagaritse intambara ku ruhande rwayo ako kanya kandi ko yiteguye guhita isubira mu birindiro byayo ngo imishyikirano ishobore gukomeza. Ariko isaba ko n'ingabo za FAR ziguma ku birindiro byazo bishya, hagati yazo na APR hakaba ingabo (GOMN) zigenzura ako gace kazitandukanya.

FPR yasobanuraga ikemezo cyayo ivuga ko yari yageze ku ntego zayo: ubutegetsi bwari buhakuye isomo. Nta wahakana ariko ko na yo hari abayokeje igitutu bavuye hirya no hino: Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika wakoresheje inama y'Abaminisitiri b'Ububanyi n'amahanga bari nama Addis-Abeba usaba ko intambara yahita ihagarara, mu mishyikirano ikongera igatangira kandi ibihugu by'ibihangane ku isi bigakurikiranira hafi ibibazo by'u Rwanda. Ni muri urwo rwego, Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga w'u Bubiligi yamaganye iyubura ry'imirwano: asaba FPR gusubira ku murongo w'aho yahoze mbere y'iyi mirwano mishya ariko anamagana uruhare rw'ubutegetsi bwa Perezida

¹³² Itangazo rusange, tariki ya 13 Gashyantare 1993

J. Habyarimana mu iyuburwa ry'iyi mirwano»¹³³. Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika na zo zamaganye iyubura ry'intambara, zisaba ko intambara yahagarara. U Bufaransa bwo bwari bufite impungenge ko FPR yatsinda intambara kuko ingufu zo muri aka karere zari kuba zihindaguritse: Abatutsi baba bagiye ku butegetsi mu Rwanda no mu Burundi, nk'uko umuvugizi wa guverinoma y'u Bufaransa yabyivugiyeye¹³⁴.

FPR yemeye gusubira inyuma ariko ivuga ko bigomba kuba mu buryo butatu:

- a) Ingabo z'u Rwanda zigomba kuguma aho ziri ;
- b) FPR igomba kugira uburenganzira bwo gukorera poritiki aho hantu hashya hari habohojwe (ibi ariko ntibyemewe mu masezerano yabaye hanyuma i Kinihira);
- c) Uburyo bwo kuyobora inzego zo hasi (aho FPR yariri) bugahinduka¹³⁵.

Ikemezo cyo gusubira mu birindiro cyatangaje abantu benshi ndetse n'inshuti za FPR.

Ingaruka ya mbere y'igitero cya APR cyo muri Gashyantare 1993 nuko ingabo za FAR zitashoboye kugihagarika. Inshuti zabo zagombye kubatabara. U Bufaransa bwohereje abasirikare 150 (biyongereye ku bari bahari) kubuza ingabo za FAR kuneshwa burundu. icyo gitero kandi cyateye ingorane zikomeye zajyanye n'ibirebana n'ikiremwa muntu. Umuntu rero yakwibaza niba FPR yari yaratekereje ku ngaruka n'uburemere bw'icyo gitero, kuko abakuwe mu byabo n'intambara icyo gihe bari benshi kandi bagahunga basatira amarembo ya Kigali (i Nyacyonga). Izo mpunzi zageraga hafi ya miriyoni (ugereranyije n'ibihumbi 200 byo mu kwezi kwa 8/1992). Kuzitunga byasabaga miriyari 1.7frw y'amanyarwanda buri kwezi (atangwa n'abaterankunga bo hanze n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta (ONG). Igice cy'ayo mafaranga kibwe n'abategetsi b'igihugu n'abakozi ba Leta. Mu nkambi z'impunzi hari ubuzima butoroshye: ibiribwa byari bike, abantu bagerekeranye, hari ubwicanyi n'indwara zicaga abantu benshi, n'ibindi.

Hari abasesengura maze bakavuga ko icyo gitero k'intambara cya FPR cyayambuye urukundo abanyaporitiki bamwe bo mu mashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta bari bayifitiye kuko

¹³³ Claes W., in V.O.A., février 1993

¹³⁴ Reuters, 11 Gashyantare 1993.

¹³⁵ Ikiganiro n'umusirikare mukuru wa APR, 12 Ukwakira 2002

babonyemo ko ishaka gufata ubutegetsu ku ngufu¹³⁶. Ahubwo bigaragara ko kiriya gitero cyo ku itariki ya 8 Gashyantare cyateye ubwoba abanyaporitiki bose kuko bwari ubwa mbere bumva bari mu makuba bo ubwabo. Ntibari bazi ko FPR yashoboraga gutsinda. icyo gitero kerekanye ko bishoboka. Ni cyo cyatumye abo banyaporitiki ndetse n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta bagira ubwoba cyane batangira kuvuga ko igihugu gishobora kugwa mu maboko y'ubutegetsu bw'igitugu kurusha uko cyari kimeze mu myaka 20 ishize.

Hatangiye kuva ubwo amagambo yo kwamagana FPR ko ngo yakozwe ibikorwa «bitubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu» igihe yateraga. FPR isubiza ko, koko hapfuye abantu ariko nta bantu bishwe na yo ku bushake kandi batarwana; ko abapfuye ari abo mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare ba MRND na CDR bitabiriye urugamba bafite intwari maze bakarugwamo.

Nyuma haje kuba imishyikirano hagati y'amashyaka yari mu butegetsu bw'u Rwanda na FPR. Yabereye i Bujumbura ku itariki ya 25 Gashyantare 1993, ariko MRND ntiyayitabira¹³⁷. Iyi mishyikirano yabaye mbere y'iyabereye i Dar-es-Salaam hagati ya Minisitiri w'Intebe w'u Rwanda na FPR. Amashyaka yasanze abona kimwe mu kwamagana «poritiki y'ivangura ry'amoko, ry'uturere, uburwanyari no gutegekesha igitugu bya Habyarimana, bya MRND n'ibyegera byayo». Amashyaka yasanze kandi guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye nta cyo igikora (imishyikirano itagenda, ubuyobozi bw'ibanze butavugururwa, kudashobora kugarura umutekano no kuba guverinoma nta cyo igikora na busa). Ni Perezida n'ishyaka rye bari ku isonga ry'«iterabwoba ritegurwa» mu turere twa Bugesera, Ruhengeri, Gisenyi na Kibuye; iryo terabwoba «ryahindutse jenocide nyayo...akaba ari igikorwa kitubahiriza amazezerano yo guhagarika imirwano...Mu by'ukuri, FPR yubuye imirwano igira ngo ihagarike ubwicanyi ariko igwa na yo mu mutego wo kutubahiriza amazezerano yo guhagarika intambara». Iyo mishyikirano yasabaga ko imirwano ihagarara ku rugamba; ingabo z'amahanga zigasubira iwazo zigasimburwa n'iza OUA na ONU zidafite aho zibogamiye; gusubira byihutirwa mu mishyikirano; gusubiza iwabo abakuwe mu byabo n'intambara no gufatira ibihano abayobozi bagize uruhare mu bwicanyi¹³⁸.

¹³⁶ Prunier G. kuri RFI, Nyakanga 1993

¹³⁷ Itangazo rya nyuma, 2 Werurwe 1993

¹³⁸ Itangazo rya nyuma, 2 Werurwe 1993

Hakwibutswa ko Bwana Debarge, Minisitiri w'u Bufaransa wari ushinzwe imubano n'amahanga yari hafi aho mu "butumwa bw'amahoro". Ku itariki ya 1 Werurwe yabonanye na Minisitiri w'Intebe na Perezida wa Repubulika. Nyuma y'igitero cya FPR, bavuga ko ari we watumye amashyaka yo muri opozisiyo ashwana, n'uruhare rw'Abafaransa muri poritiki y'u Rwanda. Ni we wasabye amashyaka kuvuga rumwe na Perezida wa Repubulika no kurwanya FPR ashize hamwe. Naho abayobozi b'amadini bagiye i Bujumbura kubonana na FPR ngo barebere hamwe ukuntu imishyikirano yasubukurwa.

Imishyikirano yatangiye neza ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare nyuma y'aho Minisitiri w'Intebe yemereye iby'ingenzi mu byo FPR isaba. Ariko Perezida wa Repubulika n'ishyaka rye MRND ntibabikozwaga: baje kubyemera ku gahato. CDR yo yakomeje kwanga ko hongera kuba imishyikirano na FPR. Ni Minisitiri w'Intebe ubwe wayoboye intumwa z'u Rwanda mu mishyikirano y'Arusha. Ikibazo cyaje kurangizwa n'umukono washyizwe ku masezerano y'i Dar-es-salam (yo ku wa 7 Werurwe 1993) hagati ya Minisitiri w'Intebe D. Nsengiyaremye na Perezida wa FPR. Ayo masezerano yategekaga guhagarika intambara, gusubira mu birindiro byayo by'ingabo za FPR bya mbere y'itariki ya 8 Gashyantare 1993, gusubira mu mishyikirano (itariki ya 15 Werurwe) no gusubiza iwabo ingabo z'amahanga (igice k'ibanga cy'Amasezerano) zigasimbuzwa iza GOMN. CDR yanze ayo masezerano, yivana mu ihuriro ARD (ku itariki ya 27/3/893) ivuga ko kubwayo MRND yagambanye yemera ko ayo masezerano adasubirwamo.

APR yasubiye mu birindiro byayo ku itariki ya 20/3/93 isiga hagati yayo n'ingabo za FAR umwanya utabarizwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare (DMZ) abaturage bari barahunze kubera intambara. Mu mishyikirano ya Arusha, hemejwe ko abaturage basubira mu byabo (DMZ) (muri Mata 1993). Mu by'ukuri, ibiganiro byerekeye iki kibazo byabereye i Kinihira tariki ya 10 Gicurasi biyobowe na GOMN hari n'indorerezi (ba ambasaderi bamwe, abahagarariye amashami ya ONU, na bamwe mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo byo muri aka karere). Ibi biganiro byibanze cyane ku birebana n'ubuyobozi n'umutekano.

Mu masezerano y'i Kinihira yashyizweho umukono ku itariki ya 30 Gicurasi, umutekano mu gace katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare washinzwe GOMN. Naho ubuyobozi bw'ibanze

bugakorwa n’abakuru ba serire, na segiteri, ba burugumesitiri na ba superefe. Abakuru ba serire na segiteri batorwaga n’abaturage ku buryo butaziguye. Abo batowe baragarukaga bakaba ari bo batora ba burugumesitiri (ariko bo badashobora kwitwaga). Ba superefe ba Kinihira (komini 11 kuri 17 za perefegitura ya Byumba) na Kirambo (igice cya 2 cya komini zigize Ruhengeri) bashyirwagaho na guverinoma ifatanije na FPR. Bategekwe na Minisitiri w’Ubutegetsi bw’igihugu. Ni we bagezagaho raporo, si kuri ba perefefe.

Abakuwe mu byabo n’intambara bagombaga gusubira mu byabo nyuma y’ukwezi kumwe amasezerano ashyizweho umukono. Abantu bagera kuri 650.000 bari bategerejwe ngo basubire muri ako karere katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare (DMZ). Muri buri superefe, komisiyo igizwe n’abantu 20 (10 boherejwe na guverinoma, 10 bahagarariye FPR) yari ishinzwe kubatuzwa¹³⁹. Umuyobozi mukuru w’iyo komisiyo yari uhagarariye guverinoma (L. Ngirabanzi), umwungirije visi Perezida (Barinda Sylvestre) n’umunyamabanga mukuru (Semajara Paul) baturukaga muri FPR. Mu bibazo iyo komisiyo yahuye na byo, harimo: ubunini bw’ako karere, imodoka zo kubatwara (hari imodoka imwe) no kubura ibibafasha kubaho i Kinihira. Komisiyo yatangiye gukora akazi kayo ku itariki ya 23 Kamena 1993, ariko mu gace ka perefegitura ya Byumba gusa¹⁴⁰.

Imbonerahamwe ya 17: Perefegitura, Komini na Segiteri by’ahatarangwa ibikorwa bya gisirikare byari ibi:

Perefegitura	Komini zo muri DMZ	Segiteri	DMZ/ FAR	DMZ/ RPF	RGF	RPF
Byumba	8 kuri 17	76	11	2	19	11
Ruhengeri	10 kuri 16	111	13	5	47	10

DMZ: Agace katarangwamo ibikorwa bya gisirikare

RGF: Agace kagenzurwa n’ingabo za guverinoma FAR

RPF: Agace kagenzurwa n’ingabo za FPR

DMZ/RGF; DMZ/RPF: segiteri zikirimo igice kimwe ingabo za Leta cyangwa iza FPR

¹³⁹ Yiswe “Komisiyo ishinzwe ibibazo by’abasubira mu byabo, gutegura no kuyobora amatara mu karere ka Kinihira” (CRE-Kinshira)

¹⁴⁰ Idem

Iminsi mike nyuma y'amasezerano ya Kinihira, 80% y'abavanywe mu byabo muri perefegitura ya Byumba bari barabisubiyemo. Ariko abakozi ba guverinoma ntibasibaga guca intege abashaka gusubira mu gace FPR yagenzuraga.

Muri perefegitura ya Byumba habaye amatora yari yateguwe n'inama nyinshi za komisiyo ibishinzwe, yabaye mu mahoro. Ariko amatora yabereye muri za komine zimwe za Ruhengeri cyanecyane mu Kinigi, Kidaho na Nkumba zabayemo imvururu nyinshi. Minisitiri w'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu yahagaritse amatora (Ugushyingo 1993) muri ayo makomini bitewe n'imvururu y'abashyigikiye MRND n'abari ku ruhande rwa FPR.

No mu gace katakorerwaho imirimo ya gisirikiri na ko habaye imidugararo. Mu ijoro ryo ku wa 17 na 18 Ugushyingo hishwe abantu benshi muri za komini Kidaho, Keru, Nkumba na Nyamutera. Guverinoma yavuze ko hapfuye abantu 40 n'abandi benshi barakomereka.

Ariko iperereza rya Dallaire wari uhagarariye MINUAR ryatangaje ko abantu bapfuye bari 21 gusa. Minisitiri w'Ingabo n'abapadiri ba diyosezi ya Ruhengeri (bari barikubiye mu ishyirahamwe *Fratres in unum*) bageretse ubwo bwicanyi kuri FPR. P. Kagame yarabibeshyuje ubwo yavugiraga kuri radiyo BBC ko ingabo ze zitigeze zigaba igitero kuri utwo turere.

Yaketse ahubwo ko ari ingabo za Leta zabikoze, asaba ko ONU yakora iperereza. Muri raporo yayo, MINUAR ntiyashoboye kumenya niba ari ingabo za FAR cyangwa iza FPR zaba ziri ku isonga ry'ubwicanyi bwo ku wa 17-18 Ugushyingo 1993 kuko ako gace byabereyemo karimo intwari nyinshi zari zaratanze na guverinoma ya MRND. Ubundi bwicanyi bwavuzwe mu Mutara (Ugushyingo 1993) no muri superefegitura Kinihira (Werurwe 1994).

5.2.8. Kudindiza amasezerano y'Arusha

Guhanganisha amashyaka byabaye bimwe mu ntware zakoreshejwe n'ubutegetsi ngo budindize inzira y'amasezerano y'Arusha byakozwe n'ubutegetsi bushyira imbere uburyo bwose bushingiye ku moko, buhuriza hamwe abaturage bukoreshye imvugo ziyama umwanzi wa "gahutu". Byabaye ngombwa ko Guverinoma ya Nsengiyaremye yagombaga gusimburwa yongezwa amezi 3, nyuma yuko Nsengiyaremye amaze gucudika na Perezida J. Habyarimana.

Kugira ngo hageho Minisitiri w'Intebe w'agateganyo, amashyaka MRND, MDR, PSD na PL yumvikanye ko atangwa n'ishyaka rya MDR, agashyikirizwa inama y'abaminisitiri, yamwemera, izina rye rikoherezwa Arusha (ingingo 51 y'Arusha). Inama ya guverinoma yo ku wa 22 Kamena 1993 yasuzumye kandidatire ya D. Nsengiyaremye nka Minisitiri w'Intebe w'agateganyo. Isanga "uwo mukandida adakwiye kwemerwa". Kuva icyo gihe hatangira urwikekwe mu banyaporitiki: amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta atangira gukomeza ko D. Nsengiyaremye ashaka gukomeza kuba Minisitiri w'Intebe ku "buryo bw'amayeri". Kandi koko Nsengiyaremye yari yohereje kandidatire ye Arusha atayinyujije muri guverinoma.

Inama ya guverinoma yemeye kandidatire ya Twagiramungu nka Minisitiri w'Intebe w'inzibacyuho, n'Agatha Uwiringiyimana nka Minisitiri w'Intebe wari ushinze gutegura inzego nshya za Leta. Bombi, n'abaminisitiri ba MDR bemeye kujya muri guverinoma kongere y'ishyaka ryabo iribirukanamo mu nama idasanzwe yabereye ku Kabusunzu. Nubwo D. Nsengiyaremye yari yiyegereje J. Habyarimana, uyu we yahisemo kujya ku ruhande rwa Twagiramungu-Uwilingiyimana.

Kandidatire ya F. Twagiramungu nka Minisitiri w'Intebe wa guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yemewe muri Nyakanga 1993, mu gihe k'imishyikirano ya Kinihira iyobowe na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'amahanga wa Tanzaniya. Abakurikiranaga iyo mishyikirano babonaga amahoro bayakozaho imitwe y'intoki: bavugaga ko "bigaragara neza ko amahoro agiye kuboneka".

Perezida J. Habyarimana yabwiye abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda ko yiteguye gushyira umukono ku masezerano. Amatariki 2 yari yaratoranijwe: iya 19 n'ya 24 Kamena 1993. Hanyuma ariko aya matariki yagiye asubikwa kubera ko hari ingingo zimwe Perezida n'ishyaka CDR batashakaga by'umwihariko ingingo ya 11 yavugaga ko Perezida ashobora kujyanwa mu rukiko aramutse yishe Itegeko nshinga. Amasezerano y'Arusha yashyizweho umukono tariki ya 4 Kamena 1993, imbere ya ba Perezida b'ibihugu byo muri aka karere. Ishyaka rya CDR na MDR/Parmehutu ntibyohereje abayahagarariye Arusha.

Ishyirwaho umukono ry'Amasezerano ya Arusha ryakiranywe ibyishimo byinshi n'abavanywe mu byabo n'intambara, imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta na menshi mu mashyaka yemewe. Yashyize umukono ku masezerano agenga imyitwarire, uretse MRND, CDR na MDR- Parmehutu byari byaranze na mbere imishyikirano. Abantu benshi babonaga ayo masezerano ari igikorwa cy'ubwiyunge n'impamvu y'ikizere. Umunsi utazibagirana, umunsi wo gusezerera ibitekerezo bishaje, umunsi wo kwishima kw'Abanyarwanda bazatangira kubana mu bumwe n'amahoro", ni ko umunyamakuru wa Radiyo Rwanda yavugaga¹⁴¹.

Hari umupadiri watanze igitekerezo ko hakwiye kujya habaho buri mwaka umunsi mukuru wo kwibuka uwo munsi utazibagirana, ukitwa "Umunsi mukuru wo kwibuka ivanwaho ryo kwihorera"¹⁴². Minisitiri w'Intebe yasabye abaturage kwishimira uwo munsi warangije intambara n'ibibi byayo. Radio Rwanda na yo yakoresheje ibiganiro byavugaga ibice bitandukanye by'amasezerano ya Arusha.

Igihe cyari cyarateganyijwe ngo habe hagiyeho inzego nshya z'inziyacyuho cyari iminsi wa 37 nyuma y'ishyirwaho umukono ry'amasezerano. Ariko icyo gihe nticyubahirijwe kubera impamvu nyinshi. Kuva tariki ya 10 Nzeri, igihugu kinjiye mu bihe bidafite itegko nshinga kigenderaho maze abarwanyaga amasezerano babyuririraho ngo bayabuze gushyirwa mu bikorwa. Kuva basinya amasezerano, guverinoma yari isigaye ikora ibyihutirwa gusa¹⁴³. Guverinoma ntiyongera kugira icyo ishobora gukora ndetse irutwa n'iyoyarisimbuye kubera umutekano muke waterwaga n'uruhande rwa Habyarimana rwari rwiyejeje kuburizamo ayo masezerano.

Ikibazo cya mbere cyavutse cyabaye kutazira igihe by'ingabo za Loni zari zitegerejwe kuba zaraje ku itariki ya 31 Ukwakira. Intumwa za guverinoma hamwe n'iza FPR zazengurutse ibihugu by'i Burayi, zijya muri Loni zisaba ibihugu, inzego mpuza-mahanga n'ibihugu bikomeye kumva akamaro ko "kwihutisha uburyo ingabo z'Umuryango mpuzamahanga

¹⁴¹ "Umunsi utazibagirana, wo gusezerera burundu ibitekerezo bishaje, ni umunsi w'ishema ry'Abanyarwanda bagiye kubana mu bumwe n'amahoro" (3 Kanama 1993)

¹⁴² "isabukuru yitwa iy'umunsi wo guca inzigo" (padiri G. Mudashimwa)

¹⁴³ Kavaruganda J., Perezida w'Urukiko Rushinzwe kubahiriza Itegeko nshinga kuri Minisitiri w'Intebe, 30 Nzeri 1993

zidafite aho zibogamiye zajya mu myanya mbere yuko inzego shya z'inzibacyuho zijyaho"¹⁴⁴.

Mu kwezi kwa Nzeri, Jenerari Dallaire yavuze muri raporo yanditse ko ibya ngomba byose bihari ngo ingabo za Loni zize. Inama y'umutekano ku isi ibyemeza tariki ya 5 Ukwakira mu kemezo cyayo n° 872 cyo kohereza ingabo mu Rwanda (abantu 2.500) zo gushyigikira amahoro (MINUAR). Inshingano z'izo ngabo zari kugenzura ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'inzego z'igihe k'inzibacyuho kugeza ku matora, hifashishijwe ingengo y'imari ingana na 62.618.000 y'amadorari y'Amerika. Izo ngabo zagombaga kugenda ziza mu gihe cy'amezi atatu nyuma y'aho zemerewe kuza. Hari intumwa zaje mbere gutegura aho izo ngabo zizaba, zigera mu Rwanda hagati mu kwezi kwa 10 mu wa 1993. MINUAR yatangiye akazi kayo tariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1993.

Urundi rwitwazo mu kudindiza amasezerano rwifashishijwe na Perezida n'agatsiko ke rwabaye amakimbirane n'isenyuka by'amashyaka atavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi, yagombaga kujya muri guverinoma. Nk'uko amasezerano y'Arusha yabisabaga, amashyaka (MDR, PSD, PL n'utundi dushyaka duto) yagombaga gutora abadepite b'Inteko Ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho mu kwezi kwa Munani n'ukwa Kenda 1993 (ANT), ikanashaka abakandida minisitiri b'amashyaka amwe, nk'ishyaka PSD. Abatowe ntibigeze bemerwa kuko Perezida yabyivanzemo ntibemerwa.

Kuva mu Kwakira 1993, MRND na CDR byashoje imvururu zo kubuza ibintu kujya mu buryo (urugero ni iyicwa rya F. Gatabazi, tariki ya 21 Gashyantare 1994), kwivanga mu bibazo by'i Burundi, kubiba amacakubiri mu mashyaka amwe ya poritiki, imyigaragambyo itemewe yo kubuza irahira ry'abaminisitiri n'ibindi¹⁴⁵.

Igihe cyose hagombaga gufatwa ibyemezo byo gushyiraho inzego z'inzibacyuho, imvururu n'iterabwoba byarushagaho kwiyongera bikozwe n'Interahamwe za MRND n'Impuzamugambi za CDR. Ku itariki ya 22 Gashyantare 1994, ingabo z'u Rwanda (FAR) zateze umutego zirasa iza APR zicamo umuntu 1 hakomereka 2. Uyu mutego wari ugamije kumara abayobozi ba FPR bagombaga kujya mu muhango wo kurahira ku itariki Habyarimana yari

¹⁴⁴ Itangazo rigenewe abanyamakuru, 12 Ukuboza 1993

¹⁴⁵ FPR, Rwanda : les raisons de l'impasse politique actuelle, avril 1994.

yashyizeho ubwe kandi bitari byemewe. icyo yashakaga mu by'ukuri byari ibintu bibiri:

Icyamba mbere, yashakaga kuburizamo Amasezerano y'Arusha abuza ishyirwaho rya guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'Inteko Ishinga Amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Uruhande rwa Perezida rwasabaga ku mugaragaro ko ingingo zimwe zo mu masezerano zasubirwamo kandi na CDR ikagira umwanya mu Nteko y'Inzibacyuho (ANT)¹⁴⁶. Ikindi, Habyarimana yashakaga ko ingufu z'amashyaka amushyigikiye zirushaho kugira uburemere kurusha ibyari byarateganijwe n'amasezerano y'Arusha. Ashyiraho urutonde rw'abadepite yishakiye abigambanyemo n'abanyaporitiki bamwebo muri PL, MDR, PDI na PDC bari baramugarukiye, akora uko ashoboye ngo barahire. FPR ibona ko ibyo bitakwemerwa kuko byari bishingiye ku iterabwoba ritandukanye n'ibyifuzwaga mu masezerano y'Arusha. Irega Habyarimana gukoresha amashyaka ku nyungu ze ngo amuhagararire mu nzego z'inzibacyuho¹⁴⁷. Bwana J. Kavaruganda, umuyobozi w'Urukiko rushinzwe kurinda Itegeko nshinga yoherereza Minisitiri w'Intebe urutonde rw'amashyaka yemewe n'amazina y'abayobozi ba buri shyamba bujije ibisabwa ngo bajye mu Nteko y'Inzibacyuho (ANT).

Minisitiri w'Intebe afatanije n'Umunyamabanga mukuru wa Loni bahamagaje kenshi Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'abadepite kuza kurahira¹⁴⁸. Perezida arahira wenyine ku itariki ya 5 Mutarama 1994. Haba inama nyinshi zatumijwe n'uhagarariye Loni cyangwa Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho ngo ibintu bishyirwe mu buryo ariko biba iby'ubusa. Na Habyarimana yarazitumije kandi atabifitiye uburenganzira, ndetse n'abahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda cyanecyane uw'Ubudage n'uwa Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika na bo bakoresheje inama bagarageza gufasha ngo ibintu bige mu buryo. CDR yo yari yishimiye ko Amasezerano y'Arusha adashyirwa mu bikorwa. Ku bwayo ikibazo cyari Abahutu n'Abatutsi barwanira ubutegetsu. Mu gihe icyo kibazo kitarakemurwa, nta mahoro yagombaga kubaho. CDR kandi ku bwayo, yabonaga ko ingingo nyinshi z'amasezerano y'Arusha zari zinyuraniye na demokarasi,

¹⁴⁶ Ngirumpatse M., «le point sur les négociations entre le gouvernement rwandais et le Front patriotique rwandais (FPR)», 9 novembre 1993

¹⁴⁷ FPR, itangazo ryo ku tariki 28 Gashyantare 1994

¹⁴⁸ Amatariki 29 na 30/12/93; 1/1/94; 5/1/94; 8/1/94; 15/1/94 ;2/2/94 ; 22/2/94 ; 23/2/94; 10/3/94 et 21/3/94.

zitabona ibintu uko biri kandi kubera izo mpamvu zidashobora gukurikizwa”¹⁴⁹.

FPR yanze gusubira mu masezerano yari yarasinyiwe Arusha, ibuza n’andi mashyaka gutatira umurongo w’Amasezerano y’Arusha. Ku byerekeye urutonde, FPR yavuze ko: “yemera gusa urutonde rw’abadepite batowe mu gihe cyateganyagwa n’amasezerano y’Arusha. Ivuga kandi ko itazemera na gato kwinjira muri guverinoma irimo abantu nka Justin Mugenzi basuzugura amasezerano y’Arusha”¹⁵⁰.

Naho ku bireba ibyo CDR yasabaga, FPR yanze ko yajya mu nzego z’inzibacyuho, igira iti: “Ako gashyaka katasinye amasezerano y’amahoro, kazwiho ubwicanyi n’amagambo asebanya gusa ntigakwiye guhagararirwa mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko y’Inzibacyuho” nk’uko ingingo ya 61 y’Amasezerano ibiteganyaga¹⁵¹.

CDR itari yashyize umukono ku masezerano, yisubiyeho yemera gusinya amasezerano y’imyitwarire myiza y’amashyaka ivuga ko yemeye Amasezerano ngo yinjire mu Nteko Ishinga Amategeko y’inzibacyuho. Yari yemeye amasezerano bya nyirarureshwa, itaretse ingengabitekerezo y’amacakubiri. Hirya no hino FPR bagumye gusaba ko FPR yakoroshya ntigumye kubangamira CDR. Ariko FPR ntiyava ku murongo wayo¹⁵². Kuri yo, ihame rya Leta igendera ku mategeko ntirijyana n’imikorere y’amacakubiri n’imvururu izo ari zo zose, biranga CDR. Minisitiri w’Ububanyi n’Amahanga wa Tanzaniya (Rwegasire) yagerageje gukemura ibyo bibazo bya poritiki byariho mu rugendo rw’icyumweru yakoze (guhera tariki ya 17 Werurwe 1994) agerageza guhura n’abanyaporitiki benshi bireba, ariko ntiyashobora kugira icyo ageraho.

¹⁴⁹ Ibaruwa ya Bucyana M. yandikiye Perezida wa Repubulika, 10 Nzeri 1993

¹⁵⁰ “RPF yemera gusa lisiti y’abadepite batowe mu gihe cy’amasezerano ya Arusha. RPF ntabwo izaba muri guverinoma izasangamo abantu nka Mugenzi J. ufata amasezerano ya Arusha nki” imbwa yaboze ipfunyikiye mu igunira” (itangazo rya tariki 28 Gashyantare 1994)

¹⁵¹ Les raisons de l’impasse, *op.cit.*, p.9.

¹⁵² FPR, ikibazo cyo kubona ishyamba CDR ryinjijye mu Nteko y’Inzibacyuho, Kigali 29-3-1994. Minisitiri w’Intebe Uwiringiyimana A. avuga ko «nta waheza CDR, yemeye ibyo andi mashyamba ayisaba» (5 Mutarama 1994)

Abaterankunga, bari basabwe gutera inkungu mu gihe k'inzibacyuho (hari harabaye inama nyinshi za FPR na guverinoma kuva muri Nzeri 1993) bari batangiye kurambirwa bategereje ko guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yajyaho ngo babone gutanga imfashanyo zabo. W. Claes wari Minisitiri w'Umubano n'Amahanga w'u Bubirigi yavuze icyo gihe ko amahanga atazakomeza kwihanganira itinzwa ryo gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano ya Arusha¹⁵³. L. Delcroix wari Minisitiri w'Ingabo w'u Bubirigi na we yavuze ko u Bubirigi butazategereza ubuziraherezo ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'inzego z'inzibacyuho. Boutros-Boutros Ghali (Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa Loni) na we yagize ati: "Niba amasezerano ya Arusha adashyizwe mu bikorwa, MINUAR izigendera".

Ni icyo gihe hari umwuka mubi mu baturage, urangwa n'umutekano muke, nta buyobozi buriho, intagondwa zarangije imyiteguro ya nyuma ya jenocide n'ubundi bwicanyi. Ku babiteguye, byari ngombwa ko abari bashyigikiye FPR, haba kuri kamere cyangwa mu bitekerezo byabo, bashira kugira ngo nihaba amatora na yo ubwayo izatsindwe ivanwe mu ruhande rwa poritiki. Ni icyo gihe hatari umutekano na muke, FPR yafashe ikemezo cyo gusubiza ku Murindi igice kimwe cy'abakada bayo batari abasirikare batari bakiri ngombwa muri CND.

¹⁵³ *L'Echo*, 23 Gashyantare 1994

JENOSIDE YAKOREWE ABATUTSI (Mata-Nyakanga 1994)Byanditswe na **Faustin RUTEMBESA**

Hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga 1994 mu Rwanda habaye jenocide yahitanye abantu barenga miriyoni¹. Guhera mu wa 1994 jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yakozweho ubushakashatsi, inandikwaho byinshi. Bamwe mu banditsi bagerageje gusubiramo nta gutegwa uko yateguwe n'uko yakozwe. Abandi bibanda ku gusesengura impamvu zayiteye. Muri urwo rwego, umutego w'irondabwoko wibanzweho nta kujenjeka ndetse n'icengezamatwara ry'itangazamakuru ribiba urwango na ryo ryarasesenguwe ku buryo buhagije.

Raporo z'imiryango mpuzamahanga zatangiye kugaragaza uko jenocide yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa, ari na ko abantu banyuranye batanga ubuhamya buteye nk'inkuru z'ubuzima banyuzemo. Habaye amaperereza nk'iryakozwe na Sena y'Ababirigi ku Rwanda, komisiyo y'ababadepite b'Abafaransa, Umuryango w'Abibumbye (ONU), Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika (OUA) ndetse n'inyandiko mvugo z'inama n'ubushakashatsi bunyuranye.

Haje kandi Raporo ya komisiyo y'igihugu ishinze kwegeranya ibimenyetso bigaragaza uruhare rwa Leta y'u Bufaransa muri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda mu wa 1994 na raporo y'iperereza ku mpamvu, imigendekere n'abagize uruhare mu

¹ Ikigereranyo k'imibare ituruka mu nkiko gacaca kigaragaza ko hishwe 1050,000 (Urwego rw'igihugu rushinzwe inkiko gacaca, rôle central des juridictions Gacaca, Kigali, Nzeri 2007.)

iraswa ry'indege ya Perezida w'u Rwanda. Amakuru kuri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 aturuka kandi ku buhamya butangwa mu nkiko zisanzwe, mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha (TPIR) no mu nkiko gacaca.

Uhereye kuri izi nyandiko, bigaragara ko gusobanura jenocide bisaba ibintu byinshi bigoye kwegeranya. Muri byo hagaragaramo ibikurikira: ingufu zo kubasha guhangana n'abashaka kwivanga, akenshi bo hanze y'ubushakashatsi, ubumenyi bwimbitse mu buryo bw'imikorere, kugira ubumenyi bw'ibanze, ubuhanga bwo kugereranya amasesengura anyuranye n'indishyi yo gukuramo ibitekerezompine.

Nubwo hari inyandiko nyinshi, gusobanura jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bihura n'inzitizi nyinshi. Zimwe zirebana n'ijorabumenyi, izindi zishingiye ku bintu biri hanze y'ubushakashatsi. Wakumva ute jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ukagerageza no kuyisobanura? Imiterere y'iki kibazo ituma nta kantu na kamwe dukwiye kwirengagiza. Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe ku zindi jenocide bugaragaza ko ari ngombwa kubanza kwiga intangiriro y'icyaha, icyatumye kiba ku buryo bunonosoye kandi nta nkomyi, inzego n'amayeri yakoreshejwe.

Kugendera kuri izi ngingo, bifasha kugerageza kumva no gusobanura uburyo "abantu bangana kuriya bapfuye n'ukuntu abandi bangana kuriya babaye abicanyi bahuje umugambi"². Kuri iki kibazo hashamikiraho ibindi bifasha umuntu kubona ibisobanuro nko kumenya uko abicanyi bumvaga ukwitabira kwabo jenocide. Tugendeye ku nyandiko ndetse n'ibyavuzwe, iki gice kiragaragaza mu buryo bw'intangiriro, impine y'ibitekerezo bifasha umuntu kumva jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

6.1. Gusobanura amagambo n'inshoza z'ibanze

Mbere yo kwinjira mu isesengura ryimbitse, birakwiye gusobanura inshoza n'amagambo bizakoreshwa mu bice biri imbere: "icyaha k'intambara", "Icyaha kibasira inyoko muntu", "jenocide"³. Aya magambo akunze gukoreshwa ku buryo butari bwo. Urebeye mu nyandiko zimwe na zimwe usanga ajya kuvuga kimwe ndetse ugasanga adafutura icyo yashyiriweho.

² Chrétien J.-P., "Un génocide africain: de l'idéologie à la propagande", muri Verdrier V. et al., *Rwanda. Un génocide du XXème siècle*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1995. 46.

³ Ku birebana no kubiha amazina ndetse no gusobanura ibi byaha wareba, Ternon Y., *guerre et génocide au XXe siècle*.

Amasezerano y'i Jeneve (*Convention de Genève*) yo mu wa 1906 n'ay'i Lahe (*Convention de la Haye*) yo mu wa 1907, ibyaha by'intambara ni ibikorwa bya kinyamaswa bikorerwa abasiviri n'abasirikare bakomeretse cyangwa bafashwe bunyago mu gihe k'imirwano hagati y'ibihugu. Nyuma haje gushyirwaho ibikorwa bigize icyo cyaha. Ibyo ni nk'ibikorwa by'iyicarubozo, cyangwa ibindi bikorwa bitari ibya kimuntu, kubabaza nkana, gufunga binyuranye n'amategeko, guhatira umuntu kurwanira ingabo z'umwanzi, gusenya no gutwara ku ngufu ibintu by'abandi nta ho bigaragara ko bikenewe mu rwego rwa gisirikare, kandi bigakorwa ku bwinshi n'ibindi.

Icyaha kibasira inyoko muntu cyasobanuwe mu masezerano y'i Londres (*Convention de Londres*) yasinywe n'abafatanyije kurwanya Hitireri tariki ya 8 Kanama 1945 kugira ngo habe imanza z'abicanyi b'abanazi. Kireba by'umwihariko ibikorwa bitari ibya kimuntu bikorerwa abasivire ku buryo bwateguwe mu gihe k'intambara cyangwa cy'amahoro. Kuva haba imanza z'i Nuremberg inshoza y'icyaha kibasira inyoko muntu isuzumwa ku buryo buhoraho.

Sitati ya Roma (statut de Rome) igenga urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga yashyize ahagaragara ibyiciro birenga icumi by' ibikorwa bigize iki cyaha. Twavuga nk'ubwicanyi cyangwa kurimbura ku bwinshi abagize amatsinda y'abantu runaka, guhungisha cyangwa kwimura ku ngufu abaturage, gufunga cyangwa ubundi buryo bukabije bwo kubuza uburenganzira bufatika, urengereye ibiteganywa by'ibanze n'amategeko mpuzamahanga, gutoteza itsinda iryo ari ryo ryose uhereye ku mpamvu za poritiki, ibara ry'uruhu, igihugu, umuco, ukwemera (idini), cyangwa se igitsina, gushimuta bikozwe ku bwinshi kandi byateguwe bigakurikirwa no kunyereza.

Uherye ku mavu n'amavuko, jenocide ni ijambo rishya, ryubatswe bahereye ku ijambo ry'ikigereki *Genos*, rivuga intangiriro, inyoko n'ubwoko ndetse no ku nshinga y'ikiratini *Caedere* ivuga kwica. Ryakoreshejwe bwa mbere mu wa 1944 na Raphaël Lemkin mu gitabo ke "*Axis rule in Occupied Europe*" aho ijambo jenocide risobanura kurimbura ibihugu n'amatsinda y'amoko runaka uhereye ku mugambi wateguwe ukayoborwa kandi ugashyirwa mu bikorwa⁴.

⁴ Ternon Y., *L'État criminel. les génocides du XXè siècle*, Paris, Seuil, 1995, p. 17.

Iryo jambo ryakoreshejwe ku nshuro ya mbera mu nyandiko yemewe mu kirego cyo mu rukiko mpuzamahanga rwa gisirikare rw'i Nuremberg. Kuri urwo rwego, igisobanuro k'ijambo jenocide kigaragaza, ubugira kabiri, ubushake bw'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Ku ruhande rumwe, kigaragaza ubushake ntavuguruzwa bwo guhana icyaha, kugeza icyo gihe kitari mu nkoranyamagambo y'ubutabera mpanabyaha; ku rundi ruhande, guha inyito irimburwa ry'Abayahudi ryateguwe na Leta ya Hitireri. Bityo rero, ijambo jenocide ryahimbiwe gusobanura ikiciro gishya k'icyaha kitahozeho.

Igisobanuro cya jenocide cyasubiwemo mu rwego rw'amategeko mu masezerano yo kurwanya no gukumira icyaha cya jenocide yemejwe n'abari mu nteko rusange y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bose tariki ya 9 Ukuboza 1948. Ayo masezerano, yatangiye gushyirwa mu bikorwa mu wa 1951, asobanura mu ngingo yayo ya II, ko "Jenocide igaragarira muri kimwe mu bikorwa bikurikira, bikorwa hagambiriwe kurimbura itsinda ryose cyangwa se igice cy'abagize itsinda ry'abanyagihugu, ry'ubwoko, ry'inyoko cyangwa ry' idini mu buryo bukurikira:

- a. Kwica abagize iryo itsinda;
- b. Kototera ubutavogerwa bw'umubiri cyangwa ubwenge bw'abagize iryo tsinda;
- c. Gushyira nkana abagize iryo tsinda mu mibereho igamije kubarimbura bose cyangwa se igice cyabo;
- d. Gufata ibyemezo bigamije gukumira, kubyara muri iryo tsinda;
- e. Kwimurira ku gahato abana bo mu itsinda runaka mu rindi".⁵

Uhereye ku nshoza "kwica ku bwinshi", n'uruhare ubutegetsi bwa poritiki bugenda bubigiramo, inshoza y'"icyaha kibasira inyoko muntu" na "jenocide" bijya gusa. Niba icyaha k'intambara kiba aruko habaye imirwano hagati y'ibihugu, icyaha kibasira inyoko muntu na jenocide bishobora kuba mu makimbirane y'imbere mu gihugu. Ikinyuranyo hagati y'ibyo byaha byombi gishingira ku mpamvu zibitera. Umwicanyi abikora agamije gukuraho uwicwa kubera, inyoko, ubwoko bwe cyangwa se ibitekerezo bye bya poritiki. Iyo umunyacyaha afite ubusahake bwo kurimbura

⁵ Convention sur la prévention et la répression du crime de génocide muri Temon Y., 1995, *op.cit.*, 44; reba na none Nations Unies (service d'informations), Qu'est-ce qu'un génocide? Une convention des Nations Unies pour prévenir et punir la destruction délibérée d'un groupe national, racial, religieux ou ethnique, New York, 1959 ; J.-Dupaquier F. (dir), *La justice internationale face au drame rwandais*, Paris, Karthala, 1996, p. 120.; Nations Unies, *Statuts de Rome de la Cour internationale*, 2000.

burundu cyangwa se igice k'itsinda ry'abanyagihugu, ry'inyoko runaka, ry'ubwoko cyangwa idini uko biri, ibikorwa bye byitwa jenocide.

Ushaka kumva jenocide uhereye kuri ibi bisobanuro, biragaragara ko imiterere y'icyaha iza imbere y'ubwinshi bw'abo gihitana. Ikintu k'ibanze mu gusonura jenocide si ubwinshi bw'abicwa n'uburyo bukoreshwa mu kubica, ahubwo ni ubushake n'umugambi wa Leta cyangwa inzego ziyishamikiyeho wo gutegura gutsemba itsinda ry'abantu ryemejwe nk'inzitizi z'intego cyangwa ibyifuzo by'iyi Leta.

Niba umugambi wo kurimbura itsinda ry'abanyagihugu uko rimeze utoroshye kugaragazwa mu rwego rw'amategeko kubera ko inshuro nyinshi uba utashyizwe mu nyandiko, ibimenyetso bifatika bishobora kuwugaragaza. Guhura kw'igihe ndetse n'ahantu k'ubwicanyi bukorerwa abaturage bagaragajwe mbere bigaragaza umugambi wa Leta n'inzego ziyihagarariye wo gukuraho burundu abo baturage ku butaka bwayo n'aho ifite ububasha hose.

Nk'uko bigaragara ntibyoroshye gusobanura inshoza ya jenocide kubera uburyo ikuririzwa, ndetse n'ibindi bintu bifite aho bihuriye na yo, birushaho gutuma bikomera. Muri byo twavugaga ikorehwa rya hato na hato ry'iryo jambo, ibyibanda ku gushyira imbere ikiciro runaka cy'abaturage. Muri uwo murongo ijamba jenocide rikorehwa mu kumvikanisha ubwicanyi icyo kiciro kemeza ko cyakorewe mu gihe cyashize. Icyo gihe ijamba jenocide rigakorehwa hagamijwe kwibuka inkomoko.

Haza kandi impamvu z'ubutabazi bw'ibanze, zikunze gukoreshwa n'imiryango itabogamiye kuri Leta. Aha, ijamba jenocide rikorehwa nk'amyari agamije kuzamura amarangamutima, guca ibikuba mu bantu kugira ngo hemezwe ko haba ubutabazi mpuzamahanga. Izindi mpamvu zishobora kuba iz'ubutabera. Gukoresha ijamba jenocide biba bigamije kugaragaza ubukomere bw'ibyaha no kuburanisha umunyaporitiki runaka wabigizemo uruhare mu nkiko mpuzamahanga.

Bimwe muri ibyo bintu bibangamira gusobanura jenocide bigaragara kandi mu gihe cyo gusonura jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Ntawabura kwibutsa zimwe mu nyandiko, ubwo zamaraga kugaragaza uko igice kimwe cy'Abanyarwanda

n'umujinya mwinshi, kibasiye ikindi zemezaga ko uruhare rw'ubwo bwicanyi rukwiye gushyirwa ku wateye uwo mujinya⁶. Iyi myumvire igaragaza ko gusobanura jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bitagamije gusa inyungu z'ubumenyi.

Nymara, guhera kuri L. Lemkin n'amasezerano yo mu wa 1948, intambwe ifatika yaratewe mu kugaragaza ku buryo bwumvikanyweho, ibikorwa bigize icyaha cya jenocide. Ibyo bikorwa si umubare w'abicwa, ahubwo ni umugambi wo kurimbura itsinda ry'abantu runaka ndetse no kuwushyira mu bikorwa byateguwe cyangwa byumvikanyweho. Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe kuri jenocide zakozwe mu kinyejana cya XX bugaragaza ko buri yose yari yabanjirijwe n'imyiteguro miremire yo kubaka ingengabitekerezo ndetse na tekini, bikozwe n'inzego za Leta.

Muri iyi nyandiko, interuro "jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi" igarukamo cyane. Kuyikoresha, aho gukoresha "jenocide nyarwanda" bishingiye ku ngingo ebyiri z'inyurabwenge ya jenocide: mbere na mbere itsinda ry'abicwa ryatoranijwe kandi rigaragazwa nk'itsinda ry'ubwoko, no kuritsemba bikorwa mu kivunge. Na none, abicanyi bibonaga kandi bakigaragaza nk'Abahutu kandi bagahitamo abo bica kubera ko bari mu itsinda rifatwa ko ari Abatutsi.

6.2. Imbarutso n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi

6.2.1. Ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida no gushyira mu bikorwa jenocide

Tariki ya 6 Mata 1994, indege yari itwaye Perezida w'u Rwanda Yuvenari Habyarimana na Cyprien Ntaryamira w'u Burundi yarasiwe iruhande rw'ikibuga k'indege k'i Kanombe, hejuru y'umusozi wa Masaka. Uko iyo ndege yahitanye abaperezida bombi ndetse n'ibyegera byabo harimo umugaba mukuru w'ingabo z'u Rwanda Koroneri Déogratias Nsabimana, yarashwe bikurura impaka zikomeye. Izo mpaka zishingira ku bisobanuro bitatu.

⁶ Reyntjens P., "Rwanda. Ten years on: From genocide to Dictatorship", in *Africa Affairs* (2002), 103, pp. 177-210. Reba kandi Lugan B., Rwanda, *Contre-enquête sur le génocide*, éd. Privat, 2007, p. 273.

Igisobanuro cya mbere gishyira mu majwi uruhare rwa FPR mu gutegura no guhanura indege ya Perezida⁷. Abatanga ibi bisobanuro ahanini ni abari mu nzego z'ubuyobozi z'Abafaransa, abahoze ari abanyacyubahiro mu buyobozi bwatsinzwe mu Rwanda n'abanyamuryango b'imitwe ya poritiki iba mu buhungiro ndetse na bamwe mu bantu bafite aho baturira n'igisirikare cy'ubafaransa. Bemeza ko FPR yabikoze yabigambiriye ku mpamvu eshatu.

Ngo FPR yaba yateguye kandi igashyirisha mu bikorwa umugambi wo guhanura Perezida Habyarimana mu rwego rwo kuburizamo amaserano ya Arusha yari imaze gusinyana na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda Arusha tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993. Ngo yaba kandi yarashakaga kwikiza Perezida wari uyibangamiye mu gutsinda burundu urugamba. Ngo FPR yaba yarashakaga gufata ubutegetsi bwose bwa poritiki nta nkomyi, aho kubugabana n'indi mitwe ya poritiki yari iri mu Rwanda.

Iki gisobanuro kigamije kumvikanisha igitekerezo gihamya ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, yatewe n'umujinya utunguranye w'Abahutu bakoreshejwe n'agahinda, kumva nta cyo bashoboye nta n'uburenganzira bagifite. Twibutse ko iki gisobanuro cyakwirakwijwe na guverinoma y'abatabazi yishyizeho tariki ya 8 Mata 1994. Cyatumye babasha gusobanura jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, urupfu rw'abasirikari 10 b'Ababirigi bari muri MINUAR na bamwe mu banyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Leta⁸.

Igisobanuro cya kabiri k'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana gishyira mu majwi ibyegera bye, by'umwihariko abaturuka mu umuryango w'umugore we bafashijwe n'abahanga mu bya gisirikare b'abanyamahanga⁹. Ngo ibyo byegera bya Perezida byaba byarabikoze kubera impamvu ebyiri. Iya mbere, ngo bamushinjaga kuba yarasinye ku itariki ya 4 Kanama 1993, ku gitutu cya FPR, abayobozi b'ibihugu byo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari n'umuryango mpuzamahanga, amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha. Urupfu rwe ngo rwaba rwari rugamije guteza imidugararo n'akaduruvayo byashoboraga kuburizamo igikorwa cyo kubahiriza imigereka y'amasezerano irebana no kugabana ubutegetsi muri Leta y'inzibacyuho yaguye no guhuza ingabo.

⁷ Prunier G., Rwanda (1959-1994), *Histoire d'un Génocide*, Milan, Ed. Dogorno, 1997, pp.259-261.

⁸ U Bubirigi bwafatwaga n'ubutegetsi bwariho nk'ubwafashije FPR mu itegurwa n'ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana.

⁹ Prunier G., *op.cit.*, pp.266-267

Igisobanuro cya kabiri gishingira ku isano iri hagati y'igitekerezo cyo kutarekura ubutegetsu mu itsinda ry'Abahutu na jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Abatutsi bafatwaga nk'abantu babangamiye gushyira mu bikorwa icyo gitekerezo. Abateguye jenocide babonaga mu rupfu rwa Perezida, uburyo bwiza bwo kwica ku bwinshi Abatutsi ndetse no kwica Abahutu no kwikiza ingengabitekerezo y'abatavugaga rumwe na Leta. Ihereye ku bitekerezo byaturutse ahantu hanyuranye, raporo y'iperereza ku ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida igaragaza ko iyo ndege yarasiwe mu gace ka gisirikare k'i Kanombe, irashwe na bamwe mu basirikare bo mu ngabo z' u Rwanda bagenzuraga ako gace¹⁰.

Ibisobanuro bya nyuma ku rupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana biganisha ku ruhare rwaba rwaragizwe n'abasirikare ndetse n'abadiporomate b'abanyamahanga. Abahamya ibi, bahera ku myitwarire n'imigirire y'abasirikare b'Ababirigi n'ab'Abafaransa mu masaha ya mbere yakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ryo ku wa 6 Mata. Nubwo badahuriza ku bwenegihugu bw'abakekwa kugira uruhare mu ihanurwa ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata, abemeza iki gisobanuro cy'abantu bo hanze bahurira ku kuba abantu bari aho indege yarasiwe bari abazungu.

Kuri iyi ngingo, twavugaga ambasaderi w'u Rwanda i Kinshasa mu cyahoze ari Zayire Etienne Sengegera n'abari ibyegera bya Habyarimana bemeje, ku munsu ukurikira uwo indege ya Perezida yahanuriweho, ko indege yahanuwe n'abasirikare b'Ababirigi bo muri MINUAR. Etienne Sengegera yemezaga ko Ababirigi baba barakorega FPR kandi umunsu w'iraswa ry'indege abasirikari b'Ababirigi bo muri MINUAR bakoraga ironde mu duce tuzengurutse aho indege yaguye¹¹.

Collette Braeckman, we ashyigikira igitekerezo cy'uko indege ya Perezida Habyarimana Juvénal yaba yarahanuwe na misile zarashwe n'abasirikare b'Abafaransa cyangwa abo baba barigishije kuzirashisha. Yemeza ko yaguye ku nyandiko ivuga ku mutwe w'abakomando ugizwe n'abasirikare babiri b'Abafaransa n'abakozi ba CDR. Ngo uwo mutwe w'abakomando ni wo waba wararashe indege ya Perezida¹². Nubwo hatagaragazwa neza abo ari bo, baba ari abanyamahanga bateguye, bakanashyira mu bikorwa ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana.

¹⁰ République du Rwanda, *Le Rapport d'enquête sur les causes, les circonstances et les responsabilités de l'attentat contre l'avion présidentiel rwandais*, Kigali, 20 Avril, 2009, p. 183-186.

¹¹ Prunier G., 1997, *op.cit*, p. 258.

¹² Collette B., 1997, *op.cit*, p. 258; *La Nuit Rwandaise*, no 2,7 Avril 2008, pp.400-401

Nubwo nta bimenyetso bifatika bigaragaza abarashe indege, hari abantu batera indi ntambwe bemeza ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yatewe n'ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana. Abayobozi ba guverinoma y'abatabazi n'abari bayoboze jenocide ni ko babigaragazaga. Babyerekanaga nk'uburyo bwa nyuma Abahutu bari bafite bwo kwitabara barwanya Abatutsi baciye igihugu umutwe kandi bagakorana n'umwanzi wo hanze y'igihugu ari we FPR.

Nyuma y'iryo hanurwa ry'indege, igice cya Hutu Pawa cyabaye umuyoboro mfashabwenge wo guhamagarira gutsemba Abatutsi. Abari bari bawuyoboze bagaragazaga urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana nk'igikorwa cy'ubushotoranyi bw'Abatutsi n'integuza yo gutsemba Abahutu. Gutsemba Abatutsi byasobanurwaga nk'uburyo bwa nyuma bw'Abahutu bwo guharanira kubaho kwabo. Urupfu rwa Perezida Habyarimana rwatumye haba ishyirwa mu bikorwa ry'imigambi ibiri mikuru: Uwo guhorera Abahutu b'i Burundi no kurinda abo mu Rwanda umugambi wo kubarimbura wateguwe na FPR

Bityo rero, amarangamutima yaturutse ku rupfu rw'abaperezida b'u Burundi n'u Rwanda akoreshwa mu kumvikanisha itsembwa ry'Abatutsi no gushaka ababyitabira benshi. Kuba Guverinoma y'abatabazi n'abari bayoboze jenocide baratungaga agatoki Abatutsi ko ari bo bacuze umugambi bakanarasa indege, byahinduye ku buryo bugaragara imyumvire y'abaturage. Ibirego byashinjwaga FPR "n'ibitso"¹³ byayo byari bigamije kumvisha Abahutu impamvu yo gutsemba Abatutsi vuba na bwangu.

Impuruza ya Shingiro Mbonyumutwa yanyujijwe kuri RTLM hashize icyumweru nyuma y'urupfu rw'abaperezida bombi ni cyo yari igamije. Uwo muhungu w'uwigize kuba Perezida, yazamuye amarangamutitma y'Abahutu bari bagishidikanya, ababurira ko ari bo batahiwe gutsembwa n'Abatutsi bo hanze y'igihugu niba batabatanze ngo batsembe vuba na bwangu abo mu gihugu: "Mutekereze rwose Abatutsi bo hanze y'igihugu nibagera mu gihugu bagatangira kwihimura ku banzi babahejeje hanze imyaka mirongo itatu! Ndabahamiriza ko, nk'uko na bo babyivugiye, ikibazo cy'umubare munini w'Abanyarwanda kizahita gikemuka. Bazatsembe, batsembe, batsembe, batsembe. Bazatsembe kugeza ubwo basigara bonyine muri iki gihugu kugira ngo

¹³ Ijambo ikitso ryasobanuraga Abatutsi bose b'imbere mu gihugu n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Leta

ubutegetsyi ababyeyi babo babashije kugumana imyaka magana ane, bo babugumane imyaka igihumbi (...) Ni na yo mpamvu wowe utekereza, wibwira ko bizaba biguhagije kwibombarika (...) ko bizaba biguhagije gukoma amashyi igihe batera (...) urata igihe cyawe! Ntihagire ugabanya umurava”¹⁴.

Biragaragara rero ko iraswa ry’indege ryo ku itariki ya 6 Mata, ryabaye urwitwazo aho kuba impamvu, yo guhagurutsa imashini ya jenocide yubatwe mu myaka ya mbere. Inzego zinyuranye z’abajenosideri zigizwe n’imitwe itari iya gisirikari, imitwe ya gisirikari, imitwe yitwara gisirikari yatojwe gufata no kwica mu kivunge yatangiye kugerageza umugambi wabo guhera mu Kwakira 1990, i Kibirira, i Mutura, i Kanzenze na Gashora ho mu Bugesera. Ibitangazamakuru byo byahitishaga ubutumwa buvuga ko Abatutsi ari icyago k’ibanze bakwiriyeye kurwanya. Impamvu ubwo butumwa kwasubiwemo na nyuma yuko ubwicanyi butangira, nuko bwari bukubiyemo ibisobanuro by’ibyarimo kuba kandi ari na ko butera akanyabugabo abakoraga jenocide.

Ntawakwibagirwa gukomoza ku rupfu rwa Perezida Ndadaye Melchior w’u Burundi rwo ku itariki ya 21 Ukwakira 1993. Uru rupfu rwafashije kwegeranya ibice by’abahezanguni bo mu mashyamba yitwaga ko aharanira demokarasi kandi atavugaga rumwe na Leta. Rwatumye kandi bamagana byimazeyo amasezerano y’Arusha uko yakabaye. Bahereye kuri urwo rupfu, imyumvire yari ishizwe imbere n’ibyo bice yagiye irushaho guhabwa agaciro. Vuba na bwangu, iyo myumvire yari igamije kumvikanisha ibirimo gukorwa kandi igasobanura impamvu Abatutsi bagomba kurwanywa.

Mu gihembwe cya nyuma cy’umwaka wa 1993 ibice by’abahezanguni byari bimaze kwigarurira inzego n’imikorere by’ubutegetsyi. Ibi kandi byafashije mu gushyira mu bikorwa igishushanyo mbonera k’imperuka” uko cyari cyaratangajwe n’ibitangazamakuru kikamaganwa n’imwe mu miryango iharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu. Ibi byerekana ku buryo bugaragara isano nini iri hagati y’imikorere yimakajwe n’ubutegetsyi n’ihanurwa ry’indege ya Perezida wabwo. Iyo sano ishingiye ku gukabya ubugizi bwa nabi no guhutaza ku buryo bukabije umuryango nyarwanda/ abaturage nk’amayeri yo kwisubiza ingufu no gushimangira ububasha bwa MRND. Asinya

¹⁴ RTLM, Appel de M. Shingiro, cité par J.-P. Chrétien, 1995, *op.cit.*, pp. 299-300

maserano y'amahoro y'Arusha ndetse aniyemeza kuyashyira mu bikorwa, Perezida Habyarimana yari agaragaje ibimenyetso by'intege nke kandi arushijeho gutuma abantu barushaho kwibaza ejo hazaza h'ubutegetsu bwe. icyo gihe, kumwikiza byarashobokaga kubera impamvu ebyiri.

Mbere na mbere, kumwikiza byatangaga ikizere ku gitekerezo cya "rubanda y'Abahutu" yagambaniwe kandi igashotorwa nta mpamvu; bikaba byari kwakirwa vuba kandi n'abantu benshi. Mu yandi magambo, icyo gitekerezo cyari kigamije kongera kwibutsa imizi ya gahutu no gutuma bemera gukora ubugizi bwa nabi bwo ku rwego rwo hejuru. Noneho, igikorwa cyo kwica Perezida Habyarimana cyari kifitemo ingufu zo kumvikanisha ko habaye ishyano ridasanze. Kumuhitana byaje gutuma hakoreshe ibihuha bishoboka byose, ibinyoma, urwango n'ubwoba kugira ngo haburizwemo burundu ibyagezweho mu maserano y'amahoro y'Arusha, hanyuma abatemeraga kumvikana uko ari ko kose cyanecyane na FPR bagafata ubuyobozi bw'igihugu.

"Muri Werurwe 1993, Ambasaderi w'u Bubirigi (i Kigali) yahamagaje abanyamakuru b'Ababirigi aduha amabwiriza dufata ifunguro rya mu gitondo. Ntitwashoboraga kubivuga muri icyo gihe, ariko yadusobanuriye ku buryo burasa ku ntego ibyategurwaga byose. Yasobanuye uburyo hashyirwaho imitwe yitwara gisirikare, uko ikwirakwizwa ku misozi, itangwa ry'intwari, uko hakorwa amarisi y'abantu bagomba kwicwa; byose byahuzaga n'ubuhamya abanyamakuru bari begeranyije. Ku bindeba, nanditse inkuru ndende mu kinyamakuru cyange mu mpera za Werurwe ngira ngo mvuge ibyari gutegurwa mu Rwanda. Bivuze ko ku itariki ya 6 Mata, ubwo indege yaraswaga, no ku itariki ya 7, ubwo amakuru y'urupfu rwa Minisitiri w'Intebe yamenyekanaga n'urupfu rwo ku ikubitiro rw'abanyaporitiki i Kigali, ntatangaye, kuko umugambi wari waratangajwe wakorwaga ku buryo budasubirwaho"¹⁵.

Ryitiriwe mu guhubuka abasirikari b'Ababirigi mbere, FPR nyuma; ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida ntiryakagombye gutandukanywa n'ingingo zavuzwe haruguru zigize umugambi w'ubwicanyi. Ubuhamya bwegeranijwe na komisiyo y'iperereza y'abanyagihugu, inzego z'ubutasi z'Abafaransa n'Ababirigi zari

¹⁵ Témoignage de Braeckman, in C., Coret L. et Verschave F.-X., *L'horreur qui nous prend au visage. L'Etat français dans le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, p. 342

zizi neza itegurwa rya jenocide, byibuze ukwezi kumwe mbere yuko itangira¹⁶. Birumvikana ku buryo buhagije ko iyicwa rya Perezida Habyarimana ari imwe mu nkingi y'iyoyiteguro. Ryari rigamije gukomeretsa amarangamutima yose ashoboka kugira ngo abantu bemere ubugizi bwa nabi burenze kamere kandi bukorewe hose. Ubuhamya bwashyikirijwe komisiyo y'iperereza ku ruhare rw'u Bufaransa muri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bushimangira iki gisobanuro¹⁷.

6.2.2. Kwica Abatutsi mu gihugu hose kandi ku buryo buteguye

Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yahise ikurikira ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida. Mu ma saa tatu z'ijoro ryo ku wa 6 Mata 1994, umugi wa Kigali waguye mu kantu. Kwica Abatutsi n'abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Leta byahise bitangira. Amasasu ya hatu na hatu yumvikanye mu nkengeru z'ikigo cya gisirikare k'i Kanombe ahari hakambitse abasirikare barinda Perezida¹⁸. Aba basirikare ni bo bahise banyanyagira mu duce tw'umugi twarimo Kimihurura na Kakiru, basanga abantu mu mazu yabo, barabafata, abandi babica bunyamaswa, batangiza batyo igikorwa kinini cyo gutsemba Abatutsi. Bitwaje guhorera Perezida Habyarimana, abasirikare bo muri batayo parakomando, n'abagize imitwe yitwara gisirikare yo mu gice cyo kwa Perezida bahise bishora mu bikorwa byo guhiga abasiviri b'Abatutsi n'abataravugaga rumwe na Leta, batera ingo zabo, barazisenya mbere yo kwica abari batuyemo. Inkuru ku mbarutso y'ubwicanyi bwa mbere bwo mu kivunge bw'Abatutsi zigaragaza ko mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, icyoba kidasanze cyari cyatashye abatuye umugi wa Kigali.

Urusaku rw'imbunda, imiborogo y'abicwa basambagurika mu duce twinshi tw'umugi n'indirimo z'abicanyi bari batangiye kwica abasiviri b'Abatutsi byari bihangayikishije abatuye umugi dore ko bamwe muri bo ari bwo bari bakimara kumva iby'urupfu rwa Perezida.

¹⁶ Idem, p. 461. Morel J., *Témoignage cité in La nuit Rwandaise*, op.cit., p. 411.

¹⁷ République du Rwanda, *Rapport de la Commission Nationale Chargée de Rassembler les preuves montrant l'Implication de l'Etat français dans le génocide perpétré au Rwanda en 1994*, Kigali, 2007, pp. 323-330.

¹⁸ Muri icyo gihe umugi wa Kigali n'inkengeru zawo hari abasirikare bagera ku bihumbi 7000, harimo abagera ku 1500 baturuka mu mitwe kabuhariwe y'abarinda Perezida, abaparakomando n'imitwe y'iperereza.

Ubwoba n'urujijo byari byabatashye, mu gihe kuranga no kwica Abatutsi byakorwaga na byo muri icyo gihe. Mu masaha ya mbere yo mu gitondo cyo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994 ab'ingenzi bo mu mashyaka ataravugaga rumwe na Leta bari bamaze kwicwa, akenshi bakicanwa n'imiryango yabo¹⁹. Abandi basirikare ndetse n'*Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi* na bo bahise bijandika ari benshi mu kwica Abatutsi. Ku manywa yo ku itariki ya 7 Mata 1994, igikorwa cya jenocide cyari cyamaze gukwira mu bice binyuranye by'igihugu. Uko gukwirakwiza ubwicanyi byari bifite intego ebyiri: kwica Abatutsi no kurimbura abo batavugaga rumwe b'imbere mu gihugu, kugira ngo himikwe ironwabwoko nk'uburyo rukumbi bushoboka bwo kuyobora ibitekerezo bya poritiki n'imibereho. Byari bigamije kandi gutuma FPR yubura imirwano kugira ngo haburizwemo burundu amasezerano y'Arusha yari yarasinywe tariki ya 4 Kanama 1993.

Kubura imirwano kwa FPR, amasaha make nyuma yuko kwica Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Leta bikorwa ahantu henshi kandi ku bwinshi byafashije *abacurabwenge* n'abayoboraga jenocide bayihuza n'urupfu rwa Perezida kugira ngo basobanure irimburwa ry'Abatutsi bagaragazwaga nk'*ibyitso* by'imbere mu gihugu. Abayobozi b'intagondwa, itangazamakuru rya Leta n' iryigenga bahamagariraga Abahutu kwitandukanya n'Abatutsi ndetse kubatsemba²⁰.

Tariki ya 8 Mata, mu gihe kwica Abatutsi byari birimbanyije mu mugi wa Kigali no mu tundi duce tw'igihugu, hashyizweho Guverinoma nshya, uwahoze ari Perezida wa CND (Inama y'Igihugu iharanira Amajyambere) akaba n'umunyamuryango wa MRND, Théodore Sindikubwabo, yashyizwe ku mwanya wa Perezida wa Repubulika. Jean Kambanda, waturukaga mu gice k'intagondwa cya MDR kiyise *hutu pawa*, aba umukuru wa Guverinoma yari igizwe gusa n'abaminisitiri baturuka mu bice by'abahezanguni bari bashyigikiye jenocide yakorerwaga Abatutsi. Tariki ya 9 Mata 1994, itangazo rya Leta ritangaza ishyirwaho rya Guverinoma igizwe n'abayobozi b'abahezanguni

¹⁹ Ibi ni byo byabaye kuri Minisitiri w'Intebe Uwiringiyimana A. n'abasirikari 10 ba Loni b'Ababirigi bari bashinzwe kumurinda, abaminisitiri Ndasingwa L., Rucogoza F. na Nzamurambaho F., Perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga Kavuruganda J., na Ngango F., uherye ku maserano y'Arusha, wari kuba Perezida w'Inteko ishingana amategeko.

²⁰ Mu masaha ya mbere ubwo hicwaga Abatutsi, Abahutu bamwe ntibari bazi ko ubwicanyi bwababaga Abatutsi gusa, hirya no hino bageragezaga kwifatanya n'imiryango y'Abatutsi babafasha kwirwanaho.

baturuka mu mashyaka 5 harimo 4 yitwaga ko atavuga rumwe na Leta (MDR, PSD, PL, PDC). Bigaragara ko amashyaka yose yari ahagarariwe, nyamara abari bayahagariye ni abaturukaga mu gice cya pawa cyari gishyigikiye jenocide.

Bakimara gutangira imirimo, abayobozi bashya bihatiye gutuma jenocide igera henshi kandi igakorwa ku buryo buhwitse. Ni muri urwo rwego uduce tw'Amagepfo no hagati mu gihugu twashowe muri jenocide guhera tariki ya 9 Mata 1994. Bashyiraho Guverinoma igizwe n'abantu baturuka hagati no mu Magepfo y'igihugu, abari bayoboze jenocide bari bagamije gushakisha uko abakomoka muri ako gace bayoboka ngo bitabire jenocide²¹.

Mu rwego rwo kugaragaza ubushobozi bwabo mu mirimo mishya, abayobozi bashya bahamagariraga abaturage gutsemba Abatutsi mu duce bakomokagamo. Mu nama zategurwaga ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi, abo bayobozi bacishagamo ibitekerezo bibiri. icya mbere cyari icyo kugaragaza ko umuryango w'Abahutu wahohotewe nta mpamvu kandi ushobora kurimburwa. icya kabiri cyari icyo kwemeza ko Abatutsi iyo bava bakagera ari ba nyirabayazana b'intambara n'akaga Abahutu bahura na ko. Ibyo bitekerezo bigahembera inzika, bigakarishya urwango, bigatuma hitabirwa kwica nta mpuhwe.

Tariki ya 11 Mata 1994, Minisitiri w'Intebe w'abatabazi, Jean Kambanda, yatumiye muri Hôtel des diplomates i Kigali abaperefe ba perefegitura zose uretse uwa Butare, Jean Baptiste Habyarimana. Iyo nama yari igamije gufasha abayobozi bashya kumenya aho bwicanyi bugeze no kumenya ubushake bw'abo bakuriye mu kugeza igikorwa kure hashoboka. Guhera tariki ya 12 Mata 1994, abari bakuriye amakomini, segiteri na za serire bashumuriye Abatutsi abaturage bashinjaga ko bashaka gutsemba Abahutu.

Uretse perefegitura ya Butare, uduce tundi tw'igihugu twahise twiroha mu bwicanyi bukozwe mu kivunge. Kugeza ku itariki ya 16 Mata 1994, perefefe wa perefegitura ya Butare, Jean Baptiste Habyarimana, yari yabashije kurinda umutekano w'iyi perefegitura. Kuri icyo tariki yakuwe ku mirimo ye asimburwa Sylvain Sibomana. Mu gihe bimikaga Sylvain Sibomana, Perezida w'abatabazi Théodore Sindikubwabo, yaboneyeho kumvisha

²¹ Guichaoua A., *Rwanda 1994. Les politiques du génocide à Butare*, Paris, Karthala, 2005, p. 256.

abaturage akamaro k'amabwiriza y'abayobozi no kwihutira bwangu gutsemba "umwanzi".

"Birashoboka ko mutamenye amabwiriza yacu (...) cyangwa mutumvise icyo tubasaba cyangwa se, mwaracyumvise, mwanga kumvira. Cyakora ntituzi impamvu z'uko kwanga kumvira (...) uwumva avuga ati ge ntibindeba, ge niftiye ubwoba, abo bahitamo kurebera abandi bakora, bagomba kutubisa. Abashinzwe kumudukiza nibashyireho umwete bamudukize abakozi bandi beza bifuzaga gukorera igihugu cyabo barahari. Bavandimwe, ndashaka ko amagambo arangirira aha ariko ndifuzaga ko mwajya mutwumva, mugasemura imvugo yacu ku buryo iba yavuzwe, mukumva impamvu tuba twavuze gutyo, buri jambo mukarisesengura, mugerageze, mugerageze kumva impamvu riba ryavuzwe rityo, ntirivugwe kuriya: nuko turi mu bihe bidasanze. Urwenya n'amashyamba bigomba kwimukira umurimo"²².

Kugira ngo ubwicanyi bwihute kandi bukorwe neza, bamwe mu basirikare barindaga Perezida boherejwe muri perefegitura ya Butare. Bityo, mu cyumweru kiva ku itariki ya 19 kikagera ku ya 26 Mata, perefegitura ya Butare yari imaze gutakaza Abatutsi barenga ibihumbi 150,000.

Kugeza umugi wa Butare ufatwa n'ingabo za FPR tariki ya 2 Nyakanga 1994, jenoside yari imaze guhitana abantu barenga 230,000²³.

Kugira ngo ubwicanyi bwihutishwe kandi Abatutsi batsembwe, Guverinoma yahaye intwari nyinshi n'amasasu imitwe yitwara gisirikare ndetse n'abaturage ibyita "ubwirinzi bw'abaturage"²⁴. Ni muri urwo rwego hakajijwe ingamba ziswe iz'umutekano". Izo ngamba z'umutekano zari zigamije gushyiraho amabariyeri kugenzura amakarita y'irangamuntu no kwica Abatutsi. Izo ngamba zari zigamije kwica Abatutsi mu gihe gito. Uko gukaza umutekano byatumye babasha kwinjiza abaturage benshi b'abasiviri muri jenoside. Abo baturage bishingikirije gukora ubwirinzi bwa gisiviri, bahigaga abicwaga aho bari bihishye, bakabanogora bakoresheje imihoro n'impiri. Aya

²² Sindikubwabo T., cité par Chretien J.-P., 1995, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

²³ Ministère de l'Administration locale, de l'Information et des Affaires sociales, *dénombrement des victimes du génocide et des massacres, rapport final, version révisée*, p. 19.

²⁴ Des Forges A., *Aucun témoin ne doit survivre. Le génocide au Rwanda*, Paris, Karthala, 1999, pp. 286-290

mayeri yafashaga Guverinoma yariho kumvikanisha ko bwari ubwicanyi budahambaye. Iki gisobanuro cyunganiraga cya kindi cyahamyaga ko ibyago by'u Rwanda bituruka ku itangizwa ry'intambara mu wa 1990. Ibi na byo byafashaga kuyobya uburari kugira ngo abantu batamenya amacenga ya jenocide yari yashyizweho na Hutu pawa. Nubwo atari cyo cyonine, iki gisobanuro cyagize uruhare mu gutuma Guverinoma zimwe na zimwe zitagira icyo zikora.

Mu gikorwa cya jenocide, uruhare rw'abagize Guverinoma, abasirikare, abajandarume, abakozi ba Leta, imitwe yitwara gisirikare ishamikiye kuri MRND-CDR rwabaye runini. Bahamagariraga abaturage kwitabira ubwicanyi. Bakoreshaga imbunda mu gutangiza umbwicanyi bwa karundura, kwica bamwe muri ba nyagupfa no guhatira abatemeraga jenocide kuyigiramo uruhare. Gukoresha imbunda byacaga intege abageragezaga kwirwanaho. Ingero zigaragara mu Bisesero na Nyarubuye.

Mu gihe cya jenocide, RTL M na Radiyo y'igihugu zayoboraga ubwicanyi. Zahamagariraga abaturage gushyiraho amabariyeri no gusaka nta kujenjeka kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi urokoka ubwicanyi. Zarangaga aho abicwa bari, zikanavuga nta kwibeshya n'uduce two guteraho.

Muri icyo gihe, ambasade z'ibihugu by'i Burayi zafungaga imiryango. N'Umuryango w'Abibumbye ugabanya umubare w'abasirikare bawo mu Rwanda bagera ku mubare muto cyane ushoboka. Abicanyi bari bahawe rugari mu duce twose tutari mu maboko y'ingabo za FPR²⁵. Igihe izi ngabo zafataga umugi wa Kigali na Butare zigatsinda ingabo z'u Rwanda, miriyoni irenga y'Abatutsi yari yamaze kwicwa. Ya mitwe yitwara gisirikare n'ingabo z'u Rwanda bahungira muri Zaire (ubu ni Repubulika Iharanira Demokarsi ya Kongo), muri Tanzaniya no mu Burundi, bajyanayo abantu barenga miriyoni ebyiri.

Ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide yabashije guhindura Abatutsi shitani ku buryo igihe FPR yafataga igice kinini k'igihugu, abari barateguye, bakanayobora jenocide n'abatarayizemo uruhare rufatika bivanze. Ibyo byagabanyije kutagira inkomanga no gutuma habaho isano hagati y'imikorere mishya no gukomeza mu nzira ya jenocide.

²⁵ Vidal Cl., "Le génocide des Rwandais tutsi: cruauté délibérée et logique de haine", in Héritier f., *De la violence*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2005, p. 349.

6.2.3. Imitegurire ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi

a. Inzego zateguye jenocide

Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi rigaragaza ko hari inzego eshatu zatumye ikwira, yihuta kandi ikorwa neza. Ku ikubitiro haza abanyabwenge, ntibari urwego rutandukanye n'ubuyobozi, bagenzuraga ibijyanye n'umutungo bakanagerageza guhuza ironwabwoko n'inyugu zabo zihariye. Igihe intambara yatangiraga mu Kwakira 1990, aba ni bo bagaragaje akamaro ko kubungabunga ibyagezweho n'impinduramatwara yo mu wa 1959. Kubera ukuntu babonaga abayoboke, aba bantu bakomeye kandi b'inkoramutima zo kwa Perezida bihuriye gushyiraho ibintu bishobora gufasha abantu kwica ku bwinshi²⁶. Kwica Abatutsi byafatwaga nk'uburyo bwo kurangiza burundu ikibazo cyari kibangamiye ubwumvikane n'umutekano w'Abahutu.

Mu bateguye ubwicanyi cyangwa abubatswe inzego zo gukora jenocide, abatanze intwari n'abatanze amabwiriza yo kwica harimo abasirikare bakuru mu ngabo, nka Koroneri Théoneste Bagosora wari waragiye mu kiruhuko k'izabukuru. Uyu Bagosora afatwa n'abantu benshi nk'umuntu w'ibanze wateguye kwica Abatutsi mu kanya gato nyuma yuko indege ya Perezida iguye tariki ya 6 Mata 1994²⁷. Mu buhamya yahaye abaturage ba segiteri Ngoma mu gihe k'ikusanyamakuru arebana n'imategurire n'imigendekere ya jenocide mu gihugu muri rusange no mu cyahoze ari perefegitura ya Butare, yari akuriye mu rwego rwa gisirikare, Jenerari Marcel Gatsinzi yemeye ko Koroneri Bagosora ari we wahaga amabwiriza abasirikare yo kwica Abatutsi.

Abandi basirikari bagize uruhare mu gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa jenocide: Koroneri Augustin Bizimungu wari Minisitiri w'Ingabo, Koroneri Tharcisse Renzaho wari perefere w'umugi wa Kigali, Riyetona Koroneri Aloys Ntabakuze wayoboraga batayo y'abasirikare bamanukira mu mitaka bigaragaje cyane mu kwica Abatutsi. Riyetona Koroneri Protais Mpiranya wayoboraga umutwe warindaga Perezida kubera ibikorwa bye by'ubwicanyi

²⁶ Vidal Cl. in F. Héritier, *op.cit.*, p. 345.

²⁷ Prunier G., *op.cit.*, p.287. ; Des Forges A., *op.cit.*, p. 233. ; Mu rubanza rwe, urugereko rw'urukiko rwa mbere rw'ibanze mu Rukiko Mpanabyaha rw'Arurusha rwakatiye Koroneri Bagosora T. igifungo cya burundu kuba yaragize uruhare runini mu bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Leta harimo Minisitiri w'Intebe, ubwicanyi bwakurikiye ihanurwa ry'indege ya Perezida Habyarimana n'urupfu rwa Minisitiri w'Intebe, Uwiringiyimana A..

kuva hatangazwa ko indege ya Perezida yahanuwe, ba Majoro Bernard Ntuyahaga, Laurent Munyakazi na Kapiteni Gaspard Hategekimana, n’abandi²⁸. Hagaragayemo kandi abayobozi b’amashyaka ya MRND, MDR yiyise pawa na CDR n’imitwe yayo yitwara gisirikare ari yo *Interahamwe, Inkuba n’impuzamugambi*.

Abanyemari nka Félicien Kabuga bateye inkunga izo nzego z’abicanyi bashinga RTL, bagura imihoro banaha kandi amatsinda y’abicanyi intwari zinyuranye. Ntawabura kuvuga abayobozi b’imitwe yitwara gisirikare n’amashyaka ya poritiki bagize uruhare rufatika mu mitegurire n’imigendekere ya jenocide. Hari Robert Kajuga, umyobozi w’*Interahamwe*, Mathieu Ndirumapfwe (perezida wa MRND) na D. Joseph Nzirorera, umunyamabanga mukuru wa MRND Jean Bosco Barayagwiza, George Rutaganda n’abayobozi babo bijanditse mu masaha ya mbere y’iraswa ry’indege mu bikorwa byo kwica Abatutsi mu mazu yabo no ku mabariyeri bagenzuriragaho amakarita y’irangamuntu, hari harashyizweho mu gihugu hose. Nubwo aba bantu bose bakiburana ndetse bamwe muri bo bakaba batarafatwa ngo baburanishwe, ibirego bashinjwa bigaragaza uruhare rwabo mu mitegurire n’imikorere ya jenocide.

Urwego rwa kabiri rw’imitegurire ya jenocide rugizwe n’inze nka RTL, abantu ku giti cyabo nka Ferdinand Nahimana, Valérie Bemeriki. Aba bacishaga ku maradiyo amagambo y’abayobozi, bashishikazaga kandi bakamara ubwoba abaturage, bari nk’ikiraro hagati y’ugushaka kw’abayobozi n’ibyo abaturage biteze, bityo bakabasha kwinjiza umubare munini w’abaturage muri jenocide. RTL, Radiyo y’igihugu, itangazamakuru ryandika byakoraga igikorwa cyo kuyobora abakoraga jenocide bakarishya urwango.

Uruhare rw’intyoza zo mu nzego zo hasi, rwabaye runini. Abayobozi b’inze z’ibanze, abanyamakuru, abacuruzi, abanyamadini n’abandi bavugaga rikijyana bagize uruhare runini mu gukora ku marangamutima batara ubwoba, banatuma abantu bitabira jenocide ku bwinshi bakoresheje ibihuha. Abakozi bo mu buyobozi, abarimu, abakora mu buvuzi, muri make ni abari bafite uruhare runini mu mibereho y’abaturage n’ubukungu ku misozi, bashishikarizaga kwica²⁹. Birumvikana ko iyo hataba ako kanyabugabo k’injijuke zo ku rwego rwo hasi

²⁸ Prunier G., 1997, *op.cit.*, p. 228, Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, p. 233.

²⁹ Vidal Cl., “Les politiques de la haine” in *Les temps modernes*, N0. 583, 1995, pp. 30-31

abashyiraga mu bikorwa jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi batari kugera ku gipimo bagezeho hagati ya Mata na Nyakanga.

Ikiciro cya gatatu k'inzeho zatumye jenoside ibasha kuba cyari kigizwe n'abayobozi b'inzeho z'ibanze: abaperefe, ababurugumesitiri b'amakomini, abakonseye ba segiteri n'abaresiponsabure b'amaserire. Abaperefe ba perefegitura nka Clément Kayishema wa Kibuye, Laurent Bukibaruta wa Gikongoro, Sylvain Nsabimana wa Butare, na Godefroid Ruzindana wa Kibungo, ababurugumesitiri nka Jean Paul Akayesu wa Taba muri Gitarama, Elie Ndayambaje wa Muganza muri Butare, abaminisitiri b'intagondwa nka Pauline Nyiramasuhuko, n'abandi bashishikarizaga abaturage bayoboraga, bagatanga ibikenewe mu rwego rwa tekini n'ibitekerezo mu duce baturukagamo.

Bifashishaga ingufu zo ku rwego rw'igihugu nk'ingabo, porisi, abajandarume, ya mitwe yitwara gisirikari, mu guhiga, gukusanya no kwica Abatutsi. Abayobozi b'inzeho z'ibanze batangaga amabwiriza yaturutse hejuru agana hasi, bagahamagarira abaturage kwitabira jenoside ku bwinshi. Bamwe mu bicwaga bahugurwaga bisabwe n'aba bayobozi ubwabo, abandi biciwe ahantu hahurira abantu benshi no mu nyubako z'ubutegetsi ari bo bazicungiyeye.

Nk'uko byakomjweho, ubushobozi bw'abantu n' ibikoresho bya Leta byagejwe ku bashyiraga mu bikorwa jenoside. Aba na bo bavaga mu baturage basigaye uherye ku rubyiruko rwinjijwe mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare kugera ku basaza unyuzwe ku bagore n'abagabo bakuze babyemeye kubera ko bemera jenoside cyangwa bakurikiye inyungu z'ubukungu. Mu bashyize mu bikorwa jenoside hari mbere na mbere abasirikare bagera ku 1500 barindaga Perezida. Batangiye ubwicanyi mu mugi wa Kigali guhera ku itariki ya 6 Mata 1994 mbere yuko babukwirakwiza mu gihugu hose. Hari na none abari mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare *Interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi* bahise bifatanyaga n'abarindaga Perezida mu bikorwa byo guhiga, gufata no kwica Abatutsi. Abaturukaga muri iyo mitwe yitwara gisirikare bafashijwe n'abayobozi bo hasi, abaporisi ba komini, bamwe mu basirikare n'abajandarume n'abaturage basanzwe.

Abakoze jenocide babaye benshi mu gihugu hose³⁰. Bafashwaga mu murimo wabo n'umubare munini w'ibyitso n'abareberaga. Aba na bo bagize uruhare mu bikorwa binyuranye. Ibyo byitso byarangaga aho abicwaga bari bihishe, bakababuza kugerageza guhunga cyangwa bakareka abana babo bishora mu bwicanyi. Abareberaga bo, bareberaga umubabaro w'abandi, babaye "Abagabo b'akaga n'ububabare bw'abicwaga"³¹. Imyitwarire yabo yari ishingiyeye by'umwihariko ku kutagira icyo bitaho nko kutababazwa n'ubwicanyi bwakorwaga ku bwinshi. *Ibyitso* n'abareberaga bari mu byatumye umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi ushyirwa mu bikorwa neza.

Gutegura no gushyira mu bikorwa jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bigaragaza uruhare rwa Leta y'u Rwanda. Urwo ruhare rugaragazwa mbere na mbere n'uko iyo Leta itigeze ibuza cyangwa ihana ubugizi bwa nabi bwakorewe igice kimwe cy'abaturage bayo. Kuba iyo Leta yarifashe cyangwa ikanga kurinda abaturage bayo bagirirwa nabi ni byo bigaragaza uruhare rwayo. Nk'uko bizwi inshingano rusange za Leta iyo ari yo yose ni ukurinda abaturage bari imbere y'inkiko z'ubutaka bwayo. Ni yo mpamvu igira umwihariko w'urugomo rwemewe n'amategeko. Ariko iyo ikoresheje ingufu zayo mu kurimbura igice cy'abaturage bayo ku mpamvu yuko bari mu gice iki n'iki, iyo Leta iba yatezutse ku mahame n'indangagaciro yubakiyeho zinatuma yitwa gutyo.

Uruhare rwa Leta y'u Rwanda muri jenocide rugaragazwa n'uko abishwe benshi bicirwaga mu nyubako zihurirwamo n'abantu benshi ndetse n'ubuyobozi hakoreshejwe ingufu za Leta.

Biciwe mu biro by'ubuyobozi bw'amakomini nka Kigembe, Nyaruhengeri, Runyinya, Gishamvu; mu mashuri ya Leta nka Murambi na Cyahinda; ahantu ho kwidagadurira no kwigira nko ku masitade ya Kibuye, ETO Kicukiro n'ahandi hantu hahurira abantu aho ingufu za Leta zashoboraga kurinda ku buryo bworoshye (muri za kiriziya za Cyahinda, Kibeho, Nyamasheke, Nyange, Sainte Famille, Mugombwa, Ntarama, Nyarubuye, Nyamata, Nyundo n'ahandi).

³⁰ Ibigereranyo bya nyuma byatanze n'inkiko gacaca bivuga 1015000 bakoze jenocide (service national des juridictions gacaca, Rôle central des juridictions Gacaca, Kigali, septembre 2007).

³¹ Ternon Y., 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

Uruhare rwa Leta y'u Rwanda rugaragara kandi mu kwirukana, kwica no gushyira mu kato abayobozi ba gisirikare batari bashyigikiye jenoside³². Ibi byemezo byahaga ingufu intagondwa, bikazorohereza kurangiza ibikorwa byo guhiga no kwica Abatutsi mu bice binyuranye by'igihugu. Bari bizeye ko batazahanwa, bica ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda nta cyo bishisha. Umwe mu bari mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare witabiriye ibikorwa byo guhiga mu mazu no mu bihuru ndetse akitabira ibikorwa byo kwica Abatutsi kuri bariyeri i Murambi³³, agaraza uko kutishisha kw'abicanyi n'uko kudahanwa bahabwaga n'ubuyobozi: "nta soni nagiraga zo kujya mu bikorwa by'ubwicanyi muri jenoside. Cyari nk'igikorwa gisanzwe kuko burugumesitiri Serukwavu na Sebhura (komanda wungirije wa jandarumori ku Gikongoro) bazaga buri gihe kuri bariyeri. Bakaduha ubutumwa bwo kudutera *morari*. Burugumesitiri yakundaga gukoresha imvugo ye y'Ikinyarwanda 'Nimukore, turabashyigikiye', Sebhura we yatubwiraga: "Ntimugomba kureka umwanzi ngo abacike"³⁴.

Umwihariko wo gutanga uburyo bwo kwica, gushishikariza kwica, kudahana abicanyi bihamya nta shiti uruhare rwa Leta y'u Rwanda: "mbere ya jenoside gato abayobozi batweretse ko Abatutsi ari abagome, ko baduteye, ko bagiye kudutsemba, ko tugomba kwirwanaho tubica (...) nagiye mu duco tw'abicanyi n'abasahuzi. Twatangiye twica imiryango ya Karangwa na Karamuka. Twari ibico bitandatu by'abicanyi. Hanyuma dukomereza ahantu hari hahuriye Abatutsi benshi twica abatari munsu y'ibihumbi 20.000. Abayobozi b'amashyaka ya MRND na MDR n'abayobozi ba za segiteri na serire bari kumwe natwe bayoboye ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi. Twageze kwa Karumugabo, turamwica n'umugore we n'abana be babiri, twatabye abantu twatemye n'umuhoro mu byobo rusange, bamwe bari bakiri bazima. Nijoro twaganiraga kuri tekini twakoresheje ku manywa no ku zo tuzakoresha umunsi ukurikiyeho. Muri make twishe nta nkomyi Abatutsi aho twabasanze hose; ku

³² Burugumesitiri wa komini Nyabisindu, Gisagara J.-M. n'uwa Ntyazo Nyagasaza N., pefe wa pefegitura ya Butare, Habyarimana J.-B. bakuweho bakanicwa hagati ya tariki ya 16 na 19 Mata n'inzezo za Guverinoma y'abatabazi ni ingero zifatika.

³³ Ibihumbi birenga 50.000 by'Abatutsi byari byahungiyeye mu nyubako z'icyari kuba ishuri ryisumbuye ry'i Murambi bishwe bunyamaswa n'Interahamwe, Impuzamugambi, abajandarume, abaporisi n'abandi baturage b'Abahutu babisabwe n'abakuriye ubutegetsi bwaho harimo pefe Bukibaruta L., burugumesitiri wa Nyamagabe Semakwavu na Komanda wungirije w'abajandarume baho Sebhura.

³⁴ Mbakuriyemo S., uvugwa na African Rights, Murambi. "Go if you die perhaps I will live", 2006.

misozi, mu nsengeru cyangwa mu mazu yabo. Gewe ubwange nicishije umuhoro n'impiri Michel Murwanashyaka, Karorina n'abana be 2, Madarubi n'abana be 3, Mushingwe Etienne, umugore we n'umukobwa wabo, Uwayezu n'abana be 2, twicaga twabitekerejeho, twari dufite umutima nama, twizeraga kugira igihugu kitagira Abatutsi. Twatekerezaga ko u Rwanda ruzaba paradizo niruba rutakirangwamo Abatutsi. Nta Muhutu utaritabiriye jenocide, uretse abarwayi n'ibimuga. Umutima nama wari waragiye. Abahutu bose bari bashishikajwe no kwica. Irari ry'ibintu na ryo ryatumye ubwicanyi bwitabirwa³⁵.

b. Uburyo bwo kwica

Iyo hatabaho imyiteguro inonosoye, ubwicanyi ntibuba bwarafashe intera ingana kuriya. Iyo myiteguro yari ifite inzego zirutanwa n'iziyishyira mu bikorwa. Yari igizwe kandi n'urukomatane rw'ibintu umuntu yakwita uburyo bwo kwica. Ubu buryo bushobora kureberwa mu bice bitatu. Igice cya mbere kiva ku itariki ya 6 kikageza ku ya 11 Mata 1994 cyari kigamije kwica Abatutsi hifashishijwe urutonde rwari rwarakozwe mbere.

Muri iki gice cyo kwica ab'ibingenzi, aboyoboraga jenocide bari bamaze guha udutsiko tw'abicanyi intonde ziriho amazina y'abantu bashakishwaga by'umwihariko. Ayo mazina kandi yasomerwaga kuri RTLM kugira ngo abicanyi bamenye ko bahamije uwashakishwaga. Ahanini yari imiryango yashakishwaga by'umwihariko kubera ubuzima babagaho, amashuri bari barize, urwego rw'imibereho bari bagezeho, imyanya barimo mu buyobozi ndetse n'uko babitiriraga gukorana na FPR. Kubica byakozwe n'abicanyi bakoreraga mu dutsiko duto babiciraga aho babasanze: mu ngo zabo, mu muhanda cyangwa kuri bariyeri.

Ubwo buryo bwo kwica ab'ingenzi bwari bugamije kubuza Abatutsi bajijutse, abahiriwe n'ubucuruzi, n'ababashaga kuvugana no hanze gushaka uko bahunga, bakwirwanaho cyangwa bakwamagana ubwicanyi. Uwahoze ari umusirikare mu ngabo z'u Rwanda abisobanura neza mu buhamya bwe: "Nabonye abasirikare 9 bo muri batayo y'abakomando n'abajepi n'umusiviri umwe, byagaragaraga ko yari abayoboye. Bari bafite mu ntoki urutonde rw'amazina. Rwari urutonde rw'amazina y'abantu bagomba kwicwa. Banyuze ku wundi muturanyi

³⁵ Ubuhamya bwa Kaburame I. bwafashwe na Mutwarasibo E. mu Kinyarwanda, i Kiramuruzi tariki ya 4 Kanama 2007.

bahatera grenade. Bafungura umuryango w'inzu bawurashe. Bica abarimo. Basubira inyuma n'amaguru. Umuboyi wange nari nohereje kubakurikira yambwiye nyuma ko abasirikare barashe ingo enye³⁶.

Abanyarwanda benshi bibuka ubu buryo bwo gukora intonde mu rwego rwo kurangiza umugambi wa jenocide. Ayo marisiti yafashije abicaga gushakisha no kwica bwangu abantu bashakishwaga cyane. Kugira ngo hatagira Umututsi ubacika, bariyeri zashyizwe mu mahuriro y'inzira na RTL M igatangaza amazina na aderesi by'abantu bafatwaga nk'ibitso bya FPR by'imbere mu gihugu. Itegeko ryo kwitwaza ikarita y'irangamuntu yarimo ubwoko ryafashaga kubona ku buryo bworoshye abicwa. Iyo ibyari byanditse mu ndangamuntu byahuraga n'ibyavuzwe mu itangazamakuru cyangwa byanditse ku marisiti bari bafite, abicanyi bahitaga barangiza uwahigwaga. Ibyo byabaye mu duce twose tw'umugi wa Kigali, mu duce twegereye inkiko z'igihugu nka Gisenyi, Kibungo na Cyangugu no hagati mu gihugu. Aho ari ho hose Abatutsi baragaragajwe, bashyirwa ku ruhande baranicwa.

Muri iki kiciro habaye igikorwa cyo kwica Abahutu bose bashoboraga gufata ubutegetsi ku buryo bwemewe n'amategeko bakarwanya jenocide. Urupfu rwa Minisitiri w'Intebe, Agathe Uwiringiyimana, abakandida babiri ku mwanya w'inteko ishingama amategeko y'inzibacyuho Félicien Ngango wa PSD na Landoald Ndasingwa wa PL; minisitiri Frédéric Nzamurambaho na Joseph Kavaru ganda, Perezida w'Urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga ni cyo rwari rugamije. Nyuma yo kwica abataravugaga rumwe na Leta, abateguye jenocide bari baharuye inzira nziza yo gukomeza ubwicanyi.

Ikiciro cya kabiri cyari gishingiye ku kwica Abatutsi, atari ukwica umuntu ku giti ke, ahubwo nk'abagize itsinda ryagaragajwe gutyo. icyo kiciro cyabaye hagati y'itariki ya 12 Mata (nyuma gato y'inama y'abaperefe ba perefegitura na Minisitiri w'Intebe wa Guverinoma y'abatabazi, Jean Kambanda, n'itariki ya 1 Gicurasi 1994. Muri iki kiciro, ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi byakomeje gukoranwa ubuhanga butangaje. Mbere na mbere, igikorwa cyo guhiga Abatutsi cyarakajijwe kugira ngo bavumbure kandi bice Abatutsi bari bihishe mu bishanga, mu mirima y'amasaka, mu mashyamba cyangwa mu biti byegereye ahatuwe. Iki gikorwa

³⁶ Ubuhamya bwa Kaburame I., i Kiramuruzi tariki ya 4 Kanama 2007

cyunganiraga kandi kikuzuzwa icyo gushyiraho bariyeri. Hagataho igikorwa cyo kwica Abatutsi bari bahungiyeye ahantu hataranira abantu benshi cyari cyateguwe neza.

Birakwiye kwibutsa ko abayobozi bahamagariraga Abatutsi kujya ahantu hahurira abantu benshi nko ku biro by'amakomini, mu masitade, mu mashuri, ku bigo nderabuzima. Abo bayobozi babwiraga Abatutsi ko kuba hamwe bibafasha kubarinda. Mu gice cya kabiri cy'ukwezi kwa Mata 1994, ubwo buhungiro bwarazengurutse, buterwa n'abaporisi ba komini n'abajandarume ndetse n'abasirikare n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare. Bicaga abageragezaga guhunga, bagahuhura inkomere, bagasaka mu nkengero kugira ngo hatagira urokoka.

Birakwiye kwibutsa kandi ko Guverinoma yari yabujije abategetsibo bo mu nzego zo hasi guha ibya ngombwa by'inzira Abatutsi babaga mu duce bakuriye. Abageragezaga kwihisha hanze barafatwaga bagahita bicwa³⁷. Ahagana mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Mata, Guverinoma y'abatabazi yatangaje ko ubwicanyi burangiye n'ituze rikaba rigarutse. Iryo tangazo ryakwirakwijwe n'abayobozi bo mu nzego z'ibanze basabaga abari bakiriho gusohoka aho bari bihishye. Nyamara, abasohokaga bahitaga bicwa. Intego y'ayo mayeri birumvikana ko yari iyo gufata no kwica abari babashije kurokoka.

Ikiciro cya gatatu cya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi cyatangiyeye tariki ya 2 Gicurasi 1994. Gikurikira igikorwa cyo kurimbura abicwaga aho bari bateraniye no kwica abari basohotse mu bwihisho. Kirangwa n'ibikorwa byo gukubura ku misozi, mu mazu yatawe no mu matongo. Muri iki kiciro abaturage bahawe imbunda n'ubutegetsibo mu rwego rwo kwirinda kwa gisiviri bihatiye gukubura burundu mu duce twabo ikitwa Umututsi.

c. Bagerageje kwirwanaho no kurokoka birabananira

Uburyo jenocide yateguwe ikanashyirwa mu bikorwa bifasha kumva ukuntu kwirwanaho no kurokoka byari ihurizo. Abayiteguye n'abayishyize mu bikorwa bari barashyizeho ingamba mu gihugu hose zidatuma gucika ubwicanyi byoroha. Ibikorwa byo kwirwanaho byagiye bitsindwa kubera impamvu eshatu z'ingenzi. Iya mbere ni umubare munini w'abitabiriye

³⁷ Des Forges A., 1999, *op. cit.*, p. 245. Reba kandi Hatzfeld J., *Dans le nu de la vie. Récits des marais rwandais*, Paris, Seuil, 2000, pp. 15-17

ubwicanyi. Mu bice hafi ya byose, abicwaga baterwaga n'umubare munini w'abicanyi. Ababashaga kubaca mu rihumye bafatwaga n'amarondo ya nijoro cyangwa imikwabu yo kumanywa.

Mu Rwanda, abicwaga n'abicaga babaga hamwe. Akenshi bari banaziranye. Kubera iyo mpamvu ntibyari byoroheye kwivanga mu kivunge ngo babashe gucika ubwicanyi. Umwe mu barokotse jenocide mu Bisesero agaragaza imiterere y'ubwicanyi anashimangira ubwinshi bw'ababateye bakuriwe n'abayobozi ba gisiviri n'aba gisirikare: “ku itariki ya 13 Gicurasi, abasirikari n'Interahamwe baje mu mabisi umunani, mu makamyoneti, mu makamyo bakoreshaga mu kubaka umuhanda Kibuye-Gitarama, abandi benshi baje mu mavatiri hamwe n'abasirikare n'abayobozi. Abandi bantu baje n'ibirenge bafite imihoro mu ntoki; baje bose baririmba, bavuzza amafirimbi, banavuzza ingoma. Uwo muni nabonye perefere wa Kibuye, Clément Kayishema, Eliézer Niyitegeka, Obed Ruzindana na ba burugumesitiri ba Gishyita na Gisovu n'abandi. Aba bo bari basigaye ku ishuri ribanza rya Bisesero bareba uburyo abasirikare babo n'Interahamwe batwica. Uwo muni hishwe abagore n'abana hafi ya bose”³⁸.

Undi warokotse we agaragaza uruhare rw'abasirikare n'Interahamwe ndetse n'uko bari bashishikaye mu Bisesero. Tariki ya 13 Gicurasi bafatanyije, bagabye igitero simusiga ku Batutsi bari bahungiyeye mu misozi yaho: “Interahamwe nyinshi n'abasirikare b'i Gitarama bo ku Gisenyi n'abandi baturutse hafi ya hose mu gihugu baje mu mabisi, mu makamyoneti. Baratuzengurutse, baturasa nta gutuza. Uwo muni urebye abagore n'abana hafi ya bose barishwe kuko abenshi ntibabashaga kwiruka. Uwo muni umugore wange, Marthe Nyirahategeka, yarishwe n'abana bange barindwi n'abuzukuru. Izo nterahamwe zari zambaye imyenda yera n'amababi y'ibiti ku mutwe. Bari bameze nk'abasazi. Uwo muni baradutsembye. Imisozi yari yuzuye imirambo”³⁹.

Impamvu ya kabiri y'ugutsindwa kw'abagerageje kwirwanaho muri jenocide igaragarira mu mayeri yo gukusanya abicwaga yashyizweho ku ikubitiro n'abayobozi bo hasi. Bitwaje kubarinda, abo bayobozi babahuriye ahantu hahurira abantu benshi, baharindisha abaporisi, imitwe yitwara gisirikare cyangwa

³⁸ Nsanzimfura J.-D., wavuzwe na African Rights, *Résistance au génocide. Bisesero Avril-Juin 1994*, London, p. 35

³⁹ Simeon wavuzwe na African Rights, 1994, *op. cit.*, P. 35.

abasirikare kugira ngo batabacika, babone uko babica. Aya mayeri yatumye, bisabwe n'abayobozi ba gisirikare na gisiviri ndetse, ingeri nyinshi z'abaturage zibigiramo uruhare; yatumye ubwicanyi ndengakamere bukorwa ku bwinshi no mu minsi mike.

Impamvu ya gatatu y'ugutsindwa kw'ibikorwa byo kwirwanaho ijyana n'ikoreshwa ry'imbunda ndetse n'uruhare rw'ingufu za Leta zishinzwe umutekano. Ahantu hanyuranye abicwaga bari bahuriye nko mu mashuri, ku masitade n'amasanteri ya komini, imitwe yitwara gisirikare yitabaje abasirikare. Abasirikare bakoreshaga imbunda zabo cyangwa bagatera amagerenade, nyuma abicanyi bakabasha gusonga inkomere.

Nubwo abasirikare n'interahamwe bakoresheje imbunda, abahigwaga, hirya no hino, babashije kwirwanaho bya kigabo iminsi myinshi, ndetse bimara ibyumweru byinshi. Mu bice bitandukanye babashije kubarwanya n'amaboko. Bisesero igaragara nk'umwihariko w'ahantu abahigwaga babashije kwirwanaho ku buryo budasanze: "Ubwicanyi bwakozwe ku misozi ya Bisesero muri Mata, Gicurasi na Kamena 1994 bufata umwanya w'umwihariko kandi munini mu mateka ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda. Abantu benshi bari bahungiyeye muri iyo misozi iri ku Kibuye, mu bwoba ndetse n'ibyiringiro barwananye ishyaka kugira ngo barokoke. Mu minsi ya mbere babashije kwihagararaho barwana n'Interahamwe zaho, banazicamo abatari bake. Abenshi mu bagombaga kwicwa muri jenocide yo mu 1994 bagerageje kwirwanaho uko bashoboye. Abenshi bararwanyeye mu cyo abarokotse bita 'intambara y'amabuye n'amasasu' mbere yuko hapfa ibihumbi. Umwihariko wa Bisesero ni uburyo uko kwirwanaho byari bitunganije n'ukuntu byamaze igihe ugereranyije n'ingufu z'ababarwanyaga. Nyamara nubwo bari bafite ishyaka, byarangiyeye impunzi zitabashije kurwanya ingufu zakoraga jenocide. Uko kurwana kwabo kwakomeje kandi gukarishya akababaro kabo, kuko ugereranyije 1.000 gusa mu bihumbi 50.000 ari bo barokotse. Ntibarwanyije gusa abicanyi baturukaga muri Kibuye na Gikongoro, hari n'abandi baturutse i Cyangugu, i Gisenyi na Ruhengeri. Birwanyeho kugeza mu mpera z'ukwezi kwa Mata bica umubare utari muto w'ababarwanyaga barimo abaporisi n'Interahamwe"⁴⁰.

⁴⁰ African Rights, 1994, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

Kugerageza kwirwanaho byabayeho mu duce twinshi tw'igihugu. Ariko, buri gihe, ubwicanyi bwagendaga bufata indi ntera n'ingamba abicwaga batabashaga gucika. Nko ku misozi ikikije Akanyaru, aho abantu bari bihishe mu bihuru n'urutoke cyangwa amasaka hashakishwaga bakoresheje imbwa z'impigi. Ku rundi ruhande, ku mipaka ya perefegitura ya Butare, Gikongoro, Cyangugu na Kigali abageragezaga guhunga bagana i Burundi bagwaga mu marondo y'abaturage batuye ku mpande zombi z'urwo ruzi. Muri perefegitura ya Kibungo imipaka y'u Rwanda na Tanzaniya yari yafunzwe⁴¹. Ibi byose bigaragaza ko mu mitegurire ya jenocide, hari hatekerejwe ku kugeza uwo mugambi mubisha no hanze y'u Rwanda. Uko kwagura kwari gufitanye isano ya bugufi n'amagambo y'ubutagondwa yahamagariraga abantu kurimbura umubisha w'Umututsi mu karere.

Mu gihe ibihumbi by'Abanyarwanda byicaga ibindi bihumbi, bamwe, ariko bake, bageragezaga kugira abo bakiza. Ubuhumya bw'abarokotse bugaragaza Abahutu bafatanije n'Abatutsi kwirukana Interahamwe. Buvuga kandi amazina y'Abahutu, batitaye ku ngaruka byashoboraga kugira ku buzima bwabo, barengeye, bahishe cyangwa bafashije Abatutsi guhunga.⁴² Abo barokoraga Abatutsi ntibafata ibyo byemezo kubera gusa ibitekerezo byabo bya poritiki, babigiriraga kandi ubucuti n'amasano y'imiryango bari bafitanye n'Abatutsi.

Hashize ibinyejana Abahutu n'Abatutsi babana, ari abaturage basangiye umuco umwe. Bityo rero nta gitangaje kubona Abahutu barongora abagore b'Abatutsikazi n'Abatutsi barongora abagore b'Abahutukazi. Nguko abagore benshi b'Abatutsikazi n'abana babo babashije kurokoka. Ukwemezwa mu mategeko k'umuco wo kugendera ku gisanira gabo kwemezaga ko abana bafite se w'Umuhutu na nyina w'Umututsikazi bitwa Abahutu. Nyamara, bamwe mu baturanyi cyanecyane abo kwa sebukwe bashidikanyaga kwereka abicanyi abagore b'Abatutsikazi bari bararongowe n'Abahutu.

Birakwiye nyamara kumenya ko ibikorwa byo kurokora Abatutsi byacibwaga intege n'ibiganiro bya RTLM na Radiyo Rwanda. Hacagaho inkuru zigaragaza imiryango y'Abahutu yatewe

⁴¹ P. Rutazibwa P. na Rutayisire P., *Le Génocide à Nyarubuye*, Kigali, 2007

⁴² Kabwete M.-C., "Le sauvetage de quelques rescapés du génocide dans les communes Gishamvu et Kigembe au Rwanda", in *Etudes Rwandaises*, n° 13, 2007.

ikagirirwa nabi, kuva jenocide yatangira, bazira kuba barahishe Abatutsi. Ingengabitekerezo yagejeje kuri jenocide yerekanaga Abahutu bagera gukiza abicwa nk'abagambanyi n'ibitso by'umwanzi. Gutera ubwoba, gutangaza no kwica abashinjwa kuba ibitso byatumye abantu batagerageza na busa gufasha cyangwa kurengera abicwa.

d.Ukwicekera n'ubufatanyacyaha by'umuryango mpuzamahanga

Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ni ugutsindwa gukabije k'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Igaragaza ukuntu ubufatanye rusnge mu kurwanya ingufu z'ikibi byigishijwe kuva intambara ya 2 y'isi na jenocide yakorewe Abayahudi byarangira, nta cyo byamaze. Birumvikana ko iyo umuryango mpuzamahanga, uhagarariwe na ONU, uba waratabaye mu Rwanda, hakoreshejwe abasirikare bayo 2.534 bo kubungabunga amahoro, jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ntiyari kugera ku ntera yagezeho. Uruhare rw'umuryango mpuzamahanga rushobora gusesengurwa mu nzego ebyiri: kwicekera n'ubufatanyacyaha.

Umuryango mpuzamahanga ufite uruhare runini kuba warifashe ntutabare mu Rwanda kandi wari uzi neza ko jenocide yarimo itegurwa. Guhera mu Kuboza 1993 abasirikare n'abahagarariye Umuryango w'Abibumye bari bafite amakuru ahagije yerekeranye n'irimburwa ry'Abatutsi. ONU yamenyeshwaga buri gihe ikwirakwizwa ry'intwari ziciriritse mu baturage ku buryo butemewe. Uruburako rw'Abanyarwanda rwahabwaga imyitoto ya gisirikare ku buryo bwihuse kandi bagategurwa gukora jenocide igihe icyo ari cyo cyose⁴³.

Ishingiyeye ku nshingano yayo yo kubungabunga amahoro n'umutekano ku isi, ONU yari kugira icyo ikora ku buryo bwihuse mu Rwanda. Ivanguramoko rikabije, ukwiyongera k'urugomo rutewe n'ikwirakwizwa ry'imbunda mu baturage ndetse no kwanga Abatutsi byari ingingo zigaragaza kwangiza amahame y'ingenzi amahoro n'umutekano bishingiyeho. ONU yari ifite ububasha n'uburyo byo gutabara, iteshuka ku byo yiyemeje irebera yicecekeye, kandi ifite ingabo zihagije, uko ubwicanyi bwateguwe.

“Imyiteguro y'ubugizi bwa nabi yakorerwaga mu maso y'ingabo zishinzwe kubungabunga umutekano z'Umuryango

⁴³ Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, p.175

w'Abibumbye. Uwaziyoboraga yagezaga ku bamukuriye ibimenyetso by'uko ibintu birushaho kumera nabi, bakamutegeka kubahiriza imiterere y'ubutumwa yahawe uko yakabaye (...). Nubwo hari ibimenyetso byagaragazaga ko ubugizi bwa nabi bwenda gutangira, u Bufaransa ndetse na Leta Zunze ubumwe za Amerika nta cyo bibwirije gukora, ahubwo bakomeje gukorera imbere mu myumvire ifunze yakunze kuranga poritiki yabo ku Rwanda mu bihe byahise (...). Abadiporomate n'abasirikare bakuru b'Abafaransa baganiriye mu ntangiriro ya za 1990 ku kuba jenocide yarashobokaga, kandi, nk'uko byatangajwe n'uwohoze ari ambasaderi, Martres, jenocide yo mu wa 1994 yaba yarateganywaga mu Kwakira 1993⁴⁴.

Urwego rwa kabiri rwo gusesengura uruhare rw'umuryango mpuzamahanga rushingira ku kuba nta cyo wakoze ku bwicanyi. ONU muri rusange n'ibihugu bikomeye byari mu Rwanda by'umwihariko ntibashobora kwemeza ko batunguwe na jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda. Ntibashobora kwemeza kandi ko hari icyo bakoze kugira ngo bayihagarike. Abasirikari 2534 b'Umuryango w'Abibumbye bo kubungabunga amahoro n'abadiporomate bari mu Rwanda mbere y'itariki ya 6 bagize uruhare rushingiye ku kureberera ntibagire icyo bakora ku bwicanyi bakagombye kuba barakumiriye cyangwa bagahagarika.

Aho gukoresha ingufu za MINUAR ngo uhagarike jenocide, Umuryango w'Abibumbye washatse mbere na mbere kurinda ingabo zawo. R. Dallaire yahawe amategeko yo kwirinda icyahungabanya abasirikare be aho gutabara ubuzima bw'Abanyarwanda. Ku itariki ya 21 Mata 1994 akanama gashinzwe umutekano katahuye igice kinini k'ingabo zari zishinzwe kubungabunga umutekano, gasiga abasirikare amagana bari bashinzwe kurinda abasiviri bari bahungiye ku kicaro cya ONU⁴⁵.

Umuryango mpuzamahanga wagize uruhare muri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi igihe wangaga gukoresha ijamba jenocide mu kuvuga ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga mu Rwanda. Kuvuga jenocide hakoreshwaga imvugo yo gutsinda nka: *ubwicanyi bwo mu kivunge, guhangana kw'amoko, intambara y'abaturage*.

⁴⁴ Des Forges A., 1999, *op. cit.*, p.204-205., Melven L., Ubuhamya bwakoreshejwe muri *La nuit rwandaise, op. cit.*, pp. 403-407.

⁴⁵ Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31

Binyujijwe mu bari bahagarariye ibihugu bikomeye by'amahanga, ibikorwa byo kwamagana jenocide byari byageragejwe n'imiryango, ibigo nka Radiyo y'u Burundi, Radiyo Muhabura ya FPR n'abandi banyamakuru bo hanze, byaburijwemo.

Guverinoma y'abatabazi yishyizeho tariki ya 8 Mata 1994 yabashije gukora jenocide nta kiyikomye mu nkokora kuko umuryango mpuzamahanga wari wagumye mu mpaka zivanzemo imvugo zo gutsinda no gupfobya z'abari bahagarariye u Rwanda, Leta Zunze ubumwe z'Amerika n'u Bufaransa. Mu gihugu cyari cyugarijwe n'ibibazo karande by'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza kandi cyagenderaga cyane ku mfashanyo zo hanze, kwamagana abari bayoboye jenocide byari bihagije ngo bihatire Leta y'u Rwanda guhagarika ubwicanyi. Bamwe mu Banyarwanda bari kwitandukanya n'ubwicanyi, bakanga kumvira Guverinoma itemewe n'amategeko imbere y'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Uyu muryango, wahisemo gukorana na Guverinoma yari iyobowe n'abantu baturuka mu bice bifite uruhare muri jenocide. Ambasaderi w'u Rwanda yagumanye ikicarwo ke n'akanama gashinzwe umutekano gakomeza kwakira intumwa za Guverinoma y'abatabazi i New York baje gusobanura ibitekerezo byayo. Nyuma, Akanama gashinzwe umutekano muri ONU katoye ntawuvuyemo umwanzuro 912 wateganyaga kugeza ingabo za MINUAR ku basirikare 270 mu gihe imiterere y'ibibazo yagatumye bazongera bakanahindura ubutumwa bwazo kugira ngo zibashe guhagarika jenocide.

Ibi byemezo byose ntibyafatwaga aruko badafite amakuru ahagije. Jenerari Roméo Dallaire yahaga amakuru ku buryo buhoraho Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa ONU. Yatangaga ibitekerezo birebana n'ingamba zafatwa kugira ngo ahagarike ubwicanyi anagarure ituze. Ku buryo bufatika yasabaga kongera ingabo no guhindura ubutumwa bwa MINUAR. Ukwicecekera kwa ONU n'ikemezo cyo kugabanya ingabo za MINUAR byafashije abicanyi. Ntibigomba gutandukanywa n'amateka ya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

e. Igikorwa cya gisirikare kiswe Turukwaze (Opération Turquoise)

Ubuhamya n'inyandiko nyinshi bigaragaza uruhare rw'Abafaransa muri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994. Hagati ya 1990 na 1994, u Bufaransa bwafashije u Rwanda kongera ingabo zarwo ziva ku 5.000 zigera ku 50.000

hakoreshejwe kwinjizamo abandi ku bwinshi. Muri uko kubinjiza hashyizweho ibigo bitangirwamo imyitozo⁴⁶. Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'iperereza ku ihungabanywa ry'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda yagaragaje mu wa 1993, ko hari ibyo bigo byigisha abakomando n'Interahamwe mu Majyaruguru y'u Burengerazuba bw'u Rwanda.

Muri Kamena 1994, u Bufaransa bwabonye ubundi buryo bwo gukomeza guha inkunga ya gisirikare Guverinoma y'abatabazi n'igisirikare cyayo. Muri icyo gihe, FPR yari ikomeje kwigira imbere ku rugamba kandi ntawugishidikanya ko izatsinda. Bisabwe na bwo, u Bufaransa bwabashije gutoresha mu kanama gashinzwe umutekano ka ONU umwanzuro 929. Watowe tariki ya 22 Kanama 1994. Uwo mwanzuro wahaga uburenganzira abasirikare b'Abafaransa gutabara mu Rwanda byaba ngombwa bagakoresha ingufu. Mu by'ukuri ingabo z'Abafaransa zari zatangiye ibikorwa byazo ku butaka bw'u Rwanda mbere yuko uwo mwanzuro utorwa⁴⁷.

Igikorwa cya gisirikare cya Turukwaze "cyari cyuzuye urujijo nko kuvuguruzanya kwagaragaraga hagati y'ibikorwa by'ubutabazi bari bagamije n'uko bari ku byitwaramo"⁴⁸. Abasirikare ibihumbi bibiri na magana atanu bakigiyemo bari abasirikare b'inzobere, bashoboraga mu masaha make, kwiyambura umwambaro wo kutagira uruhande bashyigikira, bagatangira kurwanira uruhande runaka: "bari bitwaje intwari zihambaye bameze nk'abiteguye intambara: indege z'indwano, kajugujugu zo kurasa no kwikorera, morutsiye ziremereye, amamodoka amagana (...) Mu minsi ya mbere byari biteganyijwe ko bagenda bakagera i Kigali. Ayo mabwiriza yakuweho ku munota wa nyuma. (...) Kuba icyo gitero cya gikoroni kitarabaye hari impamvu nyamukuru yabiteye: bari batinze. Tariki ya 4 Nyakanga 1994, nyuma y'ibyumweru bitagera kuri bibiri Turukwaze itangiye, umugi w'u Rwanda, Kigali, wafashwe na FPR, abanzi bacu. Baturushije umuvuduko, baradusize. Hari hasigaye ikintu kimwe cyo gukora: kugenzura imirwano, kweza agace kari kakiri mu maboko y'abicanyi, abo dufatanije. Iki ni cyo gitekerezo cyari kihishe inyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'agace k'ubutabazi kizewe"⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ Coret L. et Verschave F.-X. (dir), 2005, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Saint Exupery (de) P., *L'inavouable. La France au Rwanda*, Paris, Editions des Arènes, 2004, pp. 101-102

⁴⁸ Braeckman C., 1994 *op. cit.*, p. 293

⁴⁹ P. Saint Exupery (de) P., 2004 *op. cit.* pp. 102-103

Igihe bashakishaga kubona abashyigikira igikorwa cya Turukwaze, abadiporomate b'Abafaransa bagaragazaga ikarita yerekana agace kazagenzurwa n'Abafaransa. Ako gace kari kuba kagizwe n'Amagepfo ndetse n'u Burengerazuba by'u Rwanda. Nk'uko bivugwa mu buhama bunyuranye, gushyiraho ako gace byari gufasha kongera gutera no kubuza FPR gufata u Rwanda rwose. Umushinga wo gutabara guverinoma y'abatabazi n'ingabo z'u Rwanda cyari kimwe mu bihangayikije abayobozi b'Abafaransa.

Kuba uyu mushinga utarabahiriye ni ukubera umuhate wa FPR. Yari ifite umuvuduko ku rugamba ku buryo abayobozi ba Turukwaze bagombye guhindura imigambi yabo. Agace kiswe ak'umutekano kahindutse icyanzu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi by'abasiviri, ingabo z'u Rwanda n'abandi bagize uruhare muri jenocide, bahungiyemo bagana mu cyahoze ari Zayire.

Ni byo koko, hari amagana ndetse n'ibihumbi by'Abatutsi byatabawe. Ibi ni byo byatumye Guverinoma y'Abafaransa yigamba igikorwa cy'ubutabazi. Uhereye ku bivugwa n'abayobozi, u Bufaransa bwaratabaye, ni bwo bwonyine bwagize icyo bukora, nta kindi bwari bugambiriye uretse kurengera abari bugarijwe. Nyamara, inyuma y'uwo mugambi hari undi wari uwihishe inyuma. Icyari kigamijwe ni ukwitwaza ibikorwa by'ubutabazi kugira ngo bafashe ingabo z'u Rwanda gusubiza ibintu mu buryo, bagasubiza ubutegetsu Guverinoma y'abatabazi mu Rwanda hose no kurwanya FPR⁵⁰.

Uwo mugambi winjiraga mu cyo umuntu yakwita "ihange rusange ry'umutekano" w'u Bufaransa: "Francois Mitterand yabonaga ko kureka bumwe muri ubwo buyobozi bugakurwaho n'agatsiko, byongeye kandi ba nyamuke kandi bashyigikiwe n'ingabo z'igihugu bituranye, byari bihagije ko bikururukana bikabangamira umutekano w'ibihugu bibogamiye ku Bufaransa, bityo ikizere byabugiriraga kigatakara"⁵¹.

Bityo, muri ONU kimwe no mu nzego zo hejuru u Bufaransa bahamyaga ko ubwicanyi bwaterwaga no kubura imirwano nyamara ubwo bwicanyi bwari bwarayibanjirije kandi bwinjira mu myumvire yayo ndetse n'iya jenocide. Impamvu u Bufaransa

⁵⁰ Dallaire R., *J'ai serré la main du diable. La faillite de l'humanitaire au Rwanda, Libre expression*, 2003, pp. 526- 530

⁵¹ Saint Exupery (de) P., 2004, *op.cit.*, p. 121

bwabonaga ko ikihutirwa ari gusubiza mu nzira amasezerano y'Arusha, aho kuba kurokora abantu irumvikana. Abasirikare bakuru b'Abafaransa bumvaga guhagarika jenocide bitari akazi kabo, ntibemeraga ko jenocide irimo gukorwa, ntibahishaga ko bashaka kurwanya FPR.

Mu gice cya mbere cy'ukwezi kwa Nyakanga 1994, 'ibyifuzo bibiri' byari bigize igikorwa cya Turukwaze ari byo ubutabazi n'igisirikare nta cyo byagezeho. Amayeri mashya yaje kuziyomekaho. Nta ho atandukaniye n'intego yo gushyiraho agace k'umutekano, amayeri ya mbere yari agamije gutegura guhungira mu cyahoze ari Zayire: "icyo gihiriri cy'abaturage cyari cyatekerejwe, cyateguwe, kigiye inzira imwe. Ijoro rya kabiri, ingabo z'u Rwanda zageze mu mutuzo mu buhungiro bwa Zayire. Imirongo minini y'abasirikare yahitaga ifite intwari, imodoka, imizinga ikuruwe, mitarayeze zoroherewe, burende (...). Ijoro rikurikira, haje abayobozi (abaperefe, abaminisitiri). Bazanye umutungo wo muri banki y'igihugu, amaradiyo y'igihungu yari akenewe cyane mu rwego rwo kugumana abaturage n'ubuyobozi. Ntibyari birangiye. Kwari ugusubira inyuma. Kubona aho utera uturuka. Ni ho ibitero bizaturuka"⁵².

Muri icyo gihe, u Bufaransa bwari bukomeje kohereza intwari ndetse no gutorokeshya abayoboze jenocide bagana i Goma. Kuva mbere y'igikorwa cya Turukwaze, uwo mugwi wafatwaga nk'ihuriro ndetse n'ahantu ho kwisuganyiriza kw'ingabo z'u Rwanda. Ni muri icyo gihe mitekerereze igice cya kabiri k'ibikubiye muri Turukwaze kifuzaga ko abantu berekeza amaso ndetse no kubyutsa amarangamutima y'isi yose yabonaga uko Goma irimburwa na korera.

Iyo korera yamaze igihe gito ariko, ivugwa mu itangazamakuru ku buryo bukabije. Yari imaze kwibagiza jenocide. Bahereye ku guhunga kw'abaturage benshi n'umubare w'abishwe na korera, bamwe mu bayobozi b'u Bufaransa bongeye kubyutsa iturufu y'ubutabazi. Bapfobyaga akaga kakorewe Abatutsi bagashyira imbere ububabare bwa nyamwinshi y'Abahutu. Aya mayeri yari agamije gutuma abicanyi n'abo bafatanije bagaragara nk'aho ari bo bishwe. Aba bicanyi bahise bafata isura imwe ikwiye, iy'abishwe.⁵³ Muri icyo gihe, ihungu ry'abaturage uko ingabo za FPR zigiraga imbere ku rugamba, n'ubwicanyi bwazitirirwaga byatumye bahimba igitekerezo cya jenocide ebyiri.

⁵² Idem p. 500.

⁵³ Brauman R., *Devant le mal. Rwanda, un génocide en direct*, Paris, Arléa, 1994, p. 83.

Ibi byose byerekana ukuntu uruhare rw'Abafaransa rwagiye rwigaragaza by'umwihariko. Inyandiko n'ubuhamy by'agaciro kanini bifasha kumva imiterere y'urwo ruhare. Habanza uruhare rwa gisirikare⁵⁴. Hakaza kandi uruhare rwa poritiki. Muri jenocide, u Bufaransa bwagiranye imibanire ya bugufi na Guverinoma y'abatabazi n'abandi bagize uruhare muri jenocide. Jean bosco Barayagwiza wari ufite imigabane muri RTLM akanaba umuyobozi wa CDR na Jérôme Bicomumpaka Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga bakiriwe na Minisitiri w'Intebe Eduard Balladur ndetse na Minisitiri w'Ububanyi n'Amahanga Alain Juppé mu gashami gashinzwe Afurika mu ngoro Perezida w'u Bufaransa akoreramo (Champs Elysée).

Ukwicecekerwa kwa ONU n'ubufatanyacyaha bw'u Bufaransa byahishe itegurwa rya jenocide, binatuma ishyirwa mu bikorwa. Kuva jenocide yahagarikwa mu 1994, ikibazo kigora kumva ni ukwibaza icyatumye abaturage barimbura kimwe mu bice byabo? Kuki byageze hariya? Kuki jenocide yabashije gukorwa ku buryo bunonosoye, ese ni iki cyatumye abaturage bitabira ku bwinshi ibikorwa bya jenocide?

6.3. Ibyahereweho mu gushishikariza abaturage kurimbura Abatutsi.

6.3.1. Kugaragaza intambara yo mu 1990 nk'ikintu cyugarije ukubaho kw'Abahutu

Hari isano ya bugufi hagati yo kwerekana intambara yatangijwe na FPR mu Kwakira 1990 no kwibanda ku macakubiri ashingiyeye ku bwoko. Guhera mu Kwakira 1990, imvugo ziganisha ku miturire y'u Rwanda zarubuwe ku buryo buhoraho kandi budasanze bashaka gusobanura igitero cya FPR, woroshya ihererekanyamakuru bakoresha amgambo atyaye no kunga ubumwe bw'Abahutu bwahungabanye.

Ukwezi kumwe nyuma yuko intambara itangira, ni ukuvuga tariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1990, Perezida Habyarimana yatangaje ko: "Aho guhara agace gato k'ubutaka bwacu, n'iyi kaba gato gute, (...) twahitamo kurwana kugera ku muntu wa nyuma mbere yo kureka igihugu cyacu kigasenywa, ubuhake n'ubwami bikagaruka (...). Barashaka kugarura mu gihugu cyacu ubutegetsu bwa gihake bwo mu gihe cyahize, barashaka kugaruka mu gihe cyashize, Bashaka kwinjira mu rukomatane ndengakarere"⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ Ubuhamy bwa P. Brana wavuzwe na Coret L. na Verschave F.-X., *op.cit*, pp. 464-466.

⁵⁵Perezida Habyarimana J., Igice k'ijambo ry'umukuru w'igihugu "Nous préférons nous battre jussqu'au dernier" ryo ku itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1990, ryasohotse muri

Aka gace kagaragaza hamwe mu hantu h'ingezi ubuhanga ku mvugo za poritiki buhuriza.⁵⁶ Intego nyamukuru y'iyi mvugo ni ugutuma abantu barenga inyungu zitatanye, hanyuma hagashakishwa abashyigikira iki gitekerezo benshi bashoboka. Ku buryo bw'umwihariko, aya mayeri y'ubukangurambaga agaragarira mu mvugo igamije gutunga agatoki abateza intambara, ibagaragaza mu "bwoko" bwabo. Ibyo bikaba bigira uruhare mu guteza intugunda no kurenga ihangana ry'ibice cyangwa akarere.

Uretse kwitiranya ibintu ndetse no gutekereza abantu bigaragaramo, iyi mvugo iragaragaza kandi umusingi ikoresheya ry'amoko ryubakiyeho. Kwari ugutanga amakuru ku migendekereye y'intambara. Nyamara, amakuru yatangwaga yasaga, ku ruhande rumwe, nkaho aganisha ku "ihangana Hutu-Tutsi" agamije kugaragaza iryo hangana mu mateka kandi agaha uruhande rumwe ibikorwa byiza, urundi akaruha ibibi.

Bityo Abahutu n'Abatutsi bakagaragazwa haherewe ku ihangana rytirirwa ko ryagiye riranga imibanire yabo. Imyumvire ku miturire ya mbere y'igihugu, n'uko buri ruhande rwabifataga mu rwego rwa poritiki, byari izingiro ry'iryo hangana. Hakiyongeraho imibereho igoye muri rusange, intambara ishimangira gutyo iyo myumvire bituma batangira gushaka abo bayitirira.

Kubera ukuntu yagaragaraga n'ingaruka yari ku buzima bw'abaturage, intambara yabaye igikoresho cya mbere kifashishijwe mu gushishikaza abaturage benshi. Nk'ahandi hose, uko gushishikaza abaturage ntibyari bishingiye gusa ku gikorwa cyo kwinjiza abasirikare bashya no gusaba ingabo kuba maso. Byari bigamije kandi guhamagarira abantu guhuza ibikorwa byo gushyigikira, guhuza imiyoborere, ubukungu n'ibikenewe muri icyo gihe, guhatira kurwanya abigomeka bashobora kugaragara.

Isesengura ry'ibyabaye mu Rwanda mu myaka ya 1990-1994 no mu Budage bw'Abanazi rigaragaza ko ikemezo cyo gukora jenocide ari umugambi w'ubugwari w'ubutegetsu budafite ingufu burwana n'umwanzi w'imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo. Bashyira ingufu zabo mu kurimbura umwanzi w'imbere baba

La Relève, yo ku itariki ya 2 kugera ku ya 8 Ugushyirye 1990 p. 3na 6.

⁵⁶ Le Bon F., "Le langage et la politique" in Grawitz M. na Lega J., *Traité de Science politique*, Paris, PUF, 1985, t. III, p. 37 et ss.

babasha kwigondera, icyitso cy'umwanzi w'inyuma baba batinze gutsinda mu rwego rwa gisirikare. Bitwaza intambara ngo bahishe ubutagondwa, banabashe kwikiza uwo mwanzi.

Nubwo ibimenyetso by'akaga gakaze byagaragaraga, abaturage ntibari bafite ibitekerezo bifatika ku bibazo byariho. Kubibashishikariza byasabaga kwegeranya ingufu z'ubwenge ugereranyije n'icyari kigambiriwe.

“Ubutegetsu bwishakiye abavugizi. Bwashishikariye abantu gushinga ibinyamakuru byo guhangana, byacengewe n'irondamoko no kurwanya umwanzi w'imbere ndetse n'uw'inyuma y'igihugu. icyari kigamijwe nuko byatangaza ku rwego rwo hejuru kandi bikarusha ibindi bitangamakuru, bityo, havuka umubare w'ibinyamakuru by'ibihezanguni bivoma mu “ bigega by'ubucuruzi “bw'inzangano z'amoko” kandi bigakoresha inshuro nyinshi ibishushanyo bisebanya ndetse n'inyandiko zimwe”⁵⁷.

Uhereye ku murongo wafashwe n'ibinyamakuru, biroroshye kumenya umumaro wabyo. Umumaro wa mbere wari uwo guhuza imigirire n'imyitwarire hakoreshejwe kugarura ibisubizo byahozeho. Umumaro wa kabiri wari uwo gukomeza nkana umusingi w'ubwoko kugira ngo ibikorwa byo guhangana cyangwa kurwanya FPR bihite bigira umumaro kandi birambe. Muri buri kiciro, kugaruka ku nsanganyamatsiko y'imiturire byashimangiraga amarangamutima y'abumvaga basagariwe mu myemerere yabo n'inkomoko yabo.

Inyandiko ya Innocent Nsengimana ishobora kubyerekana neza: “Iterwa ry'u Rwanda guhera tariki ya 1 Ukwakira 1990, ni ibitekerezo byo hambere birwanya amategeko, ni ugukumbura ubuhake gushishikaye, kukarwanya demokarasi, ni ukugerageza kwinjiza mu mateka inzozo yo kugarura ukwikanyiza, ukwikanyiza kwa ba nyakamwe b'Abahamite (Hamite) kuri ba nyamwinshi b'Ababantu (Bantou)”⁵⁸.

Guhitamo no kutajyanisha amagambo y'ibanze bigaragaza ko bahindura intambara iy'ubwoko, insanganyamatsiko y'ukuntu u

⁵⁷ Chrétien J.-P., 1995, *op.cit.*, p.44-45

⁵⁸ Nsengimana I., “ La guerre d'Octobre: Le mythe s'en prend-il au droit?”, in *La Relève*, n° 165, mars 1991, p. 4, reba kandi muri icyo kinyamakuru M. Ngirira, J.-B. Nzitabakuze, Mugabo., “Les visées politiques du Front Patriotique Rwandais”, n° 159, février 1991, p. 8-12; E. Nsengimana, “ Une agression sous prétexte...” n° 143-144, octobre 1990, p.10.

Rwanda rwagiye ruturwa yari yafashe intera y' ingengabikerezo. Ni ukuvuga ko ari ukumvikanisha amagambo asanzwe ibikenewe by'umwihariko⁵⁹. Bityo, Martin Bucyana yamaganye n'ubukana bwinshi imyitwarire y'abayobozi b'Abahutu "bashaka kwishimisha kandi bikunda aho guhangayikishwa n'ubumwe bwa rubanda nyamwinshi yugarijwe na ba gashakabuhake bashaka kwihimura"⁶⁰.

Nk'uko ubwanditsi bw'ikinyamakuru "*Umurwanashyaka*" bwabisabaga, buri wese yagombaga kugaragaza uruhande arimo kandi akagira icyo akora azirikana 1959 na 1973.⁶¹ Birumvikana ko uko kwibuka kwari kuzuye ibitekerezo bitesha agaciro Abatutsi: "Abatutsi bafite inyota y'amaraso n'ubutegetsu barashaka guhatira rubanda ukwikanyiza kwabo bakoresheje uruhembe rw'umuheto n'imbunda"⁶².

Biragaragara ko aka gace gasubiramo ijamba ryavuzwe ku itariki ya 1 Ugushyingo 1990 na Perezida Habyarimana. Iragaragaza imikorere yari yarashyizweho mu rwego rwo gukwirakwiza ibyo bemeraga. Iyi nyandiko yasohotse mu kinyamakuru isohoka no mu bindi, yitwa ko yanditswe n'abandi banyamakuru. Kugaruka ku ngingo zimwe kandi mu bihe runaka mu binyamakuru byashakaga kwerekana icyari kigambiriwe. Mu yandi magambo, byerekanaga ishusho y'ibyakorwaga, ingufu za Leta n'abaturage bakagombye kugira icyo bakoraho. Ugushidikanywa cyangwa kwifata imbere y'umurongo w'ubutagondwa wafashwe n'ubutegetsu byafatwaga n'abanditsi mu binyamakuru nk'ubugambanyi mu guterwa kw'igihugu; intego yari iyo gutuma buri wese ajya ku ruhande rw'abashyigikiye ubutegetsu buriho.

"Ntiti z'Abanyarwanda, mugire ibakwe, mufashe Perezida kurwanira igihugu. Ntekereza ko guceceka kw'abanyabwenge b'Abanyarwanda ku ntambara y'Ukwakira-Ugushyingo 1990 kumaze kuba gukabya cyangwa ubugambanyi. Abaturage abatangiye kw'inubira ibyegera bya Perezida byubatswe urusika mu mpande ze. Inkotanyi zifite abavugizi, Abatutsi bafite uburenganzira bwo kuvuga akababaro kabo aho ari ho hose (...). Abahutu nta n'uburenganzira bwo kwemeza ko ari Abahutu kandi ko bugarijwe. Ntiti z'Abanyarwanda, mwihezwa muri

⁵⁹ Doubon R., *L'idéologie. L'origine des idées reçues*, Paris, Fayard, 1998.

⁶⁰ Bucyana M., "Discours prononcé à l'occasion de l'agrément du Parti CDR" muri *Kangura*, n° 9, p.2.

⁶¹ *Umurwanashyaka*, no 4, mars 1991. p. 2; no 7, Juillet 1991, p. 4

⁶² *Kangura*, déc. 1990, p. 6; no 51, oct. 1993, p. 14. Reba kandi Nahimana F., "Le génie cruel des pays de la source du Nil" muri *Vérité d'Afrique-Impano*, no2, 26 août, 1992.

poritiki igezweho y'u Rwanda igomba kuba iy'abaturage kandi ikarengera ibyagezweho mu wa 1959 no mu wa 1973. Mwiharira akazi Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda n'inama ye y'igihugu iharanira amajyambere bafite inzitizi nyinshi kandi na bo umunaniro ushobora kubatera"⁶³.

Biragaragara ko gukoresha amagambo nka "Inyota cyangwa ubushotoranyi bw'Abatutsi", "akababaro ka rubanda", "umujinya w'abaturage", "intambara/ukugaruka ku buhake", "intambara/igitero hima-tutsi", n'ibindi byaganishaga ku kibazo cyo kwirwanaho byemewe. Kuri iyo ngingo, H. Ngeze, umwe mu banyamakuru bari baracengewe no kwenyeyeza irondamoko yaranditse: "Icyo tuzi, nuko kubera Revorisiyo, nyaminshi yabashije gusubirana igihugu cyayo cyari cyaribwe n'itsinda ry'Abatutsi ryari ryarakigaruriye imyaka 400 (...) niba ibintu bikomeje gutya biradusaba indi revorisiyo nk'iyi mu wa 1959 kugira ngo nyamwinshi isubirane ibyayo"⁶⁴.

Muri uko kwerekana ingaruka zatewe n'ukwikanyiza kw'Abatutsi, itangazamakuru ryashakaga guha igisobanuro n'injyana ibyarimo gukorwa. Uko gutondekanya ibya poritiki nka demokarasi n'ubuhake, nyamwinshi na nyamuke, abanyagihugu n'abanyamahanga, umurimo w'ingengabitekerezo yo gusobanura inkomoko wari umaze kugera ku rwego rwo hejuru rushoboka, rugaragara kandi rwumvikana. Muri numero yasohotse muri Werurwe 1991, ni ukuvuga amezi atanu nyuma yuko FPR itangiza intambara, ikinyamakuru mpezanguni *Kangura* cyahereye ku mahame yitiriwe ko ari ay'ubuhanga n'umuco kugira ngo gishimangire ukunyurana kw'amatsinda abantu bakomokamo: "Twumvikane rwose, ikibazo cy'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ni ukuri mu Rwanda nubwo bitaragera aho batemagurana n'umuhoro. Abarimu bo muri *campus* y'i Nyakinama, bemeza ko iyi ntambara ari iy'Abatutsi batera Abahutu. Kuyitsinda mu rwego rwa poritiki, n'urwa gisirikare bisaba ko impande zombi zigaragazwa kandi zikemerwa. Bityo, tuzashyikirana uko turi. Ibitari ibyo, nta cyo tuzageraho nidukomeza kuvanga ibintu bitavangwa. Aha ndakeka ko ari umutego w'umwanzi. Bahutu, murashishoze, mukomeze ubumwe, ibihe birakomeye, mwituma nyamwishi igera aho irimburwa. Namwe Batutsi, nimugire ubutwari bwo kuba icyo muri cyo, mwirwaneho, ariko nta gushaka kwihisha"⁶⁵.

⁶³ *Kangura*, n° 5, Ugushyingo 1990

⁶⁴ Ngeze H., "Le 4 Août, journée de la guerre ethnique" muri *Kangura*, n° 48, 1993, p. 10

⁶⁵ *Kangura*, n° 12, 1991.

Bityo, kuri buri ruhande hakujijwe imyitwarire ndangabwoko itandukanya ku buryo bugaragara ibyo bice bibiri by'Abanyarwanda. Kuri iyi ngingo uwarokokeye jenocide i Murambi atanga ubuhamya:

“Akaga ka jenocide katugezeho i Kiramuruzi na mbere yuko Perezida Habyarimana apfa. Mbere ya jenocide yo muri Mata 1994, Abatutsi bo muri komini Murambi bahohoterwaga buri gihe. Nyuma y'igitero cya FPR mu Kwakira 1990, amagana y'Abatutsi, harimo n'umugabo wange, barafashwe bajyanwa n'imodoka ya komini i Byumba kuhafungirwa, bicwa urubozo ndetse baranicwa. Umugabo wange yacitse nta nkuru abasirikare bari bamujyanye i Byumba. Agarutse mu rugo akubitwa byo gupfa akuka amenyo. Interahamwe zari zaduteye zaramuretse ngo apfe. Tumujyana mu bitaro by'i Gahini. Guhera 1992, twafashe ikemezo cyo kujya turara mu bihuru tugasubira mu ngo bukeye. Tariki ya 15 Kanama 1992, Interahamwe zari zifite intwari, abenshi bari Abahutu twari duturanye, baraduteye, batema urutoki rwacu, bamena ibintu mu rugo, bakubita abana, batera amabuye hejuru y'inzu.

Muri Nyakanga 1993, baraje, banshyira mu muhanda, bankubita byo gupfa, banjyana nambaye ubusa i Nyamarebe, mu bukonge butabaho, ngo ndi inkotanyi. Ibikoresho byose byo mu rugo, amakayi, imyenda, ameza n'intebe byaratwitswe n'inzu isenywa igice. Mu gitondo abana bajya kuregera burugumesitiri Gatete. Uyu na we arabasuzugura ababwira ko ari ibyitso ko bakagombye kwitega ukwihimura kw'abaturage kubera ko ari “abavandimwe babo b'Abatutsi” batangije imirwano. Abana batashye bafite ubwoba.

Batangira kwanga kujya ku ishuri kubera ko batotezwaga mu ishuri cyangwa mu nzira n'abarimu babo n'abo bigana. Abahutu twari duturanye batubuzaga gushaka abakozi bo mu rugo. Resiponsabure wa serire n'abaturanyi bazaga badutunguye kugira ngo barebe ko nta muntu uri mu rugo udukorerwa. Nyuma y'ubugizi bwa nabi Abahutu twari duturanye, twumvikana batangiye kujya baduhunga tubasaba kudufasha. Nyuma, na bo binjira mu bikorwa byo gusahura no kudusenyerera ibintu iyo Interahamwe zaduteraga”⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ Ubuhamya bwa Uwamariya Annonciata, i Kiramuruzi (Akarere ka Gatsibo), tariki ya 4 Kanama 2007.

6.3.2 Gushishikariza abantu kurwanya amasezerano y'Arusha

Byaba ari ugukabya gutekereza ko Abanyarwanda benshi bemeraga imvugo y'urwango cyangwa yo gutsimbarara ku by'amoko. Ikizere cyaherekeje imishyikirano y'Arusha n'ibyishimo byagaragajwe mu gihe amasezerano ya nyuma yasinywaga muri Kanama 1993, bigaragaza ko abantu bari bakiriye neza ibyari byashyikiranyweho. Birakwiye kwemera ko bamwe mu Banyarwanda bumvaga intambara bahereye ku gipfunyika cy'ubumenyi n'imyemerere bahawe binyuze mu nzira zigoye.

Bagerageje gukarishya amakimbirane, imyumvire, ndetse no kurwanya ibisubizo byagaragaraga ko bishobora guhindura imyumvire yabo muri poritiki. Igice kinini k'itangazamakuru kihatiye kubigaragaza. Imvugo ikarishye n'amashusho bibyerekana neza. Nk'abanyamwuga, itangazamakuru ryashishikajwe no kugaragaza icyago cyari cyugarije ibyagezweho mu wa 1959 no mu wa 1973. Icyo cyago nticyarebaga abayobozi gusa, cyanarebaga Abahutu babaye moteri y'ibyo byagezweho.

Mu gihugu, mu ntangiriro ya 1991 hatangiye kugaragara ikindi kerekezo. Itangazamakuru ryateshutse ku murimo waryo usanzwe wo gutangaza amakuru. Ryiha kurengera inyungu z'igice runaka cy'abaturage. Kugira ngo rivuguruzwe ukuri kw'ibyavugwaga n'abandi, ntiryashidikanyaga kurushanwa kwereka ihangana karande hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi ndetse n'ingorane bizatera. Kuri icyo ngingo, itangazamakuru ryatangaga ibimenyetso ahagaragaragamo imikorere yo guhimba ibikorwa n'ababikora. Muri icyo mukorere hakoreshejwe inzira ebyiri.

Inzira ya mbere yari igamije kubaka ibigwi bihesha agaciro Abahutu n'ibikambura Abatutsi. Ibyo bigwi byari bigamije kubyutsa amarangamutima cyangwa kumvisha abantu ko bari mu matsinda ahanganye. Dore bimwe mu bigwi byitirirwaga Abahutu: rubanda nyamwinshi⁶⁷, abana ba Sebahinzi⁶⁸, Inzirabwoba n'abunze ubumwe⁶⁹. Abatutsi bo babavugaga bakoresheje inyito zikurikira: nyamuke n'ibitso⁷⁰, Abanzi ba rubanda n'igitotsi⁷¹, Inzoka n'indyarya⁷².

⁶⁷ *Kangura*, (numero zose), *Umurwanashyaka*, n° 4, 1991.

⁶⁸ *Médaille Nyiramacibiri*, n° 18, 1994

⁶⁹ *Ijambo*, n° 64 na 65, 31 Mutarama na 14 Gashyanatre 1994, *Isibo* n° 52, 1992, *Zirikana*, n° 2, 1992, n° 71, 1992; *Médaille Nyiramacibiri* n° 11, 1992.

⁷⁰ *Isibo*, n° 52, 1992, n° 71, 1992; *Médaille Nyiramacibiri* n° 11, 1992; *Zirikana*, n° 2, 1992, *Kangura*, n° 10, 1991.

⁷¹ *Ijisho rya rubanda* n° 2, 1992; *Isibo*, n° 52, 1992; *Kangura*, n° 4, 1990.

⁷² *Zirikana*, n° 4, 1992; *Umurava*, n° 7, 1991.

Inzira ya kabiri yari igamije kubaka ingengabitekerezo y'umwimerere kandi ikomeye. Kwari ukurwanya ku byakorwaga nta korohera igishobora cyose kwitambika hagati y'ubutegetsu n'abaturage. Itangazamakuru ryabigizemo uruhare ryambika Abahutu batavugaga rumwe na Leta umwambaro ubasanisha n'Abatutsi, ibyitso bya FPR. Ikicro cy'abakekwa cyangwa ibyitso cyashyirwagaho bahereye ku mahame yagengaga imikorere y'ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda. Kuri iyo ngingo, ugushyirwaho kw'amashyaka menshi mu gihe k'intambara, by'umwihariko amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha byafatwaga nk'ibintu bigamije gutatira igihango cyubakiyeho imiterere ya poritiki nyarwanda. Kunenga bikabije byakorwaga n'abayobozi b'amashyaka ataravugaga rumwe na Leta n'isinywa ry'amasezerano y'Arusha yo ku itariki ya 4 Kamena 1994, byari akaga ku bayobozi bari bashishikajwe no kuguma ku nyungu zabo. Gutangaza ndetse no kwemeza amahame arebana n'imibanire muri poritiki ndetse n'amoko, amashyaka atavugaga rumwe na Leta n'amasezerano ya Arusha, cyanecyane ingingo yihariye irebana no gucyura impunzi, kwinjiza mu gisirikare abarwanyu ba FPR ndetse no kugabana ubutegetsu mu rwego rwa Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaguye, kwari ugusenya imisingi y'ubwoko ubutegetsu bwariho bwari bwubakiyeho.

Imbere y'igitutu cya poritiki n'ik'igisirikare ndetse n'ukuntu Abanyarwanda bari bishimiye amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha, byari bigoye ko ubutegetsu butsimbarara ku ironwabwoko budatangiye urugamba rwo gukoresha imbamutima uko bwishakiye bukoresheje itangazamakuru. Iri na ryo ryatangiyemo guhiganwa basobanura imigendekere y'amasezerano y'Arusha kugira ngo abanyaporitiki batavugaga rumwe na Leta bacikemo ibice binjire mu gice gishyigikiye jenoside.

Mu kavuyo n'ingorane z'amoko anyuranye, kurengera ibyagezweho mu wa 1959 cyangwa kwanga ukwikanyiza kw'Abatutsi byafashwe nk' ikihutirwa mu rwego rw'igihugu. Ni muri urwo rwego ishyamba "Coalition pour la défense de la République" (CDR) n'igice kiswe "pawa" (*power*) byashinzwe kugira ngo byerekane ibibazo byo kwigaho no kugena icyakorwa⁷³. Kwari ugutuma Abahutu bibona mu rugamba ayo mashyamba yarwanaga, banange ikitwa kumvikana iyo kiva kikagera.

⁷³ Ku birebana n'uburyo amashyamba y'amacengezi yazunguzaga poritiki, wareba Braud Ph., *Le jardin des délices démocratiques*, Paris, Presses de la FNSP, 1992.

Mu gikorwa cyo kwerekana inyungu zigomba kurindwa, ayo mashyaka yagize uruhare runini. Yagize uruhare rufatika mu gukuririza ikibazo cy'amoko. Hari hagambiriwe ibintu bibiri: Gukuraho uruhando rw'amashyaka menshi ndetse n'amasezerano y'Arusha ku ruhande rumwe, no gutuma Abahutu bunga ubumwe bakarwanya Abatutsi ku rundi ruhande. Intego ya mbere yashyizwe mu bikorwa berekana ingorane zatewe n'intambara kugira ngo abantu bifatanye n'abagaragaraga ko bahagurukiye kurwanya umwanzi. Intego ya kabiri yari ishingiyeye ku kwerekana ikibazo Abatutsi bateje. Uko Abatutsi berekanwaga kuva mu ntangiriro z'ubukoroni ni nako bakoresheje bagaragaza ubugome n'inyota byabo by'ubutegetsi.

Aha, ntawabura kuvuga ku ruhare rw'amashyaka ya poritiki yitwaga ko atavugaga rumwe na Leta mu bihe bikomeye bya 1991-1994. Aha twavugaga amashyaka nka MDR, PL na PSD. Yashinzwe mu gihe k'ibibazo, yari mbere na mbere mu murongo wo kunenga ubutegetsi bwariho. Yaharaniraga impinduka irimo demokarasi, kugabana ubutegetsi no kurwanya irondabwoko. Yagaragaye yamagana imikemurire y'ibibazo birebana n'intambara, ubukungu, ukwiyongera kw'abaturage no kurwanya akarengane.

Uko ayo mashyaka yabonaga ibintu byatumye abaturage bayabona nk'igisubizo kizewe kuri poritiki ya MRND. Nyamara, buhorobuhoro, irari ry'ifaranga, guhangana, kwishakira imyanya mu buyobozi kwaranze abantu ku giti cyabo, byaje kugaragara muri ayo mashyaka. Guteshuka ku ntego z'ibanze zayo byagaragaraga ku buryo bukabije. Uko yari ashyigikiwe byayoyotse vuba na bwangu.

Mu gihe abatawaga rumwe na Leta basenywaga n'amacakubiri y'imbere, bashinjwaga kandi kuba ibyitso bya FPR, inkubiri yo kurwanya amasezerano y'Arusha yakuranye ubugome budasanzwe. Ibice by'abahezanguni byagarutse ku kirego cy'ubugambanyi ndetsenogufatanyana FPR (yitirirwaga Abatutsi) cyashinjwaga abatawaga rumwe na Leta. Ubuhezanguni bwa MRND na CDR bwagaragaraga kandi muri MDR y'intagondwa. Ibice by'abahezanguni birushaho kwegera igice cyo kwa Perezida kandi bikigaragaza nk'ingufu za rubanda mu rwego rwa poritiki y'u Rwanda.

Muri mitingi, ibyo bice byagaragazaga ko amaserano y'Arusha yari inzira ya FPR yo kwinjira mu gihugu no gufata igice kinini cy'ubutegetsi kugira ngo ibashe gukora poritiki yayo yo kongera gutera no gufata igihugu cyose. Bityo ayo mashyaka agahamagarira Abahutu kwifatanya ngo barwanye Abatutsi. Muri urwo rwego, nyuma yo gusinya amasezerano y'Arusha, Perezida Habyarimana yatangiye gutinza kuyashyira mu bikorwa. Kuri iyi ngingo, Jordane Bertrand yagize ati "Perezida hanyuma yaje gufata ingamba ziri ugutatu: yihatiye gutinza gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano, ajora ibiyagize ahereye ku bitekerezo bifutanye bya demokarasi, ariko nta na rimwe yigeze ateganya kurekura ubutegetsi. Intagondwa zo mu butegetsi zari mu bihe bigoye aho amahoro no gushyiraho ubutegetsi bishingiye kuri demokarasi nyayo byari imbogamizi yo kwemeza no gusobanura ubutegetsi bwabo. Nyamara ahubwo ubwo bwoko ni bwo bwakoze igisirikare kinshi binyuze mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare"⁷⁴.

Muri rusange, igikorwa cyo kurwanya amaserano y'Arusha cyamaganaga imyanya yagenewe FPR n'amashyaka atavuga rumwe na Leta. Imbere mu gihugu, icyo gikorwa cyari giherekejwe n'ukwiyongera kubugizi bwa nabi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi n'imyiteguro y'intambara. Ibi bifasha kumva ukuntu gukoresha amasezerano y'Arusha byihutishije, mu gihe gito, inzira iganisha kuri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

"Imyaka ibiri (1993-1994) yanzwe n'ibintu bibiri byakuriye icyarimwe: ku ruhande rumwe hari ugutsimbarara ku iturufu yo guhangana ubwoko, ku rundi ruhande hari kubakira ubuzima bwa poritiki mu mpembe ebyiri uhereye ku barwana babiri. Ariko ibikorwa by'amatsinda ya poritiki anyuranye yashakaga gushyigikirwa na rubanda ni byo byatumye habaho guhitamo ibice hakurikijwe ikigamijwe ugendeye ku murongo rukumbi ubatandukanya, w'ubwoko. Uko kubaka impembe bisobanura imikorere ihoraho yo koroshya ibintu: guhera ku migirire aho guhangana binyuranye byiganje kandi bikoreshwa nk'ingufu za poritiki, ukajya ku migirire ishyira imbere ihangana rimwe rikomeye kandi ry'imiterere, ihangana ry'amoko (...). Iri hangana ubwaryo ntabwo ryinjira mu mukino wa poritiki ubwawo, kuko rishingiye mu kwikiza uwo muhanganye wagaragajwe nk'umunyaporitiki ariko wasobanuwe uhereye

⁷⁴ Bertrand J., *Rwanda. Le piège de l'histoire. L'opposition démocratique avant le génocide* (1990-1994) Paris, Karthala, 2000, pp. 241-242.

ku bwoko bwe. Biragaragara neza ukuntu irondabwoko ritajya imbizi n'uburyo bwose bw'imitunganyirize ya poritiki. Izo zari zikwiye kuba inshingano zo muri MDR, gusoma bajora amateka y'ishyaka rya Kayibanda n'imitunganyirize ya poritiki ndetse n'ingengabitekerezo byari byarashyizweho Repubulika ebyiri zasimburanye”⁷⁵.

6.3.3. Ubukangurambaga buhereye ku rupfu rwa Perezida Ndadaye

Hari isano nini hagati y'iterambere ry'imyiteguro ya jenocide n'ibibazo by'u Burundi byo mu Kwakira 1993. Urupfu rwa Perezida Ndadaye tariki ya 21 Ukwakira 1993 rwagize ingaruka nini mu gushishikariza abantu kuzirikana ku bwoko bwabo mu Rwanda. Icengezamatwara ry'itangazamakuru rihereye ku rupfu rwa Perezida w'u Burundi ryatumye havuka imyumvire yatumye abantu babasha kwishora ku buryo bworoshye muri jenocide.

Mbere yo kugaragaza uruhare rw'ibibazo by'u Burundi mu gukarishya ikibazo cy'amoko mu Rwanda, twibutse ko Melchior Ndadaye yahoze ari impunzi mu Rwanda guhera mu wa 1972. Yagiye ku butegezi mu ntangiriro za Nyakanga 1993 nyuma y'amatora y'abadepite na Perezida yatsinzwe ku majwi menshi n'ishyaka rye *Front pour la Démocratie au Burundi* (Frodebu). Urupfu rwe ndetse na bamwe mu banyamuryango bo mu ishyaka rye harimo Perezida w'inteko ishingamategeko, mu ijoro ryo ku wa 20 rishyira uwa 21 Ukwakira 1993 byateye ikibazo mu mibanire y'abaturage no muri poritiki by'u Burundi.

Mu duce twinshi tw'u Burundi imitwe yitwara gisikare n'abayoboze ba Frodebu babisabwe n'abayobozi bo hasi b'iryo shyamba, bishoye mu bikorwa byo kwica Abatutsi⁷⁶. Bamwe mu bayobozi b'Abahutu bari bahungiyeye mu Rwanda birukiye kuri Radiyo Rwanda guhamagarira abaturage kwica Abatutsi bo mu Burundi no kwanga Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda.

Ingabo z'u Burundi, zari zahinduwe ruvumwa n'abanyaporitiki, zanarenzwe n'imikomere y'ikibazo ndetse n'ukuntu ibintu byarushagaho kwihuta, ntizabashije guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga Abatutsi ndetse na bamwe mu Bahutu bari

⁷⁵ Bertrand J., 2000, *op.cit.*, 256-257

⁷⁶ Aha turaganisaha ku ijamba rya Jean Minani wari icyo gihe umudepite mu nteko ishingamategeko. Umunsi umwe nyuma y'urupfu rwa Perezida Melchior Ndadaye, yahamagariye, anyujije kuri Radiyo Rwanda, Abahutu b'i Burundi kwitandukanya no kwica abaturanyi babo b'Abatutsi.

abanyamuryango ba “*Union pour le Progrès national*” (Uprona). Zatangiyeye kwisuganya byibuze ibihumbi 50000 by’abantu, abenshi b’Abatutsi, byishwe⁷⁷. Guturana n’intara za Ngozi, Kayanza, Cibitoke, Muyinga na Bubanza byagize uruhare runini mu gushishikariza abaturage iby’amoko mu Rwanda.

Nyuma yo kwica Abatutsi n’Abahutu bo muri Uprona, ibihumbi by’Abahutu bo mu Burundi byahungiyeye mu Rwanda. Iryo hunga ryabaye hashize amezi abiri nyuma yuko amasezerano y’Arusha ashirwaho umukono hagati ya Guverinoma y’u Rwanda na FPR, ukubaho kw’izo mpunzi mu Rwanda byateye icyuka cyakuririjwe n’abacurabwenge ba jenocide. Aba bacurabwenge bavomaga mu bibazo by’u Burundi urwitwazo rwo kwanga, guhakana amasezerano y’amahoro y’Arusha no gukarishya imvugo itunga agatoki umwanzi w’Umututsi.

Jordane Bertrand we yandika ko kwicwa kwa Perezida w’u Burundi byihutishijye mu Rwanda ibibazo by’amoko binyuze mu kongerera ingufu inzego z’abahuje ibitekerezo byari byaratangiyeye na mbere: “Guhera icyo gihe, hiyongereye icyuka cy’ubwoba bwinshi, intagondwa ziragikoresha ndetse zinacyongerera ingufu (...) kwari ugusobanura ndetse no gusumbanisha amoko byubakiwe ku gikorwa gifite uruhare mu kunoza ubufatanye bushya ndetse no kongera gutunganya indi mihora uhereye ku murongo ucamo ibice ushingiyeye ku bwoko (...). Ubwoba bwarakoreshejwe ku rwego rwo hejuru, bituma abantu bumva ku buryo buhanitse igitekerezo cyo kwifatanya kw’abagize ubwoko runaka. Bityo, hongera kugaragara ibitekerezo, hari hashize umwaka, bitangwa na CDR ndetse n’uburyo bwo gusobanura ubwoko bwa Parmehutu bugarukana ingufu, bigarura urujijo hagati y’ubwoko na poritiki rwahozeho muri za 50”⁷⁸.

Alison des Forges, we agaragaza ko ingufu zahagurukije imashini ya jenocide zaturutse mu bibazo by’u Burundi. Imyumvire baringa y’igice cya Hutu pawa, yari ikiraro cy’abanyabwenge ba jenocide, “*yiyubakiye ku murambo wa Ndadaye*”⁷⁹ itangira kugaragara neza.

Ibibazo by’u Burundi byatumye haba kwifatanya kw’ibice by’ibihezanguni bya MDR, PL, na PSD n’ihuriro rya MRND/

⁷⁷ Guichaoua A., 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 554

⁷⁸ Bertrand J., *op.cit.*, pp. 245-247.

⁷⁹ Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, p. 166.

CDR. Kugendera ku ihungabana ry'amarangamutima yaturutse ku rupfu rwa Perezida w'u Burundi ndetse n'impunzi z'Abarundi zari mu Rwanda, byafashije kurushaho gusobanura iyicwa ry'Abatutsi.

Urwo rupfu rwagagazwaga nk'uburyo bwa nyuma bwo guharanira ukubaho kw'Abahutu. Urupfu rwa Melchior Ndadaye rwabafashije gutyo kwerekana ko urupfu rw'Abatutsi ari igikorwa gifite imimaro ibiri. Uwo guhorera Abahutu b'i Burundi ku ruhande rumwe, n'uwo kurinda abo mu Rwanda igitero simusiga cy'Abatutsi ku rundi ruhande. Ingingo y'ubufatanyacyaha hagati ya FPR n'abishe Perezida w'u Burundi yabafashije cyane kwemeza rubanda igitekerezo cyo guhora ku ntera ndende.

Nk'urugero, umunyamakuru wa *Kangura* yahamagariraga abayobozi b'ingabo z'u Rwanda gufasha Abanyarwanda mu gikorwa cyo kwihorera bateganyaga gukora bivuna ibyaha bya FPR. "Iyo Ndadaye ataza kwicwa, Abatutsi bari gukomeza guhisha umukino wabo kugeza ku mperuka. Abatutsi bazishyura kugeza ku mperuka urupfu rwa Ndadaye, babishaka batabishaka (...) basirikare bakuru, tubabajwe cyane no kubamenyesha ububwicanyi abasirikare ba FPR barimo gutegura mu rwego rwo kurimbura inzirakarengane. Basirikare bakuru b'ingabo z'u Rwanda (...) ndashaka na none gutanga umusanzu wange mbasaba kutumva iyi Guverinoma ahubwo mugatabara aba baturage harimo ababyeyi banyu n'abavandimwe"⁸⁰.

Amashusho asebanya y'ibinyamakuru byitwaga ko "byigenga"⁸¹ ndetse n'amagambo rutwitsi ya RTLTM yerekanaga isano iri hagati ingabo za FPR n'abishe Perezida w'u Burundi; asenya ikizere Abanyarwanda bamwe bari bagifite mu masezerano y'Arusha. Buhorobuhoro ukuri kwa jenocide kugenda gutsinda ukw'imishyikirano n'impinduka za demokarasi. Ibibazo by'u Burundi byafashije "abacurabwenge" ba jenocide gushyiraho imipaka idahinduka y'ubwoko hagati y'Abahutu n'Abatutsi.

Isesengura ryakozwe ku zindi jenocide ritwereka ko uburyo bwo kwerekana itsinda ry'abanyagihugu ryose nk'umwanzi buba bugamije gusobanura mbere, ubugizi bwa nabi buzarikorerwa. Jacques Sémelin asobanura ko guhamya kamere *y'ubugome* cyangwa *ubugambanyi* ari amayeri yo guhimba uko ubugizi bwa

⁸⁰ *Kangura*, n° 52, décembre 1993.

⁸¹ *Kangura*, n° 48-58; *Le courrier du peuple*, no 11 na 12.

nabi buzakorerwa iryo tsinda ry'abanyagihugu ryerekanywe buzasobanurwa: "Amasesengura ateye gutyo, ashingiye ku kwemeza amatsinda abantu bakomokamo adahinduka, aba agamije gushimangira ko abantu banyuranye: Yahudi/Aryens, Hutu/Tutsi (...) bisobanura ihangana hagati ya 'bo' na 'twe'. Ni iyo itsinda rya "bo' ryagaragajwe na 'twe' nkaho ari ryo ritwugarije. Nta biganiri bishoboka kuko ikidutanya cyagaragajwe nk'ikidafatika"⁸².

Iyo migirire yo kugaragaza itsinda ry'abanyagihugu wabambitse umwambaro w'abagizi ba nabi yari igamije kubura inzika no gutegura inzira ziganisha ku bwicanyi. Kwerekana Abatutsi nkaho ari babi muri kamere yabo, kimwe no kubashyiraho *ibyago* byose bya rubanda, byari bigamije kubakura mu muryango w'abanyagihugu. Kandi nk'uko Y. Ternon abigaragaza, gukabya kubigizayo na byo bifasha mu gushyiraho uburyo bwo kubakuraho ubica: "birasanze mu bihugu bitagendera kuri demokarasi, kwigizayo itsinda rya ba nyakamwe ushingiyeye ku ikandamiza bihindura buhumyi imyumvire ya nyamwinshi: Yubaka ikibatanya kandi ikibanda kubatesha umurongo. Gukandamiza bitegura gutoteza. Bifite imimaro ibiri, uwo gushimangira urwango nyamwinshi yanga nyakamwe wigijweyo ndetse no kwerekana abo ba nyakamwe. Ibyo bitegura igikorwa cyo kugaragaza mu bihe bizaza ubushake bwo kurimbura itsinda runaka"⁸³.

6.3. 4 Ikoreshwa rya hato na hato ry'ubwoba n'inzika

Gusesengura imvugo za poritiki zacaga mu bitangazamakuru bya Leta ndetse n'ibyigenga bigaragaza ko guhera mu wa 1992, igitekerezo cy'uko bashobora gutsindwa cyagendaga kiyongera mu butegetsi bwo mu Rwanda. Gusaba ko hajyaho amashyaka menshi n'intambara byagaragaraga ko bishobora gusenya imisingi y'ingufu zabwo. Ku rundi ruhande, igitutu bwotswaga na FPR kerekanaga ko gutsindwa urugamba bishoboka.

Nk'uko bigaragara mu bindi bikorwa biganisha kuri jenocide, hari isano nini hagati yo kumva ko ugiye gutsindwa no kwirukira mu bugizi bwa nabi. Iyo ubutegetsi bwumva bwugarijwe bwihutira gukora ubugizi bwa nabi kugira ngo buhatire abantu kwemera ubutegetsi kandi busubirane ishema ryabwo. Birumvikana

⁸² Sémelin J., *op.cit.*, p. 88

⁸³ Ternon Y., 1995, *op.cit.*, 97.

ko igikorwa cyo gusaba demokarasi ndetse n'intambara byashoboraga ubwabyo gusobanura ubushake bwo gukora ubwicanyi ku bwinshi. Aha ni ho ingengabitekerezo igaragara nk'igikorwa ngenderwaho cy'ubukangurambaga simusiga. Mu gihe cy'amage akaze, ingengabitekerezo ikoreshwa mu kubaka isura y'abasumbirijwe ndetse n'iy'ababifitemo uruhare cyangwa abasumbirije. Iyo nzira yo kwerekana abasumbirijwe ituma habaho imigenzereze yo gusuzugurana. Iba igamije kwemeza ubugizi bwa nabi ndetse no kubushyira mu bikorwa.

Kuri iyo ngingo, Alison Des Forges agaragaza ukuntu ubu bukangurambaga bwifashishijwe mu gikorwa cyo kurimbura Abatutsi. "Jenoside yo mu Rwanda irihariye kubera uburyo abayiteguye bihatiye gushishikariza abaturage ku bwinshi kwitabira ubwicanyi. Nta guhisha icyo bari bagambiriye, batangazaga ku mugaragaro, mu binyamakuru no kuri radiyo, umugambi wabo wo gutsemba abaturage b'Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda. Basabaga Abahutu kwitabira igikorwa cy'ubwicanyi, bashimangira ko buri wese bimureba (...). Berekeza ubwoba n'urwango ku Batutsi, abayiteguye bizeraga gushakisha ku ngufu ubufatanye bw'Abahutu. Ariko hirya y'ibyo, bari bafite umugambi wo gutegura ubufanyacyaha rusange muri jenocide"⁸⁴.

Birakwiye kwibutsa ko kugira ngo abaturage bitabire ubugizi bwa nabi bugiriwa itsinda ryagaragajwe gutyo, igikorwa cyashoboraga guhinduka bitewe n'ibihe byihariye. Muri rusange, icengezamatwara y'ingengabitekerezo rigira uruhare runini. Mu mikorere, rishyiraho cyangwa risobanura impamvu ubwicanyi ari ngombwa. Mu Rwanda, hagati ya 1992 na 1994 iryo cengezamatwara ryigaragaje rigarura igikangisho cy' uko Abatutsi bagiye gutsemba Abahutu.

Agace k'ijambo Léon Mugesera yavugiye i Kabaya mu Gushyamba 1992 karabyerekana: "Gushishoza, muzi icyo ari cyo. Bagore namwe bagabo, muzi yuko hari inyenzi mu gihugu, zo... zafashe abana bazo zibohereza ku rugamba kujya gufatanya n'inkotanyi. Kuki mudafata ababyeyi babo ngo mubatsembe. Kuki mudatsemba abo bantu bose bohereza abo bana kurwana? Mumbwire, mutegereje ko baza kubica? Biranditse mu itegeko nshinga ryacu ko ubutabera butangwa mu izina rya rubanda. Tugomba kwikorera izo ngegera tukazitsembe. Biranditse mu ivanjiri, murabizi, ko igihe muzemera ko inzoka

⁸⁴ Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, pp. 891- 892.

iza kubaruma, mukayireka ikabagumamo, ni mwe muzashira. Buri muntu udasanzwe muri serire agomba kumenywa, niba afatanije n'inyenzi agomba gupfa nta rundi rubanza (...). Ndabibasubiriramo ko tugomba gutangira gukora”⁸⁵.

Nk’uko bigaragara, ijamba rya Léon Mugesera ryageragezaga kwerekana, hagenderewe umugambi wo kwica Abatutsi, ububi bw’intambara, rinatanga umuti wo kubungabunga umutekano cyangwa ukubaho kw’Abahutu. Nk’uko tubizi, kugaragaza itsinda ryugarijwe bikorwa bahakana iry’abandi ryagaragajwe ko rinyuranye na yo kandi ari ribi. Muri rusange, ni muri icyo ntumbero uwo ‘wundi’ ateshwa agaciro, agahabwa amazina y’ibikoko/inyamaswa. Uko kumugira inyamaswa bigamije kwerekana urwango bamufitiye, kuburizamo igikorwa icyo ari cyo cyose cyo kumugirira impuhwe cyangwa kumukunda. Inyandiko yasohotse mu kinyamakuru *Kangura* ishobora kudufasha kugaragaza ayo magambo.

“Inyenzi ibyara indi inyenzi (...). Amateka y’u Rwanda atwereka ku buryo bugaragara ko umututsi yagumye kuba uko yahoze, ko atigize ahinduka. Amayeri, ubugome ni bwa bundi tuzi mu gihugu cyacu (...). Ni nde wabasha gutandukanya inyenzi zateye mu Kwakira 1990 n’izo mu myaka ya 1960? Bafitanye isano, bamwe ni abuzukuru b’abandi. Ubugome bwabo ni bumwe (...) ubugome butagira urugero inyenzi z’uyu muni zikorera abaturage byibutsa ubwakorwaga n’aba mbere: kwica, gusahura, gufata abakobwa n’abagore ku ngufu n’ibindi. Niba mu rurimi rwacu bamwita inzoka, iryo riramuhagije (...). Umututsi ni umuntu ufite ubugome butagereranywa (...). Mu rurimi rwacu Umututsi yitwa inyenzi kuko yitwikira ijoro, ariyoberanya kugira ngo agere ku ntego ze. Ijamba inyenzi ritwibutsa kandi inzoka y’inkazi ifite ubumara bukomeye. Kuba Abatutsi barahisemo ayo mazina bifite icyo bisobanuye ku bashaka kubyumva (...)”⁸⁶. Niba Abahutu batitonze, Abatutsi bashobora kubiba revorisiyo bakoze mu wa 1959”.

Mu gikorwa cya jenocide, ubwo bukangurambaga butanga muri rusange umusaruro uteye ukubiri. Ubwa mbere bushyiraho intangiriro yo kwigizayo abicwa. Aba, batandukanywa ku buryo budasubirwaho n’abandi bantu. Ubwa kabiri butegura mu

⁸⁵ Ijamba rya Léon Mugesera i Kabaya tariki ya 17 Nzeri 1992, muri Chrétien J.-P., *op.cit.* p.56.

⁸⁶ *Kangura*, n° 40, Werurwe 1993, pp. 16-17

bitekerezo, abazakora uwo “murimo”⁸⁷ usebetse. Bakangishijwe ibyago bibategereje, abo bazica bagenda buhorobuhoro bemera kwitabira ubwicanyi.

Kugira ngo barwanye ikintu cyo kwicecekera no kudashaka *gukora* kwa bamwe mu Bahutu bari bagishidikanya kwitabira, imvugo ngengabitekerezo yakoresheya ibihuha kugira ngo itere ubwoba: “imigambi y’Abatutsi yatanze umusaruro mu Burundi no mu Rwanda ndetse iracyabica. Ukwaguka kwa hima-tutsi kumaze kwizera kuyogoza ibihugu bituranye n’u Buganda n’ u Burundi. Amoko y’ababantu (Bantous) yo mu burasirazuba bwa Zayire, mu Burundi mu Rwanda no mu Buganda n’igice cya Tanzaniya biteze ubwo bucakara bwa Makiyaveri. Aho nyamuke itegeka nyamwinshi, ntibishimishije”⁸⁸.

Ubu bukangurambaga buhungabanya imbamutima ku buryo budasanzwe. Kuvuga ko Abahutu bagiye kugirwa abacakara na “nyamuke hima-tutsi, irumbaraye kuri jenocide yo kurimbura nyamwishi y’Abahutu”⁸⁹ byagamburuzaga abenshi mu Bahutu bari bicecekeye. Kugira ngo Abahutu babyitabire bese, abateguye jenocide bubatse urwego Abahutu bashoboraga kumviramo akaga kabategereje. Valérie Bemeriki yagize ati: “Batubwiye ukuntu (inyenzi) zifata abagore batwite, zikabicisha ubuhiri, zikabasatura inda kugira ngo zikuremo uruhinja, bakarushyira hasi bakarwica na rwo bamaze kurusatura inda. [...]. Mwumvise na none ko baroshye mu mazi abagore bahetse abana mu mugongo, babaroshye muri Muhazi kandi no kugeza ubu abantu barahamya ko imirambo yabo ikireremba hejuru y’amazi; (...) ku buryo abanyaburayi bashobora kwibonera imwe muri iyo mirambo yiroha mu Nyanja ya Mediterane. Murumva ko ubunyamaswa bw’inyenzi budasubirwaho. Ubunyamaswa bw’inyenzi bwavurwa no kuzitsemba zose, kuzica zose, kuzirimbura uko zakabaye”⁹⁰. Bityo rero, kuba Abahutu baritabiriye ku bwinshi jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi byaturutse ku icengezamatwara ngengabitekerezo ryagaragazaga Abatutsi bese nk’abenda gutsemba Abahutu: “byose biba nkaho hari

⁸⁷ Imvugo y’ibanga yakoresheya n’abacurabwenge ba jenocide bashaka kuvuga gutsemba Abatutsi

⁸⁸ *Kangura*, n° 7, p. 13.

⁸⁹ Association des femmes parlementaires pour la défense des droits de l’enfant et de la mère (AFEPADDEM), Mugesera L., “Toute la vérité sur la guerre d’Octobre au Rwanda”, muri la *Relève*, yo kuva ku itariki ya 1 kugeza ku ya 7 Gashyantare 1991, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Bemeriki V., tariki ya 3 Kamena 1994 yavuzwe na Chrétien J.-P., 1995, *op.cit.*, p. 195

amahitamo yerekeranye n’umutekano: uwiteguraga kuba umwicanyi yigaragaza nk’uzicwa. Umugambi we wo kurimbura [imbaga] witirirwa uwo kwirinda no guharanira kubaho kw’itsinda rye!”⁹¹

Ibyo bahereyeho muri iryo cengezamatwara byari bigizwe n’amashusho nyurabwenge yerekana Abatutsi nk’icyago cyo kwigizayo cyangwa gukuraho. Kuva u Rwanda rwabona ubwigenge ayo mashusho – nyurabwenge yari ahishe ibikorwa byo guheza Abatutsi. Amahame y’ubutegetsu yari yubakiye kwihimura ku Batutsi no ku gitekerezo cy’uko Abahutu bisobanura demokarasi. Nyuma y’uko intambara yo mu Kwakira 1990 itangira, ayo mashusho yari izingiro ry’imvugo zigamije kurimbura ku bwinshi Abatutsi. Ibi byose byerekana ko mbere yuko iba igikorwa cyo kurimbura imibiri, jenocide ibanza kuba igikorwa cyangwa kubaka mu bwenge igaragaza ishusho y’undi wo kwica⁹².

Agace ka kabiri k’iki gice kagaragaje ku buryo buhagije uruhare nyamukuru rw’icengezamatwara. Ryari rigamije kwita no gushyiraho ibihe by’imidugararo rikoresheje inzika ndetse n’ubwoba. Hanyuma kandi rigakoresha ijamba gutsemba kugira ngo hagaragazwe ibishobora kuba ku Bahutu baramutse banze kwirinda. Mu biganirwa byayo byo muri Mata kugeza muri Nyakanga 1994, RTLTM yahamye buri gihe ko gutsemba Abatutsi byari bikenewe mu rwego rwo kurinda Abahutu. “Birakwiye ko Abanyarwanda bashyigikirana, ko Abahutu bashyigikirana, ko abo mu Nduga bashyigikirana abo mu Rukiga (...) nka kera ... byongeye kandi ko Abahutu, ko abaturage bose bashyigikirana ingabo z’u Rwanda... ko hateganywa guha abaturage intwari kugira ngo barwanye inyangarwanda (...) niba mudashaka kwicisha Abanyarwanda, nimuhaguruke, mukore (...) mutitaye ku bivugwa n’amahanga, n’ibindi”⁹³.

Mu isesengura ryakozwe ku ruhare rw’ibinyamakuru, J. Sémelin agaragaza ko ihame fatizo ry’icengezamatwara rihora ari rimwe: gutera ubwoba, ishema, kuzura inzika no guhamagarira abantu ubushishozi no kwihorera. Agaragaza kandi ko rinyuze muri uwo murimo wo gukora ku marangamutima, icengezamatwara

⁹¹ Sémelin J. , “Eléments pour une grammaire du massacre”, muri *Etudes Rwandaises* no 9, E.U.N.R., 2005, p. 110

⁹² Idem.

⁹³ RTLTM, tariki ya 15 Mata, ibyavuzwe na Jean Barahinyura muri Chrétien J.-P., 1995, *op.cit.*, 97.

riba rigamije gukurura rubanda ihagije. “Nta mahitamo, ni ko yavuze, tugomba twese kwirinda bariya bantu. Ni ikibazo cy’ubwoko, birareba ukubaho kwacu”⁹⁴.

6.4. Guhagarika jenocide bikoze na FPR

6.4.1. Ibikorwa bya gisirikare

FPR yari yiteze ko umuryango mpuzamahanga ugira uruhare mu kurinda abasiviri ubwicanyi bwinshi bwubuye. Nta n’umwe wagaragaje ubwo bushake igihe Abatutsi n’Abahutu batavuga rumwe na Leta bicwaga guhera tariki ya 6 Mata 1994, FPR itanga ikifuzo tariki ya 9 Mata, ko habaho igikorwa ihuriyeho n’ingabo za MINUAR, ingabo z’u Rwanda, buri gice kigatanga abasirikare 300 bo guhagarika ubwicanyi. Ingabo z’u Rwanda zanga icyo kifuzo ndetse n’ingabo za MINUAR ziragabanywa. Uko byari biri, na mbere yo kugabanywa bareberaga nta cyo bakora ubugizi bwa nabi bw’amoko yose bwakorerwaga mu maso yabo.

FPR ntiyabashaga kwihanganira icyo gihirahiro, ihagurutsa ingabo zayo kujya gutabara batayo yari imeze nk’ifungiwe mu nzu inama y’igihugu iharanira amajyambere yakoreragamo (CND), guhagarika ubwicanyi no gusenya ubushobozi bw’ingufu zakoraga jenocide zarimo abasirikare b’ingabo z’u Rwanda (FAR) n’imitwe yitwara gisirikare ikomoka mu mashyaka. Abarwanyi ba FPR banyuze mu nzira eshatu (axes): i Burasirazuba, i Burengezazuba no hagati (hagana i Kigali). Ingabo zo mu gice cyo hagati zafashe Byumba, ibice bindi bibiri bihura na ya batayo yabaga muri CND nyuma y’ iminsi itatu, nyuma yuko imirwano yubuye. Uko zaganaga imbere, ingabo za FPR zatahuraga ko hari gukorwa ibintu biteye ubwoba: abantu batemwe, inkomere zisambagurika, abakiriho bakomeretse bikabije, abarokotse bahungabanye, n’ibindi.

Kwigira imbere kw’ingabo za FPR kwakomwaga mu nkokora n’imitego y’ ubwoko bwose nka za mine, ibico, ibiraro byaciwe, n’ibindi. Uko ubwicanyi ndengakamere bwakomezaga, ibiganiro by’i Kigali (ibiganiro byo guhagarika imirwano hagati ya Mugambage wa FPR na Gatsinzi wa Guverinoma biyobowe na Dallaire) nta cyo byageragaho. Cyari ikiganiro k’ibiragi: Uwari uhagarariye FPR yasabaga ko ubwicanyi bwahagarara mu gihe uwa Guverinoma yatsimbararaga ku guhagarika imirwano mbere yo guhagarika ubwicanyi bwakorerwaga abasiviri.

⁹⁴ Sémelin J., 2005, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

Ubuganga bwa FPR, yari inafite umubare w'abasirikare muke (abasirikare 25.000) ugereranije n'ingabo z'u Rwanda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare, byari fite intwari nyinshi, yari ugukora ku buryo badatakaza abasirikari benshi; bagakoresha ubwenge bwo kutarwana imbonankubone. Ingabo za FPR zacengeraga aho umwanzi yabaga akambitse, zikamuzenguruka, zikamutesha umutwe zimurasaho na morutsiye. Cyangwa se zigafunga amayira acamo ingemu ariko zikamusigira akayira yanyuramo ahunga. Bityo, ingabo z'u Rwanda, dore ko inyinshi zari zibereye mu bikorwa byo kwica abatutsi no gusahura imitungo yabo, zibuzwa mu mashyi no mu mudiho. Morari yabo yaratwaga buri gihe, yari yangiritse. Zarahunze, bituma ingabo za FPR zitabara ubuzima bwa bake mu barokotse jenocide.

Kuri bamwe bareberaga, amayeri ya FPR yafashije gutsinda urugamba rwa gisirikare ariko agatanga amahirwe make yo gutabara abicwaga muri jenocide⁹⁵. Mu by'ukuri ibyo birego byinjira mu mugambi rusange wo gusebya FPR. icyo kirego kidafata umwanya wo kureba ingabo zari zihari n'ibyari bigamijwe hari ukuri kirengagiza. Birumvikana ko FPR ifata ayo mayeri yo gutera ingabo z'u Rwanda mu bice bitandukanye yari igambiriye ibintu bibiri by'ibanze.

Byari ngombwa ko berekana ko hari icyago cyugarije mu gace k'Amajyaruguru (Ruhengeri na Gisenyi) kugira ngo bayobye ingabo z'u Rwanda bazikururire kuhibanda. Ayo mayeri yari agamije gutuma ibikorwa bya gisirikare birangira vuba mu duce tw'i Burasirazuba (Kibungo), two hagati (Kigali, Gitarama) n'Amagepfo (Butare, Gikongoro) twari twitabiriye cyane kwica Abatutsi. Kubera ayo mayeri ya gisirikare, abasirikare ba FPR barokoye ibihumbi kandi bafata ababikoraga. FPR yahagaritse jenocide, itsinda abayobozi ba gisiviri na ba gisirikare bari bakuriye ubwicanyi n'abo bafatanyije⁹⁶.

6.4.2 Igikorwa cya diporomasi

Mu gihe jenocide yarimo gukorwa, abayiteguye n'abo bari bafatanyije bakoze ibishoboka bahakana ubwicanyi bwabo.

⁹⁵ Des Forges A., 1999, *op.cit.*, pp. 813, 814.

⁹⁶ Tariki ya 22 Gicurasi 1994, yafashe ikibuga k'indege n'ikigo cya gisirikare cya Kanombe. Imigi ya Kigali na Butare yakuwe mu maboko y'ingabo zakoraga jenocide tariki ya 4 n'ya 5 Nyakanga. Ruhengeri yo yabohowe tariki ya 14 na Gisenyi ibohorwa ku ya 17 Nyakanga. Tariki ya 18 Nyakanga, yatangaje ko jenocide ihagaritswe n'uko ituze rigarutse. Tariki ya 19 Nyakanga, ishyiraho guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu.

Igikorwa cyuzuye ibinyoma no guhimba cyakozwe na Guverinoma y'abatabazi n'abari bayishyigikiye bavugaga ko FPR ari yo yateje jenocide. Ipfundo nyamukuru ry'icyo gikorwa kwari ukuvuga ko byaturutse ku ntambara na FPR yagaragaraga nk'igitero kitumvikana cyatewe n'u Bugande buyobowe na Yoweri Kaguta Museveni⁹⁷.

Igisobanuro cy'umujinya no kumvira buhumyi by'abaturage byagerageje guhisha jenocide yateguwe ku buryo bunonosoye: "urupfu rwa perezida Habyarimana rwatunguye kandi rutera ubwoba Abanyarwanda ndetse n'umujinya mu basirikare bamwe, bahise batera bamwe mu bayobozi bakekwagaho cyangwa bagaragaraga ko bafashije, bagize uruhare muri uko kwicwa k'umuyobozi w'igihugu. Ntibashoboraga kwihangana, bamwe mu basirikare b'ingabo z'u Rwanda bateye abakekwagaho kuba ibyitso bya FPR harimo Madamu Uwiringiyimana Agathe, wari Minisitiri w'Intebe na batatu mu bari bagize Guverinoma ye. Naho abaturage, bari batewe ubwoba nyuma yo kumva ubwo bwicanyi bukorerwa mu duce ducungwa na FPR, ba babajwe kandi basazijwe n'urupfu rw'umukuru w'igihugu, bariyegeeranyije kugira ngo birinde"⁹⁸.

FPR yarwanyije uko guhakana ukuri kuri jenocide binyuze muri diporomasi no mu itanzamakuru yivuye inyuma. Mu gihe cya jenocide na nyuma gato yayo, abahagarariye FPR bazengurutse imigi ikomeye y'i Burayi na Amerika y'Amajyaruguru ndetse n'imwe mu migi yo muri Afurika basobanura ukuntu ibyabaye mu Rwanda ari jenocide. Byasabaga kumvisha umuryango mpuzamahanga kugira ngo wemere iyo jenocide, unabashe kuyihana.

Mu mezi ya Mata, Gicurasi, Kamena 1994, intumwa za FPR zigizwe na G. Gahima na Ch. Murigande (rimwe na rimwe na Cl. Dusaidi), zashyize ingufu ahari ikicarwo cy'umuryango w'abibumbye i New York ndetse n'i Washington. Bahangaye bitagira urugero n'abahagarariye Guverinoma y'abatabazi, basabaga ko jenocide yakwemezwa, kurwanya igikorwa cy'utabazi bw' igisirikare cy'Abafaransa kibogamye, kugarura no kongerera ingufu MINUAR kugira ngo bafashe guhangana n'akajagari ka sizwe na jenocide, bagasaba kandi ko hashingwa urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rushinzwe kuburanisha ibyaha byibasiye inyoko muntu na jenocide yakozwe mu Rwanda.

⁹⁷ Ibyatangajwe na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ku byaberaga mu Rwanda ku birebana n'uburenganzira bwa muntu, s.d., s.l., p.2

⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 7

Byarangiye intumwa za FPR zibashije kumva mu kanama gashinzwe umutekano⁹⁹. Mbere yuko bajya mu kanama gashinzwe umutekano intumwa zinyuranye zabanje kuganira n'iza FPR. Muri imwe mu myanzuro ya ONU yatowe ku Rwanda mu gihe cya jenocide¹⁰⁰ ijwi rya FPR byibuze ryitabwagaho. Muri Kamena umunyamabanga Mukuru wa ONU yagerageje gukoresha ijamba "jenocide"¹⁰¹.

Muri Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika, komite y'imibanire n'amahanga muri Sena (abantu 20) yoherereje ibaruwa Perezida Clinton (16 Kamena 1994) muri icyo baruwa yemeraga "igikorwa cyateguwe cya jenocide"¹⁰² mu Rwanda kandi inasaba ubutabazi bwihutirwa: "turatekereza ko Jenocide iri gukorwa mu Rwanda isobanura, birumvikana, kandi bisaba igisubizo kihuta hagendewe ku masezerano ya jenocide... Ibihumbi amagana by'abantu bari mu gihirahiro"¹⁰³. Bategetse kandi ko uhagarariye Guverinoma y'abatabazi atakongera kugira ikicaro mu kanama gashinzwe umutekano.

Mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi Kwa Kamena, Cl. Dusaidi yasabye, mu izina rya FPR gushyiraho urukiko rwo guhana abateguye jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi: "... gushishikariza akanama gashinzwe umutekano kwemeza ku mugaragaro ko ubwicanyi bwo mu Rwanda ari jenocide ndetse no gushyiraho urukiko rwa gisirikare rw'ibyaha by'intambara rwo kuburanisha abakoze iki cyaha cy'urwango"¹⁰⁴. Babikoze ku giti cyabo, J. Birara na A. Munyaneza bahamagariye Umuryango w'Ubumwe bwa Afurika (OUA) "kugira ngo hashyirweho byihutirwa urukiko rwihariye, Nuremberg nshya"¹⁰⁵.

⁹⁹ Ubutumwa bwa G. Gahima bugenewe Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa ONU., 12 Gicurasi 1994.

¹⁰⁰ Umwanzuro n° 912 (1994) wafashwe tariki ya 21 Mata usubiramo ubutumwa bwa MINUAR kandi bugabanya umubare w'abasirikare kuri 270; Umwanzuro n° 918 (1994) watowe tariki ya 19 Gicurasi wemeraga kongera ingabo za MINUAR kugera ku basirikare 5.500 unongera manda yayo, bivuga kurengera abasiviri bari mu kaga no gufasha abakora ubutabazi; umwanzuro n° 925 (1994) watowe tariki ya munani Kamena urebana n'igihe cyo kohereza MINUAR II.

¹⁰¹ Reba ibaruwa y'Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa ONU yandikiye Perezida w'akanama gashinzwe umutekano, tariki ya 19 Kamena 1994

¹⁰² "A Planned campaign of Genocide"

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¹⁰⁴ Reba ibaruwa kuri S. G., 3 Kamena 1994

¹⁰⁵ Reba ibaruwa yohererejwe Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa OUA, Salim Ahmed Salim, 25 Kamena 1994.

Iki gikorwa cyo gutuma jenocide yemezwa cyajyanaga no kwamagana abayiteguye n'abavugizi babo mu ruhando mpuzamahanga. Cl. Dusaidi yasabye ko uhagarariye Guverinoma y'abatabazi atakongera kwicara mu kanama gashinzwe umutekano¹⁰⁶. Amabaruwa menshi yoherejwe n'ubuyobozi bwa FPR, yoherezwa bamwe mu ba Perezida b'Abanyafurika kugira ngo Guverinoma y'abatabazi yari gukora jenocide ititabira imirimo y'inama y'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika i Tunis¹⁰⁷.

Mu itangazo risoza inama y'abaminisitiri b'ububanyi n'amahanga b'Afurika bari bahuriye i Tunis, mu mirimo y'inama isanzwe ya OUA yabereye i Tunisi muri Kamena 1994 batangaje ko *"bahangayikishijwe n'uko ubwicanyi bukomeje ndetse hakaba hicwa abasiwira b'inzirakarengane"*¹⁰⁸. Ikemezo cyo guhagarika imirwano k'i Tunisi cyavugaga ko abari mu nama "bamaganye bivuye inyuma ubwicanyi bwateguwe ndetse na jenocide byabaye mu Rwanda"¹⁰⁹. FPR na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda bumvikanye gushyiraho komisiyo y'iperereza yo kugaragaza ababikoze bagomba kuburanishwa bagahanwa hakurikijwe amategako mpuzamahanga. Mu gihugu, FPR yakusanyaga ibimenyetso bifatika n'ubuhamya kuri jenocide. Amaperereza mpuzamahanga yakozwe nyuma yarabikoresheje. Ni muri urwo rwego, n'uwo murimo wo kwegeranya ubuhamya bw'ingeri zose ko inzibutso za jenocide z'i Nyamata na Nyarubuye zubatwe. Ambasaderi Degni Segui, umwanditsi wihariye wa komisiyo y'umuryango w'abibumbye y'ubureganzira bwa muntu, yakoresheje ibyo bimenyetso.

Muri raporo ye, uwo umwanditsi wihariye yavuze "ubwicanyi butigeze buba mu mateka mabi y'igihugu"¹¹⁰. Ubwo bwicanyi ni ibikorwa by'imitwe yitwara gisirikare *interahamwe n'Impuzamugambi* bwakorerwaga Abatutsi n'Abahutu bacisha make. Yashinjaga Guverinoma kuba yarakoresheje jenocide

¹⁰⁶ Reba ibaruwa ya Bizimungu P. yandikiwe Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa OUA, tariki ya 4 Kamena 1994.

¹⁰⁷ Reba ibaruwa ya Kol. Kanyarengwe yandikiye Perezida Mubarak, Perezida wayoboraga OUA, tariki ya 20 Gicurasi 1994, amusaba "kutemera itsinda ry'abicanyi ryigize Guverinoma; ibaruwa yandikiwe Perezida wa Burukina Faso, tariki ya 31 Gicurasi 1994; ibaruwa yandikiwe Perezida wa Côte d'Ivoire, tariki ya 31 Gicurasi 1994.

¹⁰⁸ Umushinga w'umwanzuro ku bibera mu Rwanda.

¹⁰⁹ Itangazo ry'i Tunisi, 15 Kamena 1994.

¹¹⁰ Raporo ku mimerere y'ubureganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda yatanze na M. R. Degni-Segui, umwanditsi wihariye wa komisiyo y'ubureganzira bwa muntu mu gushyira mu bikorwa igika cya 20 cy'umwanzuro 1993 S- 3/1 wa komisiyo, ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994.

n'ubwicanyi, René Degni Segui, yatanze ikifuzo, mbese nka FPR, cyo gushyiraho urukiko mpuzamahanga rwo kuburanisha ababukoze. ONU yatoye nyuma umwanzuro kuri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi¹¹¹.

Asoza raporo ye avuga ko “Ibyaha bivugwaho biri ugutatu: jenocide ituruka ku bwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi, ubwicanyi bwa poritiki bwakorewe Abahutu no kurengera ku buryo bunyuranye uburenganzira bwa muntu. Ni jenocide uhereye ku ngingo ya II y'amasezerano yo kurinda no guhana icyaha cya jenocide yo ku itariki ya 9 Ukuboza 1948”¹¹². Abakoze jenocide ni abanyaporitiki bo hejuru ku rwego rw'igihugu, abashinzwe umutekano, inzego za Leta, zimwe muri Leta z'amahanga”¹¹³.

Raporo yasabwe na OUA yongeraho ibindi igira iti: “Ntibyaba bikwiye guhakana uruhare rwa FPR mu kwibasira uburenganzira bwa muntu mu mezi yo mu gihe na nyuma ya jenocide. Aba bantu bari mu ntambara y'ubwicanyi, yakajijwe na jenocide yatejwe n'umwanzi wabo kandi yibasira ubwoko bwabo”.

Abasore binjijwe mu gisirikare batatojwe ikinyabupfura cy'abarwanyari ba mbere byari bigoye kubacunga. Umusaruro w'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi, kwibasira uburenganzira bwa muntu n'imfu wabayemwinshi. “Ariko ntitubashije kugaragaza umubare wabyo n'ibyo ari byo, mu mibare myinshi yatangajwe, y'ukuri”¹¹⁴. Abayirwanyaga basubiramo “ibirego ndengakamere byakwirakwijwe mu isi n'abayoboze ba Hutu pawa byibasira Guverinoma iriho... Ariko ntitwabonye ikimenyetso na kimwe cyatuma tubishyigikira”¹¹⁵.

Nubwo hari ibirego bivugwa ku basirikare bayo bakuru (ubwicanyi n'itotezwa bwakorewe Abahutu mu duce tumwe tw'igihugu, ibirego FPR yemera ivuga ko byakozwe n'abasore bari bakinjira mu gisirikare bashaka guhorera ababo bishwe muri jenocide), FPR izinjira mu mateka y'u Rwanda kuba ari wo mutwe wonyine wabashije kurwanya muri poritiki no mu rwego rwa gisirikare

¹¹¹ BBC, tariki ya 30 Kamena 1994; BBC, tariki ya 2 Nyakanga 1994.

¹¹² Raporo ku miterere y'uburenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda yatanze na M. R. Degni-Segui, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

¹¹³ Yavugaga adashatse kwereka u Bufaransa n'uko bwashyigikiye Guverinoma y'u Rwanda, uruhare rw'abasirikare b'Abafaransa mu bwicanyi, igitutu cyashyizwe ku uhagarariye Umunyamabanga Mukuru wa ONU, Roger Booh-Booh.

¹¹⁴ Raporo y'itsinda mpuzamahanga y'Abanyacyubahiro, *op.cit.*, p. 271.

¹¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 272

jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994. Mu bice bimwe na bimwe, imitwe yitwara gisirikare n’abasirikare basigaga abicwa basamba bakiruka bumvise - byaba byo cyangwa atari byo - ko FPR ihageze. Uretse abagizi ba nabi n’abahakana ni bo badashaka kwemera icyo gikorwa cy’amateka. Kwihuta kw’imiterere ya poritiki n’umutekano ni byo bivuguruza ubushake ubwo ari bwo bwose bwa FPR bwo gutsemba Abahutu ku buryo buteguye.

6.5. Guhakana jenocide no kugoreka amateka

Ijambo “guhakana jenocide” ryahimbwe n’umunyamateka Henry Rousso mu wa 1987 ashaka kwerekana imvugo igamije kwanga cyangwa guhakana ukuri kwa jenocide y’Abayahudi. Uhereye kuri icyo mvugo, jenocide yakorewe Abayahudi ngo yaba yarahimbwe hagamijwe inyungu za Isiraheri no kuyishakira ubufasha bwa poritiki n’imari. Guhakana byinjira mu rugamba rw’amagambo agamije guhisha imiterere y’ukuri kwa jenocide no gusibanganya ibimenyetso. Habanza guhakana ukuri, ubukare bwayo, uburyo jenocide yakozwe ndetse n’ubushake bwo kuyikora¹¹⁶.

Kuva intambara ya kabiri y’isi yaba, ijambo “guhakana” ryagiye rikoreshe mu zira zose zigamije kugoreka ukuri kugira ngo ikirego cya jenocide kitabasha kwemerwa. Guhakana binyurana no kugoreka amateka. Kugoreka amateka ntibihakana ukuri kwa jenocide, bigamije gusubiramo igisobanuro cyayo. Bikunze kugaragara mu ruhande rw’amateka na firozofiya, kugoreka bishobora kugera aho bibusanya uruhare rw’abakoze icyaha bityo, bigahinduka uburyo bwihishe bwo guhakana. Guhakana ni uburyo butari ubwa gihanga bwifitemo ikintu cyo gusobanura uburyo, ubwicanyi buhakana ko bwabayeho, bwateguwe bukanakorwa. Uyu muni, ijambo *guhakana jenocide* rigaragaza imikorere n’imvugo zihakana jenocide umuryango mpuzamahanga wemeye ko zabaye. Mu buryo ryakoreshe bwose, guhakana bibangamira gushyira ukuri ahagaragara. Byica icyubahiro cyagahawe abazize jenocide, bikabangamira ibikorwa byo kwibuka, bigategura ukwisubiramo k’ubwo bwicanyi rusange¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁶Vidal Naquet P.-V., “Eichmann de papier”, muri Vidal Naquet P.-V., *Les assassins de la mémoire*, Paris, Seuil, 1987, p. 32.

¹¹⁷ Ternon Y., *Du négationisme. Mémoire et Tabou*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1999, pp. 14-15

Nk’uko byavuzwe inshuro nyinshi, guhakana biri mu bintu bigize jenocide. Nta jenocide ishobora kuba ngo ntihabe guhakana. Kuri icyo ngingo, J. Dupaquier agira ati: “mbere ya jenocide, imyiteguro irahishwa, muri jenocide ukuri kwayo kukavuguruzwa, nyuma ya jenocide imiterere yayo igahakanwa”¹¹⁸. Ukwezi kumwe nyuma yuko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi itangira, ibikorwa byo kuyihakana byahise bitangira. Kwari uguhangana n’ibikorwa byo kwinubira ibyakorwaga, byari bitangiye kuzamuka biturutse muri bamwe mu banyamakuru n’abashakashatsi. Byari kandi gushyiraho ibintu fatizo imvugo ihakana igomba kubakiraho.

6.5.1. Inzira zo guhakana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi

Guhera muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994, haje imvugo n’ibikorwa bigamije kumvikanisha ko nta jenocide yateguwe, ko habayeho gusa ubwicanyi bwaturutse ku ntambara ya gisivire yashojwe na FPR mu Kwakira 1990. Uwo murongo wari ugamije gupfobya no guhakana icyaha cyakozwe wari uhuriweho n’abantu ndetse n’amashyirahamwe afite aho ahuriye bya hafi cyangwa kure; n’ubutegetsi bwa Perezida Habyarimana: abahoze ari abanyacyubahiro, abagize imiryango idashamikiye kuri Guverinoma (ONG), itangazamakuru n’amadini.

Nka kimwe mu byiciro bya jenocide, guhakana mu Rwanda bishingira ku ngingo ebyiri zihujwe zose no guhakana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Ingingo ya mbere ishingiyeye ku kwanga kuvuga jenocide. Uko kwanga kuyivuga kugaragarira mu gukoresha imvugo yo gutsinda. Amagambo nka ‘ubwicanyi rusange’, ‘amahano yo muri Mata-Nyakanga’, ‘intambara [hagati y’abanyagihugu]’ ni amwe mu magambo akoreshwa mu guhisha imiterere y’icyaha cyakozwe. Ibyo kandi bigaragara mu zindi jenocide zagiye ziba. Urugero, nko muri jenocide yakorewe Abanyarumeniya (Arméniens), ijambo “kwimurwa” rikoreshe bashakira kuvuga “jenocide”. Aha, ni uburyo bwo kudashakira kuvuga ko habaye urupfu rwateguwe.

Ingingo ya kabiri y’icyo migenzereze ishingiyeye ku guhisha abishwe ndetse no kuvuga ibintu uko bitagenze. Urugero nko mu Rwanda abishwe n’abahigwaga bafatwa nka ba nyirabayazana b’ibyababayeho naho abicanyi bakaba ari bo bari bagambiriwe kwicwa. Abatutsi bashinjwaga kuba baragize uruhare mu rupfu

¹¹⁸ Dupaquier J.-F., “ Rwanda: le révisionisme, poursuite du génocide par d’autres moyens”, in R. Verdier et al., *op. cit.*, p. 128.

rwabo. Mu ibaruwa boheweje Papa Jean Paul wa II bamwe mu bapadiri b'Abanyawanda bagize bati: “ukubura imirwano kwa FPR nyuma y’urupfu rw’umukuru w’igihugu no gutsimbarara yanga kwemera Guverinoma y’abatabazi ni zimwe mu ngingo zakwitabwaho mu gusesengura ikibazo no gukomeza kwacyo (...) FPR yakagombye kumenya ko imyitwarire yayo ishobora gutuma abaturage bica Abatutsi keretse niba ishaka kubigira urwitwazo ngo ifate ubutegetsi”¹¹⁹.

Icengezamatwara ryo guhakana jenocide rivoma mu mayeri na tekiniki binyuranye: guhakana ibikorwa bigamije guhindura impamvu n’uburyo icyaha cyakozwe, gusibanganya, kuvanga ukuri n’ibinyoma, guhisha, gusesengura bibogamyeye no gushyira mu gatebo kamwe¹²⁰. Muri icyo mikorere, guhakana bihimba ibinyoma bikoze neza, bikavuguruza amateka. Mu bikoreho by’ibanze abahakana bakoresha harimo umugoma [wo guhanagura], akayunguruzo n’urusyo.

Umugoma ni uwo guhanagura ibikorwa n’abantu badacisha make. Bityo, ibikorwa bikaba nk’ibitarabaye n’abantu batarabayeho. Akayunguruzo ni ako kuyungurura amakuru: hakagumaho ayemeza ukuri kwabo; ayandi agasenywa cyangwa agahishwa. Hanyuma urusyo rwo gusya ibitekerezo n’ibimenyetso rukabihindura inoge¹²¹. Uretse inzira zisanze z’itumanaho ku bantu benshi nka radiyo na tereviziyo, guhakana binyura kandi mu bitabo no mu zindi nyandiko nk’ibinyamakuru. Muri iyi myaka ishize imvugo ihakana ikoresha cyane Interineti ibafasha gutangaza ku bwinshi imvugo yayo nta bibazo birebana n’amategeko.

6.5.2. Uburyo bukoreshwa mu guhakana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi.

a. Gupfobya no guhakana icyaha

Guhakana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi bo mu Rwanda bishingira ku bintu byinshi kandi bigafata amasura anyuranye. Ingingo bishingiraho ni nk’iza poritiki, ubutabera n’ubukungu.¹²² Ku rwego rwa poritiki, abahakana jenocide bagira ruvumwa

¹¹⁹ ‘Ihuriro ry’i Goma’ byavuzwe na Duparquier J.-F., “Rwanda. Le révisionisme, poursuite du génocide par d’autres moyens” in Verdier R. et al., *op.cit.*, p. 127.

¹²⁰ Volkoff V., *Petite histoire de la désinformation*, Edition du rocher, 2000.

¹²¹ Volkoff V., 2000, *op.cit.*

¹²² Ku birebana n’ibintu guhakana bifatiraho ndetse n’amasura guhakana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi wareba Murwanashyaka J., *Processus de négation du génocide des Tutsi du Rwanda: 1994-2005*, Butare, UNR, 2006

ubutegetsi buriho mu Rwanda bagambiriye kubusebya imbere mu gihugu no hanze yacyo. Aha kandi hinjiramo ingingo z'ubutabera. Abahakana jenocide baba bagamije koroshya uburemere bw'ibyaha byakozwe n'Abanyarwanda ndetse no gukuraho ubufatanyacyaha bw'umuryango mpuzamahanga muri jenocide.

Mu rwego rw'ubukungu, bitwaje ko ngo bamwe mu bayobozi baba barakoze ibyaha byo kwigwizaho umutungo, imwe mu miryango mpuzamahanga igira inama abaterankunga ngo bahagarike imikoranire mu by'ubukungu n'u Rwanda. Iyi mikorere igamije kandi gusebya ubutegetsi no guhagarika imfashanyo mpuzamahanga. Abahakana jenocide bumva bagomba gushingira kuri izo ntege nke zo mu rwego rwa diporomasi n'ubukungu ngo bumvishe ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali ko bwakorana n'abakoze jenocide n'abo bafatanyije. Ni muri icyo mitekerezwe bumwe mu buryo bwo guhakana jenocide hagaragaramo gushaka kuringaniza ubugizi bwa nabi, gufata uko bishakiye igikorwa cyo kwibuka n'ibikorwa y'abagoreka amateka.

Ubwo buryo bwo guhakana jenocide bukomeza kugaragara mu myitwarire yaranze abateguye ndetse n'abashyize mu bikorwa jenocide. Iyo myitwarire igaragarira mu kwiyoberanya mu gihe cyo gukora icyaha. Bityo, batewe ikimwari n'igikorwa kigayitse cyo kwica umuntu baziranye, abicanyi bariyoberanyaga hose ndetse no mu maso bakajya mu kivunge bakanasibanganya ibimenyetso bishobora kugaragaza uwakoze amabi. Bajyaga kwica mu matsinda, bakambara ibibahisha umutwe cyangwa bakishyiraho ibishangara cyangwa amashami y'inturusu. Bisigaga ingwa mu maso cyangwa bakajya kwica ku misozi ya kure. Hagambiriwe guhisha ukuri ku buremere bw'icyaha, abicanyi bakoraga ku buryo abishwe batamenyekana. Babashyinguraga mu byobo rusange cyangwa bakabatwikisha risansi. Mu bindi bice, abicwaga bajugunywaga mu migezi no mu biyaga.

Amwe mu mayeri akunze kugaragara mu bateguye jenocide hrimo kwanga kuvuga ijambo jenocide (guceceka cyangwa gukoresha imvugo yo gutsinda). Bizwi ko, mu gihe cya jenocide y'Abayahudi, abanazi bakoresha imvugo "igisubizo cya nyuma", nk'ijambo ry'ibanga bashaka kuvuga ibyemezo bigamije gutsemba Abayahudi, ku ruhande rwabo, abayobozi ba jenocide y'Abanyarumeniya bavugaga "Kwimura" mu rwego rwo guhisha ukuri kwa jenocide.

Kuri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi, kwanga kuyivuga byagarazwaga no gukoresha amagambo asanzwe nko “gukora”, “gukuraho umwanda”, “gutema ibihuru” n’ibindi. Mu kiganiro yagiranye n’ikinyamakuru cyo mu Bubirigi De Volkskrant cyo ku itariki ya 26 Kamena 1995, uwahoze ari umushumba wa Diyosezi ya Ruhengeri, Musenyeri Phocas Nikwigize yatangaje: “Ibyabaye mu Rwanda mu wa 1994 ni ibintu bya kimuntu: iyo umuntu aguteye, ugomba kwirwanaho. Muri biriya bihe wibagirwa ko uri umukirisitu, ko ahubwo uri umuntu mbere ya byose (...)”¹²³.

Uko kwanga kuvuga icyaha mu izina ryacyo igihe cyirimo gukorwa, byagaragaye kandi ku muryango mpuzamahanga¹²⁴. Aya magambo yose yerekana ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yagaragazwaga nk’igikorwa gisanzwe cyo kwirwanaho. Amayeri yo kugira jenocide ibintu bisanzwe yatangiye hakiri kare kandi yagize uruhare runini mu guhisha impamvu zayiteye. Aya mayeri, ntiyatumaga abantu babasha kumva ko icyaha cyatekerejwe mbere kinategurwa, ku ruhare rwa Leta ndetse n’urwa Kiriziya mu kubaka ingengabitekerezo yagejeje kuri jenocide.

Ihuriro rya demokarasi riharanira gutahuka kw’impunzi (RDR) rihakana igitekerezo cyose cy’uko jenocide yaba yarateguwe ari na ko rishyira uruhare kuri FPR. Mu itangazo ryaryo ryo ku itariki ya 22 Ukwakira 1996, ryerekana jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu 1994 nk’igikorwa cy’urugomo rw’abaturage bari bafite uburakari” kubera inyota ya poritiki ya FPR “kuvumbura amaburigadi n’ubuhisho bw’intwari bya FPR bisobanura ku ruhande rumwe urugomo n’uburemere bw’ibikorwa by’abaturage. Ntiyari jenocide yatekerejwe... Imigirire nk’iriya ni nk’igikorwa cyo kwitabara”¹²⁵

b. Kuvuga ko habaye jenocide ebyiri

Uburyo bwo guhakana hakoreshejwe kuvuga ko habaye jenocide ebyiri cyangwa se ukuringanisha ubugizi bwa nabi mu Rwanda

¹²³ Nikwigize P. wavuzwe na Bizimana J.-D., *L’Eglise et le génocide au Rwanda. Les Pères Blancs et le négationisme*, Paris, l’Harmattan. 2001, p. 21.

¹²⁴ Dallaire R., *J’ai serré la main du diable*, Montréal, Libre expression, 2004.

¹²⁵ “It was the discovery of RPF’s brigades and arms caches that partly explains the violence and the intensity of the reaction of the populace and not the premeditation of genocide... such reaction is rather of self - defense”. RDR, *Itangazo rigenewe abanyamakuru*, n° 97 ryo ku wa 22 Ukwakira 1996, Ryakoreshejwe na Ndahiro T., “Ten years of Organized Genocide Laundering”, muri *Dialogue*, n°, 178, “Le génocide des Tutsi du Rwanda. Dix ans après», avril-Juin 2004, p.54., reba kandi Dallaire R., *J’ai serré la main du diable*, Montréal, Libre Expression, 2004

umuntu yabihina ku buryo bukurikira: mu Rwanda habaye jenocide ebyiri; mbere, mu wa 1994, habaye jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yakozwe n'Abahutu hanyuma mu myaka yakurikiye, haba jenocide yakorewe Abahutu yakozwe n'Abatutsi. Ku ruhande rumwe, insanganyamatsiko iganisha ku byaha byaba byarakozwe n'ingabo za FPR hagati y'imyaka ya 1990 na 1994 ibikorera abaturage b'Abahutu mu bice yari yarafashe. Ku rundi ruhande, ibitekerezo byibanda ku bwicanyi n'ibindi byaha byaba byarakozwe n'ingabo za FPR guhera mu wa 1994 zibikorera Abahutu mu gihugu no hanze y'u Rwanda nko muri Zayire (ubu ni Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo).

Mu ijamba yavugiye mu nama yahuzaga u Bufaransa n'ibihugu by'Afurika i Biarritz (mu Bufaransa), tariki ya 8 Ugushyingo 1994, Perezida w'u Bufaransa, François Mitterand yavuze “Jenocide zabaye mu Rwanda”¹²⁶. Mu itangazo rigenewe abanyamakuru ryatangarijwe i Bruxelles tariki ya 3 Ukuboza n'ishyirahamwe “Victime du génocide de l'Est du Rwanda” ASBL ryagize riti: “Ibyaha byakorewe mu Rwanda mu wa 1994 na nyuma ya 1994 bikorerwa Abahutu mu bice bya Byumba, u Mutara, Kibungo, Bugesera n'uduce tuhegereye, ni jenocide yakozwe n'intagondwa z'Abatutsi babikorera inzirakarengane z'Abahutu”¹²⁷.

Aya mayeri asa n'amayeri yashyizweho n'abanazi bavugaga jenocide bahereye ku kuraswa kwa Dresde ndetse n'abasirikare bapfiriye ku rugamba mu gice cy'u Burasirazuba biturutse ku bitero by'indege by'ibihugu byihuje ngo bibarwanye, kwari ukwitirira ibyaha by'intambara jenocide. Inyandiko yasohotse mu kinyamakuru *Oservatore Romano* cyo ku itariki ya 25 Gicurasi 1994 ibigaragaza ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Yemeza ko habaye jenocide ebyiri mu Rwanda: “Iyakorewe Abatutsi (na bamwe mu Bahutu bacisha make) yakozwe nyuma ya tariki ya 6 Mata 1994, yahitanye ibihumbi birenga 500.000, n'iyakorewe Abahutu guhera mu Kwakira 1990 kugeza ku ifatwa ry'ubutegetsi na FPR y'Abatutsi muri Nyakanga 1994. Iyo jenocide yakomereje mu mashyamba ya Zayire, aho Abahutu bahungaga bishwe amezi n'amezi nta butabazi mpuzamahanga. Umubare w'Abahutu bishwe ugera ku kuri miriyoni. Izo jenocide zombi zigomba kwibutswa kugira ngo hatabaho gushaka kumvikanisha iy'uruhande rumwe”.

¹²⁶ AGIR ICI-SURVIE, “Rwanda, la France choisit le camp du génocide”, muri *Dossiers noirs de la politique africaine de la France*, no 1-5, L'Harmattan, 1996, p. 29.

¹²⁷ Ishyirahamwe Tubeho victimes riri i Bruxelles rigizwe na “Tous les Banyarwanda victimes du génocide contre les Hutu et les victimes du génocide contre les Tutsi”. Reba itangazo ry'iryo shyirahamwe ryo ku itariki ya 3 Ukuboza 2004.

c. Inyandiko n'amagambo agoreka amateka

Guhera mu mwaka wa 2001, hagaragaye ku bwinshi inyandiko n'imvugo bigoreka amateka. Inyinshi zituruka kandi zigakwirakwizwa cyanecyane n'Abanyarwanda bitiranya kujora ubutegetsu bw'u Rwanda, gukurikirana kw'ibikorwa no koroshya ubufatanyacyaha muri jenocide. Tariki ya 28 Mutarama, 2008, Pascal Ndengejeho¹²⁸ yagize ati: "Guhera mu wa 1959 kugeza mu wa 1990, uruhererekane rurumvikana. Ahubwo, mu bice byombi ni Abatutsi batangiye kwica Abahutu. Abatutsi bariyahuye ku bwinshi. Jenocide yabayeye igikorwa gihutiyeho cyo kwirwanaho cy'abaturage"¹²⁹.

Tariki ya 11 Gashyantare 2002, Padiri Serge Desouter¹³⁰ yasobanuye ko jenocide yo mu wa 1994 yaturutse ku ntambara yo mu wa 1990: "Binjije muri poritiki no mu ntwaro [intambara] ikintu cy'ubwoko ku buryo bukabije kandi ibyo bintu byabayeye bibi cyane ku Rwanda"¹³¹. Mu Kwakira 1995, yari yavuye apfobya jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi: "bavugaga miriyoni y'Abatutsi bapfuye. Nta Batutsi bangana gutyo babaye mu Rwanda"¹³².

Tariki ya 5 Gashyantare 2002, Faustin Twagiramungu¹³³ yatangiye mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rw'Arusha agaragaza ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi itateguwe. Kuri we, nta jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi. Uwo wigeze kuba Minisitiri w'Intebe yashakaga gukomoza ku gitekerezo cy'uko habaye jenocide ebyiri: "Abantu bishwe nta bara bagiraga. Bari Abanyarwanda birabura. icyari kigambiriwe ntikwari ukwica Abatutsi, ahubwo Abanyarwanda bari mu gice kitavugaga rumwe na leta: Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Abantu ntibicaye ngo bashyireho umugambi wihutirwa, ibyiciro by'umugambi nyamukuru kugira ngo bice Abatutsi. Jenocide mu Rwanda ntisobanura na rimwe

¹²⁸ Uwahoze ari Minisitiri w'Intangazamakuru, Ndengejeho Pascal yatumiwe nk'umutangabuhamya ku ruhande rw'uregwa mu rubanza rwa Laurent Semanza (uwahoze ari burugumesitiri wa komini Bicumbi) mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rw'Arusha.

¹²⁹ http://foundation.ntarama.free.fr/francais/publication_négationiste/htm, yasuwe tariki ya 07/08/2005

¹³⁰ Serge Desouter ni Perezida wa Komite za 'Instituts missionnaires belges' yari yatumiwe nk'impuguke mu rubanza rwa pasiteri w'umudiventisiti Elizaphan Ntakirutimana.

¹³¹ http://fondation.ntarama.free.fr/francais/publications_négationnist/htm yasuwe tariki ya 07/08/2005

¹³² *Le Vif Express*, 13 Kwakira 1999

¹³³ Nyuma ya jenocide yo mu wa 1994, Faustin Twagiramungu yagizwe Minisitiri w'Intebe wa guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu y'inzibacyuho. Mu wa 1995, yegura kuri uwo mwanya ahungira mu Burayi.

ko ari Abatutsi gusa bishwe. Aha ni ho tubabarira by'agahebuzo kandi tugikomeza kubabarira [...]. Igihe jenocide isobanura ko Abatutsi bonyine ari bo bishwe, sinshobora kubyemera. Sinzemera na rimwe kuvuga ko habaye umugambi wo kurimbura Abatutsi gusa. Ntawakwemeza jenocide y'Abatutsi adashyizemo abavandimwe bange. Nibambwire jenocide y'Abanyarwanda, nta jenocide y'Abatutsi. None se habaye gucura umugambi rusange wo kwica Abatutsi n'Abahutu? Cyane rwose”.

Isesengura ry'inyandiko zihurutse gusohoka¹³⁴ ridufasha kwemeza ko hari ingingo zihurizaho:

- Jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi ntiyateguwe na Leta y'u Rwanda mbere ya Mata 1994;
- Ntishingiye ku ngengabitekerezo yo gukuraho [abantu] ubica
- Cyari igikorwa cyo kwirinda. Yakozwe n'Abahutu kugira ngo bikingire ukurimburwa kwabo kwari kugiye gukorwa n'Abatutsi.

Mu rukiko mpuzamahanga mpanabyaha rw'Arusha, invugo igoreka amateka iramenyerewe. Bamwe mu baburanira abaregwa na bamwe mu batangabuhamyanya bashinjura banga kwemera ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yateguwe. Nubwo handitswe byinshi kuri jenocide yo mu wa 1994, guhakana no kugoreka amateka biracyakomeje, bifitanye isano n'ibintu biri hanze y'ubushakashatsi no gutsimbarara ku ngengabitekerezo ya jenocide. Guhakana jenocide ni inzitizi iteye ubwoba mu rwego rw'igikorwa cyo kwibuka n'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda.

Duhereye kuri aya masesengura n'ibitekerezo binyuranye biragaragara ko jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu Rwanda atari igikorwa gitunguranye, atari umusaruro w'ibintu binyuranye byizana nta muntu wabigizemo uruhare.

Dushobora kumva impamvu jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yakozwe ku buryo bunonosoye, idasesagura ibintu amashusho nyurabwenge y'amoko yashingiyeho. Ishyirwa mu bikorwa rya jenocide rigaragaza uruhare ntavuguruzwa rw'ingengabitekerezo. Iyo ngengabitekerezo yabashije gutuma Abanyarwanda bitabira ku bwinshi jenocide. Iyo ngengabitekerezo yari yubakiye ku bintu bituma haba urujijo rufasha mu migendekere no mu guhamya igikorwa cy'ubwicanyi.

¹³⁴ Nk'urugero twavugaga iza vuba, Nduwayo L., *Giti et le génocide rwandais*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2002; Musabyimana G., *La vraie nature du FPR/APR*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2003. ; Ruzibiza A., *Rwanda. Histoire secrète*. Editions du Panama, 2005; Péan P., *Noire fureur, Blancs menteurs*, Paris, Editions Mille et une nuit, 2005.

Mu Rwanda kimwe no mu bindi bihugu byabayemo amahano ya jenocide¹³⁵, ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide igaragara nk'ihuriro rishobora kugaba amashami mu merekezo yose no gutuma haba kumvikana bidasanze. Iyo mvugo ngengabitekerezo yabanjirije ikanaherekeza jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi yaganyye mu merekezo yose kandi ivoma mu mpinduramatwara yo mu wa 1959 yagaragazwaga nk'intambwe yo kongera kubaho k'u Rwanda. Abayobozi bakundaga kuyitangaho urugero kugira ngo babashe kwemeza, banagumishe Abahutu benshi mu kidodo gihoraho, no kugira ngo bigizeyo igitekerezo cyose kinyuranya n'ugushaka kwabo.

Imyumvire yo mu mpinduramatwara yo mu wa 1959 yagaragazaga ibyiciro bibiri by'Abanyarwanda: abakunzi n'abanzi b'ubutegetsi bwariho. Ikicro cy'abakunzi cyarimo Abahutu bose ubutegetsi bwumvaga ko butegekeri kandi butegeka. Ikicro cy'abanzi cyo cyarimo Abatutsi bose muri rusange bafatwaga nk'abanzi, abahamite, ba gashakabuhake, abagambanyi, abashotoranyi, abanyotewe ubutegetsi n'amaraso, cyangwa ababangamiye ubumwe n'ukubaho kw'Abahutu n'ibindi¹³⁶. Guhera mu Kuboza 1990, imvugo ku miturire y'igihugu zarubuye kuburyo buhoraho kandi budasanze bashaka gusobanura igitero cya FPR no koroshya itumanaho hakoreshwa amagambo ashotorana no gusana ubumwe bw'Abahutu bwahungabanye. Kwinjiza ubwoko mu ntambara yatangijwe na FPR mu wa 1990 byabaye kimwe mu bikorwa byo gushishikariza abaturage kwitabira ku bwinshi. Ibisobanuro byatangwaga byihutishije ibikorwa byo kuyumvikanisha, ikigambiriwe bahereye ku "ndangagaciro" z'amoko no kwiyongera kw'ibikorwa by'urwango byaganishaga muri jenocide.

Nk'ahandi hose intambara ntigarukira gusa ku gikorwa cyo kwinjiza abasirikari bashya no kubasaba kuba maso, hazamo kandi igikorwa cyo gushakisha no guhuza ibikorwa byo gushyikira, no guhuza ubuyozzi buriho, ubukungu n'ibikenewe muri icyo gihe, gutegeka icyo gukora no kugabanya ukwigomeka gushobora kugaragara. Nubwo hari ibimenyetso bifatika byerekana ko ibibazo bikomeye abaturage ntibari bafite buri gihe imyumvire ntakuka ku bibazo byariho. Ubukangurambaga bwagombaga kwegeranya ingufu z'abanyabwenge zijyanye n'ibyari bigambiriwe.

¹³⁵ Burren P., *Hitler et les juifs. Génèse d'un génocide*, Paris, Seuil, 1989; Bougarel X., *Bosnie. Anatomie d'un conflit*, Paris, la Découverte, 1996.

¹³⁶ Reba agatabo kanditwe n'inzezo z'ubutasi zo mu biro bya Perezida ya Repubulika kiswe "Ingingo z'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Imyaka cumi y'isabukuru y'ubwigenge, Kigali, 1972, p. 9-15.

Ibinyamakuru byagombaga gutunganya imigirire n'imyitwarire byongera kugarura ibisubizo byariho. Byagombaga gushimangira ku mugaragaro iturufu y'ubwoko kugira ngo ibikorwa byo guhangana cyangwa kurwanya FPR bihite bigira umumaro kandi bibashe kumara igihe. Kuri buri ruhande, kugaruka ku nsanganyamatsiko y'imiturire y'u Rwanda kwashimangiraga amarangamutima y'abumvaga bakozweho mu myemerere no mu nkomoko byabo.

Uko ibyo binyamakuru byagarukaga kenshi ku nsanganyamatsiko zimwe, bitwereka igikorwa cyari kitaweho. Mu yandi magambo, byatangaga ishusho y'ibintu ubutegetsu n'abaturage bagombaga kugira icyo bakoraho. Ugushidikanya cyangwa ukwicecekerana imbere yumurongo ndakuka washyizwemo na Leta byamaganwaga n'abanditsi bo mu binyamakuru nk'ubufatanyacyaha mu gutera igihugu; ibyo byari bigamije gutuma buri wese ajya ku ruhande rw'abashyigikiye ubutegetsu bwariho.

Kugaruka ku nsanganyamatsiko nka "Inzosi cyangwa ubushotoranyi bw'Abatutsi" "akababaro k'abaturage", Umujinya w'abaturage", "intambara/kugarura ubuhake, intambara/igitero Hima-tutsi... byaganishaga ku gikorwa cyo kwirwanaho.

Gusesengura imvugo ya poritiki yanyuraga mu bitangazamakuru bya Leta n'ibyigenga byerekana ko guhera mu wa 1992 kwiyumvamo ko gutsindwa bishoboka byari bitangiye kwiyongera mu butegetsu bw'u Rwanda. Bwabonaga ko gusaba ko haba amashyamba menshi n'intambara byashoboraga gusenya ifatizo ry'ingufu zabwo. Ku rundi ruhande, igitutu botswaga na FPR nticyahwemaga kugaragaza ko gutsindwa intambara bishoboka.

Nk'uko dushobora kubibona mu bindi bikorwa bya jenocide, hari isano nini hagati yo kumva ko ugiye gutsindwa no gukora ibikorwa by'urugomo. Iyo ubutegetsu bwumva busumbirijwe, butangira gukora ubugizi bwa nabi kugira buhatire abantu kubwumva kandi busubirane icyubahiro. Birumvikana ko gusaba demokarasi n'intambara atari byo byonyine bisonura gufata ikemezo cyo kwica abantu ku bwinshi. Aha ni ho ingengabitekerezo igaragara nk'umusingi w'ubukangurambaga simusiga. Mu bihe by'ibibazo bikomeye igaragaza itsinda ry'abugarijwe n'iry'ababifitemo uruhare cyangwa se ababugarije.

Muri urwo rugendo rwo kugaragaza iryo tsinda habaho imigenzereze yo gusuzugurana. Iba igamije kumvikanisha ubugizi bwa nabi no kubushyira mu bikorwa.

Muri icyo gikorwa cya jenocide, ubwo bukungurambaga butanga muri rusange ibisubizo bibiri. Icyamba mbere butegura guheza abicwa. Bagatandukanywa bidasubirwaho n'abandi bantu. Icyamba kabiri bugategura imyumvire y'abazakora uwo murimo "wanduye"¹³⁷, bakangishijwe akaga kabategereje, bityo, batangira kumva buhorobuhoro biteguye kwitabira ubwicanyi.

Mu rwego rwo guca burundu ukwicecekera no kutagira icyo ukora bya bamwe mu Bahutu bari bagishidikanya kwitabira ubwicanyi, iyo mvugo ngengabitekerezo yakorehaga ibihuha mu rwego rwo gutera ubwoba.

Kuvuga ko Abahutu bagiye kugirwa abacakara na nyamuke "Hima-Tutsi, yiteguye gukora jenocide, yo gutsemba nyamwinshi y'Abahutu"¹³⁸, byagamburujye benshi mu Bahutu bari bicecekeye. Kugira ngo bumvishe abantu ko bagomba kwitabira bose, abayoboze jenocide bahimbye ibintu byo kumvisha Abahutu akaga kabategereje. Kuba Abahutu baritabiriye ku bwinshi jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi byaturutse ku icengezamatwara y'ingengabitekerezo ryagaragazaga Abatutsi bose nk'abagiye gutsemba Abahutu.

Ibyo iryo cengezamatwara ryaheragaho byari bigizwe n'amashusho nyurabwenge aganisha ku kwerekana Abatutsi nk'icyago cyo kwikiza cyangwa kwigizayo. Kuva u Rwanda rwabona ubwigenge, ayo mashusho nyurabwenge yari ahishe ibikorwa byo guheza. Amahame y'ubutegetsi yari ashingiye ku kwihimura ku batutsi no ku gitekerezo cy'uko Abahutu ari bo bagira demokarasi.

Nyuma yuko intambara yo mu Kwakira 1990 itangira, ayo mashusho yari izingiro ry'imvugo zigamije kurimbura Abatutsi ku bwinshi. Ibi byose byerekana ko mbere yuko iba igikorwa cyo kurimbura imibiri, jenocide ibanza kuba igikorwa cyangwa kubaka mu bwenge igaragaza ishusho y'undi' wo kwica.

¹³⁷ Imvugo y'ibanga yakorehaga n'abacurabwenge ba jenocide bavugaga gutsemba Abatutsi.

¹³⁸ Association des femmes parlementaires pour la Défense des droits de L'enfant et de la mère (AFEPADÉM); Mugesera L., "toute la vérité sur la guerre d'Octobre au Rwanda", muri la *Relève*, yo kuva ku itariki ya 1 kugeza ku ya 7 Gashyantare 1991, p. 3.

VII

U RWANDA MU GIHE K'INZIBACYUHO (Nyakanga 1994 - Nzeri 2003)

Byanditswe na **Charles KABWETE MULINDA**

Mu rwego rwa poritiki n'imiyoborere myiza, inzibacyuho igaragaza irangira ry'igihe, ikerekana kandi inzira iganisha ku nzego nshya nyuma yo gutsindwa kw'izahozeho kugeza icyo gihe. Intambara hagati y'abenegihugu yatangiye tariki ya mbere Ukwakira 1990, yagejeje kuri jenocide, ubwicanyi n'akavuyo ko mu wa 1994 ni ibimenyetso bigaragara by'ugutsindwa kw'ingengabitekerezo n'uburyo bwo kuyobora bwa Leta guhera mu wa 1962. Inzibacyuho yazanye impinduka ebyiri z'ibanze: kongera guha agaciro ubwenegihugu bw'ubunyarwanda no gukurikiza itegeko nshinga n'amategeko arishamikiyeho.

Bityo buri wese akagira uburenganzira n'inshingano atari ko ari Umuhutu, Umututsi cyangwa Umutwa cyangwa akomoka mu karere runaka; ahubwo ari ko ari Umunyarwanda. Byongeye kandi, amaze gutorwa no kwemezwa, itegeko nshinga n'amategeko arishamikiyeho ni byo bigenderwaho mu buyobozi bwa Leta. Iryo hame fatizo rikuraho umuco wo gukora imirimo ya Leta hagendewe gusa ku bushake bw'umukuru w'igihugu. Iyo mikorere ni yo yaranze imiyoborere y'inzibacyuho ndetse no gutegura inzego za Repbulika ya gatatu.

Mbere na mbere Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yagomabaga guhangana n'imbogamizi ebyiri nkuru: Imbogamizi ya poritiki, iy'ubukungu n'imibereho. Kubishakira igisubizo, Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yashyizeho amavugurura abiri akomeye

kandi agikomeza kugeza ubu. Ayo mavugurura arebana no kuvugurura poritiki ndetse no kuvugurura ubukungu n'imibereho.

7.1 Kuvugurura poritiki.

Kongera kubaka u Rwanda mu rwego rwa poritiki cyari ikibazo gikomeye ariko kitakwirengagizwa, byabaye ngombwa kwinjira, nta kwitangira itama, mu mavugurura ya poritiki akurikira, cyane ko kurangira neza kwayo byari ngombwa ku buzima bw'igihugu.

7.1.1. Porogaramu ya poritiki ya Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu

Imbere y'imbogamizi nyinshi zari ziyitegereje n'akavuyo katewe n'ubutegetsu bwatsinzwe, Guverinoma yitabaje inyandiko zikurikira mu gushyiraho porogaramu yayo: itegeko nshinga ryo ku itariki ya 10 Kamena 1991, itangazo rya FPR ryo ku wa 17 Nyakanga 1994, Amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha n'imigereka yayo yose.

Kuri izi nyandiko uko ari eshatu, hiyongereyeho amasezerano hagati y'amashyamba ya poritiki yo mu kwezi k'Ugushyamba 1994, amasezerano yemejwe tariki ya 20 Ugushyamba 1994 bucya hashyirwaho inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzigabacyuho. Hanyuma itegeko shingira (itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1991 n'amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha) riza kugenda ryongerwamo izindi nyandiko z'amategeko kugira ngo rijyanishwe n'igihe k'inzigabacyuho ndetse no gufutura ukwivugurura kwagaragaraga muri amwe mu mategeko.

Mu nyandiko zavuzwe haruguru zose, amasezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha ni yo Guverinoma yavomagamo ibitekerezo mu rwego rwo kunoza ibikorwa byayo. Cyanacyane ko yibanda ku mahame abiri y'ingenzi arebana n'imiyoborere y'igihugu: kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko no kugabana ubutegetsu. Nyamara, kugira ngo hagire ibikorwa, bimwe mu ibitekerezo bigaragara mu itangazo rya FPR ryo ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1994 byongewe mu masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha kugira ngo hitabwaho ibihe bishya:

- Igihe inzibacyuho izamara, mbere yari yahawe amezi 24, yashyizwe ku myaka itanu, nyuma iza kongerwaho ine;

- MRND n'amashaka ayishamikiyeho ndetse n'abanyamuryango b'andi mashyaka binjiye muri Hutu pawa (*power*) cyangwa bijanditse mu byaha byo mu wa 1994 barisezereye bityo ntibashobora kujya mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Imyanya bari bemerewe mu maserano y'Arusha izafatwa na FPR;
- Ihame ryo gushyiraho igisirikare k'igihugu, riragumaho, ariko, abazinjizwa mu nzego nshya z'umutekano ni abasirikare b'ingabo z'u Rwanda batijanditse muri jenocide n'ibindi byaha;
- Kwinjiza abasirikare mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho;
- Gushyira muri Guverinoma abantu ku giti cyabo;
- Gushyira abahagarariye amashyaka yandi atari FPR mu nzego z'inzibacyuho si ihame. Bizasaba mbere na mbere kumenya ko nta ho bahuriye n'ingufu zakoze jenocide ndetse badafite ingengabitekerezo y'urwango n'ivangura yasenye u Rwanda;
- Gusubiramo, ari na ko bwongerewe ingufu, ububasha bw'umukuru w'igihugu;
- Gushyiraho umwanya wa Visi Perezida wa Repubulika uhabwa FPR, hamwe n'undi mwanya w'ubuminisitiri.

Mu kwezi kwa Kamena 1994, FPR yashyizeho, ku Murindi, itsinda rishinzwe gutekereza ku miyoborere ya nyuma ya jenocide. Iryo tsinda ryavuganye n'abarokotse bahagarariye amashyaka ya poritiki yari, uherye ku masezerano y'Arusha, yemerewe kugira uruhare mu nzego z'inzibacyuho. Bisabwe na Minisitiri w'Intebe wari wemejwe, iyo komite (yashyiriweho icyo gikorwa) yari ihuje abantu boherejwe n'imitwe ya poritiki yari yemerewe kujya mu nzego z'inzibacyuho yashyizeho imbanzirizamushinga ya porogaramu ya Guverinoma, yavomye cyane mu bitekerezo byatanzwe na FPR.

Porogaramu ya Guverinoma yatangajwe ku mugaragararo tariki ya 19 Nyakanga 1994 na Faustin Twagiramungu, Minisitiri w'Intebe washyizweho mu masezerano y'amahoro y'Arusha yari ikubiye mu ngino umunani ari zo:

- Kugarura umutekano n'amahoro,
- Gutunganya ubuyobozi bukuru, ubwa perefegitura, komini, segiteri na serire;
- Kugarura no gushimangira ubumwe bw'igihugu;
- Gutuza impunzi no kugarura abavuye mu byabo mu

- mitungo yabo;
- Guteza imbere ubuzima bw'abaturage no gukemura ibibazo by'imibanire bituruka ku ntambara ndetse na jenocide;
- Kuzahura ubukungu bw'igihugu;
- Gushyiraho indi poritiki y'ububanyi n'amahanga
- Gushimangira demokarasi.

Mu ijamba rye, Minisitiri w'Intebe yagaragaje imirongo y'ibikorwa bizagenderwaho muri buri imwe mu ngingo umunani zavuzwe haruguru. Biragaragara kandi ko iyi gahunda ya Guverinoma isubiramo imirongo mikuru ya porogaramu ya poritiki ya FPR ari yo: gushimangira ubumwe bw'igihugu, kwimakaza demokarasi, kubaka ubukungu bw'igihugu butera imbere, kurwanya ruswa no kunyereza umutungo wa rubanda, gushyiraho serivisi zishinzwe imibereho y'abaturage, gukemura burundu ikibazo k'impunzi, gufatanya n'ibindi bihugu no gushyigikira imiryango iharanira ko uburenganzira bwa muntu bwubahirizwa mu bihugu byabo.

Ku birebana n'abanyaporitiki, bwana Joseph Kavaruganda yohereje Minisitiri w'Intebe ibaruwa, nk'umuntu ushinze imyitwarire mbonezabupfura ya poritiki, mu ntangiriro z'ukwezi kwa Mutarama 1994 hamwe n'urutonde "rw'imitwe ya poritiki yujuje ibya ngombwa byo kujya mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inzigacyuho" ndetse n'urutonde rwemewe kandi ndakuka rw'abadebite bagomba kujya mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inzigacyuho". Ayo mshyaka yari 15 kandi akurikirana uko yatanze na Perezida w'urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga: MRND, FPR, MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, MPBP, RTD, UDPR, PPJ.R/RAMA RWANDA, PECO, PDI, PADER, PSR na PARERWA.

Ugendeye kuri iyo baruwa ya Perezida w'urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga yari igendeye ku maserano yo kugabana ubutegetsi MRND, FPR, MDR, PSD, na PL buri ryose ryari ryemerewe abadebite cumi n'umwe mu gihe PDC yo yar yemerewe bane, naho amashyaka mato yemerewe umwumwe. Muri iyo baruwa, Perezida w'urukiko rurinda iremezo ry'itegeko nshinga yavuze ko "umurimo wo gutumira abo badebite mu mihango yo kurahira kwabo ari uwa Guverinoma na serivisi zayo zishinzwe kwita ku banyacyubahiro".

CDR ntiri kuri uru rutonde rwemewe. Nyamara abashinja FPR gutinza ishyirwaho ry'inzezo z'inzibacyuho bitsitsa ko FPR yanze kwemera CDR mu mitwe ya poritiki yujuje ibisabwa kugira ngo yinjire mu nteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho. Uko kwanga gukurikiza amategeko byaviriyemo J. Kavaruganda gucibwa urwo gupfa. Joseph Kavaruganda yishwe tariki ya 7 Mata 1994 mu museso n'abasirikare barinda Perezida bayobowe n'umusirikare mukuru wari ushinzwe kumurinda.

Mu gihe cyo gushyiraho inzezo z'inzibacyuho muri Nyakanga 1994, FPR, MDR, PSD, PL, PDC, PSR, UDPR, na PDI ni yo yonyine yari yemewe. Ni izihe ngufu za buri rimwe muri ayo mashyaka? Amashyaka yo mu gihugu imbere yari yashyegeshwe, abarwanashyaka bakuru bayo bari barigiriye mu gice cya hutu pawa, andi ameze nk'ayaciwe umutwe kuko abayobozi bakuru bari bishwe. Ibyo bigaragara no mu itangazo rya FPR ryo ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1994: "Nyamara, kubera ko amashyaka ya poritiki yaciwe umutwe kandi n'imibereho yayo yashyegeshwe n'ukwicwa kw'abarwanashyaka bayo kwakozwe n'abakoze jenocide n'ubwicanyi, kubera iyo mpamvu ingufu za poritiki ntizikiri nk'izariho mu gihe hasozwaga amasezerano arebana no kugabana ubutegets'i". Umuntu yakwibaza kandi ku bumenyi n'ubunararibonye muri poritiki by'abayobozi b'amashyaka ya poritiki y'imbere mu gihugu barokotse.

Naho FPR, yirengagije ko igice cyayo k'igisirikare cyari kimaze gutsinda ubutegets'i bwakoze jenocide gitangiye kugarura amahoro n'umutekano mu gihugu ndetse no ku mipaka cyanecyane uwa Zayire, igice cya poritiki nta cyo cyari cyabaye n'abanyamuryango bayo ku isi hose bari ikigega kidakama, biteguye gufasha abari mu Rwanda. Twibutse ko FPR yari yarahaye amahugurwa ya poritiki abayobozi bayo kandi ko mu gihe k'intambara abayobozi ba gisiviri n'abagisirikare barebaga imigendekere ya poritiki ari na ko bashakishaga umuti w'imbogamizi z'amoko yose bahuraga na zo. Ubuhamya butavuguruzanya bw'abakurikiranye imishyikirano y'Arusha buhuriza ku ruhare ntagereranywa rw'abari bahagarariye FPR, bakoze ku buryo amaserano y'amahoro n'imigereka yayo yose agaragaramo ibitekerezo bya FPR.

Kubera izi mpamvu zose, kandi itirengagije ihame ryo kugabana ubutegets'i, FPR yitwaye nk'ishyaka rifite ingufu. Uko kubona ibintu kwagaragajwe neza mu itangazo ryayo ryo ku itariki

ya 17 Nyakanga 1994, kwatumye haba guterana amagambo n’abo bari bafatanije muri poritiki babonaga ku ruhande rumwe ko, iryo tangazo rya FPR ritabaha agaciro bakwiye no ku rundi, batemeraga impinduka ku masezerano y’amahoro y’Arusha zakozwe na FPR. Bamwe bavuze ko “habaye guhirika ubutegetsu” no “kuburizamo inzira ya demokarasi” kubera ko nta masezerano n’amwe yubahirijwe¹. FPR iyabwiye ko izayobora inzibacyuho yonyine, ni bwo amenshi muri ayo mashyaka ya poritiki yacishije make cyangwa bareka kunenga, wenda ari uko babyumvise, cyangwa ari amayeri n’amacenga ya poritiki.

FPR yari ifite amahitamo atatu: Kuyobora yonyine igashyira mu bikorwa porogaramu yayo ya poritiki, gushyira mu buyozi bw’inzibacyuho abantu batari abanyamuryango ba FPR bagatoranywa hagendewe ku bushobozi bwabo, gukunda igihugu ndetse n’uko bumva imirongo mikuru ya poritiki yayo cyangwa hakabaho irya nyuma ryo kugumana no gushyira mu buyobozi imitwe ya poritiki yemejwe mu masezerano y’amahoro y’Arusha habanje kurebwa niba iyo mitwe cyangwa abanyamuryango bayo batanzwe kujya mu nzego z’inzibacyuho batarijanditse mu byaha byakozwe n’ubutegetsu bwatsinzwe kandi batemera ingengabitekerezo yagejeje igihugu mu kaga. Ntibyari bikiri ihame, nk’uko byateganywaga n’amasezerano yo kugabana ubutegetsu, guhita winjiza muri Guverinoma no mu nteko ishingira amategeko y’inzibacyuho abantu bose batanzwe n’amashyaka yabo ya poritiki.

Twibutse ko, uko yitwaga kose, amashyaka ya poritiki yariho yumvaga imiterere y’ikibazo nyuma ya jenocide kandi muri porogaramu zayo yahurizaga ku bitekerezo rusange bimwe bishingiye ku mirongo mikuru yo kwamagana jenocide n’ingengabitekerezo iyiganishaho ku ruhande rumwe, no kugarura ubumwe bw’igihugu ku rundi ruhande. Amashyaka yose yubakiye ku mirongo itanu ikurikira, mu by’ukuri yari igamije gushimangira imirongo mikuru ibiri yavuzwe haruguru: kurwanya jenocide no kuyikumira, kuringanira kwa bose imbere y’amategeko, guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu, kwimakaza umuco wa demokarasi, ubumwe n’ubwiyunge.

MDR, nyuma y’iperereza ryimbitse ryakozwe n’inteke ishingira amategeko y’inzibacyuho, ryakozwe mu mpera za 2002

¹ Gasana J. et Nkiko Nsengimana, *Bâtir une nouvelle espérance pour le Rwanda. Elément de propositions pour un contrat social*, Lausanne, avril 1995, p. 24.

byagaragaye ko yari igifite ingengabitekerezo y'ivangura ikomeye kandi yihishe atari gusa mu bayobozi bo hejuru bo mu nzego za Leta no mu miryango inyuranye, harimo imiryangoy'abihayimana, yari kandi mu rubyiruko rw'abanyeshuri, yahanaguwe mu mashyaka yemewe mu gihugu. Bamwe bashatse kubibonamo uburyo bugamije kwigizayo umukeba ukomeye mbere y'amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'abadepite. Nyamara raporo y'inteko ishingira amategeko yabisobanuye neza kandi ibigaragaza nta guca iruhande kugira ngo icyo kirego kiveho.

Uko FPR yumvaga ibintu, kwatumye mu mpunzi z'ubutegetsu bwatsinzwe no mu bihugu ndetse n'imiryango yabakiriye bavugaga ngo ni ubutegetsu bwa FPR no kuba muri ibyo bice FPR yarafatwaga nk'iy'Abatutsi, ubutegetsu na bwo bwafatwaga nk'ubw'Abatutsi cyangwa ubutegetsu bwa nyamuke y'Abatutsi, bityo muri icyo mitekereze Abahutu bari mu buyobozi bw'igihugu bafatwaga nk'Abahutu b'ibikorere". Kwemezwa kw'itegeko rishyiraho imikorere y'amashyaka ya poritiki bikabura abo banenga, atari ukubera gusa ishyirwaho ry'ihuriro ry'amashyaka ryari rigamije by'umwihariko gutuma biro poritiki zibasha kwiga ibibazo bikomeye, zikanabasha kumvikana mbere yo gufata imyanzuro ireba igihugu, ikindi ni ku bireba imikorere y'amashyaka: imikorere y'amashyaka yagarukiraga ku rwego rwa za biro poritiki. Kubera izo mpamvu imikorere y'amashyaka menshi yo mu nzibacyuho yafatwaga nk'ikitegero.

7.1.2 Gusubizaho inzego za Leta

Nyuma yuko Guverinoma y'abatabazi ihungiyeye muri Zayire n'akajagari katewe n'icyo guverinoma, hacitse icyuho muri poritiki no mu buyobozi. Birumvikana ko, uko FPR yigiraga imbere ku rugamba, yashyiragaho abantu bake bo kuyobora kugira ngo basubize ibibazo byihutirwa: kwita ku bavuye mu byabo, abakomeretse, abarwayi, abana batagira kivurira, impunzi zatahukaga, ariko cyanecyane kubungabunga umutekano. Ijyaho, Guverinoma yagombaga kongera kubaka inzego z'ubuyobozi guhera hejuru kugeza hasi. Kubera kubura igihe gihagije cyo kwiga uburyo bukwiye, yongeye gufata inzego z'ubuyobozi bwatsinzwe: ubuyobozi bukuru, perefegitura, komini, segiteri na serire.

Ihame ryo kugabana ubutegetsu aha na ho ryashyizwe mu bikorwa, kuko byasabye kumvikana hagati y'abafatanyabikorwa mu gihe

cyo gutanga imyanya. Abakozi ba Leta bashakaga gusubira mu myanya yabo bahawe igihe cy'amezi abiri kugira ngo babikore. Nyamara, ni bake babikoze. Kuko byari ngombwa kongera gutangiza izego z'ubuyobozi, Guverinoma yashizeho abakozi inshuro nyinshi ititaye ku mashyaka cyangwa amashuri bize.

Ibyagezweho na Guverinoma mu wa 1995, ni ukuvuga umwaka umwe nyuma y'ishyirwaho ry'inzezo nshya za Leta bigaragaza ingingo zikurikira: abakozi badahagije nta n'ibikoresho, batishimye kuko badahembwa nta n'amacumbi bagira, urwego rw'ubutabera rudakora kubera kubura abakozi babishoboye bahagije, kunyereza umutungo wa rubanda, amakomini adafite ba burugumesitiri, abajandarume badafite ubunararibonye mu kazi, abadepite bigumira i Kigali gusa, nta bunararibonye, Guverinoma idashyize hamwe, minisiteri zitagira porogaramu ndangamikorere, inama z'abaminisitiri ziteguye nabi, n'ibindi. Ibyagezweho mu myaka yakurikiyeho byagaragajeko hari ugutera intambwe buhorobuhoro mu mikorere y'inzezo zinyuranye ku rwego rw'ubuyobozi, inteko ishingamye amategeko ndetse n'abakozi ba Leta nk'uko tugiye kubigaragaza. Ibifashijwemo na PNUD, Guverinoma yatangiye mu wa 1999 ibarura ry'imyanya ikenewe, kugaragaza inshingano za buri mwanya, gushyira imyanya mu byiciro. Ibi byatumye hamenyekana abakozi batujuje ibikenewe by'ibanze kuri buri mwanya ndetse n'abakozi ba Leta ba baranga.

Nanone ibifashijwemo n'abaterankunga, Guverinoma yashyize ingufu mu kongerera ubushobozi abakozi bo mu nzego za Leta itegura amahugurwa. Buhorobuhoro, uburyo bw'imikorere bwagiye butera imbere: imishahara ihoraho, uburyo bwo kugera ku kazi, itumanaho, gusana no kugura ibikoresho byo mu biro, korohereza abakozi kubona amacumbi n'ibindi. Mu wa 1996, Leta yabashije kongera ku mushahara w'abakozi bayo 20%. Muri icyo kiciro habaye ipiganwa rikaze hagati y'imirimo ya Leta imbere mu gihugu n'iy'imiryango mpuzamahanga n'abafatanyabikorwa baturuka hanze bari bafite imishahara n'uburyo bw'imikorere bikurura abakozi.

Mu rwego rwo gushimisha abakozi, Leta yashyizeho ibintu binyuranye: gutanga amafaranga y'icumbi, urugendo, gutanga amacumbi ku bakozi bo hejuru yishyurwa ku giciro giciriritse, ubwishingizi bw'ubuzima ku bakozi bose ba Leta n'imiryango yabo guhera mu wa 1999, n'ibindi. Guverinoma ibasha gutyo kongera kubaka urwego rw'imirimo ya Leta ruhamye hamwe kandi

rutanga umusaruro n’abakozi barushaho kugira ubushobozi kandi bishimiye akazi kabo. Gukoresha ikoranabuhanga mu madosiye y’akozi ba Leta, gushyiraho itegeko rigenga sitati z’abakozi ba Leta ndetse n’imiterere y’imishahara, gushyiraho ibyiciro by’imirimo n’uburyo bushya bwo gusuzuma umusaruro w’abakozi ni udushya twazanywe na Guverinoma y’inzibacyuho.

7.1.3 Kugarura amahoro n’umutekano w’abantu n’ibintu.

Imbere y’icyuho cy’ubuyobozi na poritiki, igihugu cyari cyabuze, umutekano n’ibikorwa by’urugomo n’ibindi byaha cyane ncyane ubwicanyi bwari bugikomeza n’ibindi bikorwa by’ubugizi bwa nabi by’Interahamwe n’abahoze ari abasirikare b’u Rwanda bari bakiri mu gihugu, bihishaga mu baturage cyangwa bavaga mu bice by’akarere k’ubutabazi kizewe kashyizweho n’igikorwa cya Turukwaze ibikorwa byo kwihorera n’ibindi byaha bito byakorwaga n’abasiviri cyangwa abasirikare ba FPR bateshutse ku kinyabupfura. Hirya no hino hari hakiri udutsiko twigometse tugizwe n’ingabo zatsinzwe n’interahamwe n’abantu bitwaje intwari baturuka mu nkambi zo muri Zayire. Muri iki kiciro, gahunda ya Guverinoma yari igizwe n’ingingo zikurikira.

- Kurangiza intambara no gushyiraho igisirikare k’igihugu;
- Kurangiza ibibazo n’amakimbirane yatejwe n’Interahamwe n’ibindi bice byashyize igihugu mu kaga;
- Kuvugurura inzego zishinzwe umutekano;
- Gushimangira umutekano kuri bose no mu gihugu hose;
- Gukora amaperereza yimbitse no gushyikiriza ubutabera abakekwaho gukora jenocide, ubwicanyi, kwangiza n’ubusahuzi;
- Kongera gutunganya inkiko ku buryo habaho ukwigenga ku rwego rw’ubutabera n’uburenganzira bwa buri Munyarwanda.

Kugarura amahoro n’umutekano byari inshingano nkuru ya Guverinoma, kuko nta mutekano, nta kindi kintu cyakorwa. Abari muri icyo gikorwa cyo kugarura amahoro n’umutekano bari abasirikare, abaporisi n’abajandarume, abayobozi b’abanyaporitiki n’abayobozi basanzwe. Abashinzwe umutekano ndetse n’abakozi bo mu nzego z’ubutabera bahawe amahugurwa ahoraho kugira ngo babashe kurangiza neza inshingano zabo. Ubwicanyi budasobanutse, kubura kw’abantu, gufata abantu ku bwinshi no gufunga abakekwagaho kugira uruhare muri jenocide ni bimwe mu byatumye ubutegetsu bunengwa bikabije:

havuzwe “ishyirahamwe ry’abamagana”, bakamagana uburyo bwo gufata no gufunga, abafungwa bamara muri gereza igihe nta madosiye bafite, amagereza arengeje umubare w’abafungwa, uburyo bwo gufunga budakwiye. Ibyo byose byakorwaga n’abanga ubutegetsu bushya na bamwe mu bantu n’imiryango itarabikorana ubugome, ariko itari izi ukuri ko mu gihugu muri icyo gihe cyane nyuma ya jenocide.

Kubanza ku misozi abarokotse jenocide, impunzi zahunze Repubulika ebyiri za mbere, abenshi bari Abatutsi, n’Abahutu ikomatanya rusange ritumvikanwaho ryashyiraga mu rwego rw’abakoze jenocide ndetse n’impunzi zo mu 1994, abenshi bari Abahutu, cyari ikibazo kindi ubutegetsu bwari bwiyeje gukemura; cyanecyane ko abashinzwe umutekano bari bameze nk’abatabagaho cyangwa badahagije, batanafite ibikoresho bihagije. Hari umubare munini w’abanyabyaha bakidegembya, bamwe bashakaga uko bazimanganya ibimenyetso n’abagabo bo guhamya ibyaha byabo, abandi bagahera kuri ako kavuyo kugira ngo bahorere ababo, batware imitungo y’abandi cyangwa bakore ibindi byaha n’amakosa.

Hari izindi mbogamizi ebyiri z’ingutu zagombaga gukemurwa: inkambi zashyizwe mu gace k’ubutabazi kizewe, n’ibitero shuma by’ubwicanyi byaturukaga muri Zayire, rimwe na rimwe no mu Burundi na Tanzaniya.

Mu nkambi z’abavuye mu byabo, aho abaturage bari bafashwe bugwate, bagizwe ingabo zo kwikingira, iturufu ya poritiki no gushakaga ubutabazi bw’ibanze, hari habaye igicumbi cy’agatsiko k’abajura, inkambi z’imyitozo ya gisirikare y’abahoze ari ingabo z’u Rwanda n’Interahamwe, ni ho ibitero shuma by’ubwicanyi no gushakaga kongera gusubira ku butegetsu mu Rwanda byaturukaga. Izo nkambi zari nk’igihugu mu kindi kuko zitagenzurwaga n’abayobozi b’u Rwanda.

MINUAR ntiyashoboraga kwinjira muri izo nkambi n’imiryango y’ubutabazi yakoreragamo ntiyari ihangayikishijwe na busa n’imiterere ndetse n’ibikorwa byakorerezagamo, imwe muri icyo miryango yari ifite ingengabitekerezo imwe n’ingufu zayoboraga izo nkambi.

Kubera ko igikorwa cyo gukangurira abari bavuye mu byabo gusubira aho bari basanzwe batuye cyakozwe no Guverinoma

y'u Rwanda mu mpera y'umwaka wa 1994, inkambi 38 kuri 46 zarafunze. Izindi zigenda zifungwa buhorobuhoro. Inkambi ya nyuma y'abavuye mu byabo, inkambi y'i Kibeho, yari yabaye ikiguri cy'abanyabyaha, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yagombye gukoresha ingufu tariki ya 22 Mata 1995 haza gupfiramho abantu bari hagati ya 300 na 4000 ugendeye ku mibare yatanzwe n'abayobozi b'u Rwanda; cyangwa 8000 ugendeye ku mibare yatanzwe n'abarwanya ubutegetsu bwa Kigali na FPR by'umwihariko. Raporo ya Komisiyo mpuzamahanga y'iperereza ku byabereye i Kibeho yateye utwatsi igitekerezo kemezaga ko ari umugambi w'Abatutsi wo kurimbura Abahutu, inanenga idaciye ku ruhande MINUAR n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta byihanganiye ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byategurirwaga muri izo nkambi, igaragaza uruhare ruhuriweho na Guverinoma n'abafatanyabikorwa bayo, MINUAR n'imiryango itabogamiye kuri Leta².

Nyamara, Raporo yagaragaje umugambi wari uhuriweho na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda n'abafatanyabikorwa mpuzamahanga (by'umwihariko MINUAR n'imiryango itabogamiye kuri Leta) ku birebana no gufunga inkambi z'abavuye mu byabo. Nyuma yuko iyo Raporo ishikirwa ahagaragara, u Buhirigi, u Buhorandi n'Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Uburayi byasubukuye ubutwererane n'u Rwanda.

7.1.4. Imbogamizi z'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge

Mu rwego rw'ubwiyunge no gushimangira ubumwe bw'igihugu" Guverinoma yihaye intego zikurikira:

- Kumenyesha Abanyarwanda ibyateye ivangura no kuryana byaranze imyaka yashize;
- Kubuza umuntu wese wahamwe n'icyaha cya jenocide n'ubwicanyi, ibikorwa byo gusahura no kwangiza iby'abandi, ko yajya mu mwanya ufatatiwamo ibyemezo ku rwego urwo ari rwo rwose;
- Gushyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge;
- Gukora ku buryo nta muntu n'umwe wungukira mu bikorwa by'ibyaha yakoze.

Mu mirongo yayo migari, iyi gahunda yari iyo mu gihe kirekire kuko ibyangiritse byari byinshi no kubisana byasabaga rwose igihe kirekire. Kubera iyo mpamvu, hari ibintu by'ibanze byagombaga gufutuka nko kwerekana niba Abanyarwanda

² Nations Unies, Rapport sur les événements de Kibeho, 29 Juin 1998

barigize baba abanyagihugu bunze ubumwe? Niba ari byo, kuki, gute? Ni nde wabukuyeho kandi ni ryari ubwo bumwe bwavuyeho? Kuki kandi ni gute ubwo bumwe bwakongera kubakwa? Ni ibihe bintu byafasha cyangwa byabangamira uko kongera kubaka ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda?

Imbanzirizamushinga w'itegeko rigenga poritiki yo mu wa 1990 ibisobura neza. Igira iti: "kuva imyaka igihumbi, Abanyarwanda bari bamwe kuko imiryango y'abahinzi borozi bemeraga ko bafite ikibahuza gishingiye ku mateka, ururimi, umuco n'ubukungu, umurage bikomeye kandi by'agaciro bihererekanywa hagati y'abakuru n'abato. Buri Munyarwanda yagiraga uruhare mu mibanire n'ubukungu by'umuryango we. Buhorobuhoro imiryango yagiye yihuza, mu gihe hari indi yarwaniraga icyubahiro n'ubutware, birangira ubwami bwiyubatse..."³. Inama zo muri *Village Urugwiro* (1998-1999) zagatse kuri iki kintu zishingira poritiki y'ubwiyunge ku kwemeza ko hahozeho ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mbere y'ubukoronu.

Nyamara, ubwo bumwe bwahakanwe mu gihe cyo kumaranira ubutegetsi mu myaka ya za 1950 n'ishyirwaho rya Repubulika "mputu" mu wa 1962. Twabonye ukuntu amateka yagoretswe kugira ngo hashyirwe mu bikorwa poritiki y'ironabwoko isobanura akaga kari gateganyirijwe Abatutsi n'Abahutu b'"abagambanyi" kuri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri⁴.

Abashakaga kurenga iby'amoko baterwaga ubwoba n'abambari b'ubufatanye mu kibi. Umuhutu yasabwaga kwifatanya n'abe kabone n'ayo haba mu cyaha, umututsi wari ukizera kubana mu mahoro hagati y'Abanyarwanda, na cyanecyane kurenga iby'amoko yashoboraga gufatwa nk'umupfayongo⁵.

Ku ngoma ya Kayibanda na Habyarimana, ubutegetsi bwihariye ububasha bwose ku buryo kwaba ari ugukabya cyangwa kwibesya gushyira ku mutwe w'Abahutu bese ibyaha, n'ubugizi bwa nabi byakorewe, mu izina ryabo akenshi batabyemeye, abaturanyi babo, inshuti n'abo bafatanije b'Abatutsi mu migi ndetse no ku misozi. Biragoye kumenya ijanisha ry'Abahutu bitabiriye ingengabitekerezo yakwirakwijwe n'abayobozi kugira

³ La Relève no 154 yo kuva ku itariki ya 28 Ukuboza 1990 kugeza tariki ya 3 Mutarama 1991

⁴ Présidence de la République, " *Ingingo z'ingenzi mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Imyaka icumi y'isabukuru y'ubwigenge* 01.07.1962- 01.07.1972., Kigali 1972.

⁵ Sebasoni S., *Les origines du Rwanda*, Paris. L'Harmattan, 2000, pp.160-161

ngo bagere kandi bagume ku butegets. Akenshi abaturage nta ngufu bari bafite ugereraniye n'abari bafite ubutegets; buri gihe kandi si ko bemeraga akarengane kakorerwaga Abatutsi. Kuri buri kiciro, by'umwihariko mu wa 1994, abateguye ubwicanyi bakoze ibishoboka kugira ngo binjizemo Abahutu benshi bashoboka.

Nyamara, biragaragara ko mu bihe byose habaga gutoteza Abatutsi n'Abahutu batavuga rumwe n'ubutegets ndetse no mu kaga ka jenocide, hari Abahutu, batitaye ku ngaruka byagira ku buzima bwabo, ndetse bamwe muri bo koko bahaburiye ubuzima, barengeye ndetse banahishira ihunga ry'Abatutsi. Amateka y'abanyabyaha yalanditswe kandi aracyakomeza kwiyongeramo ibindi bintu bishya bishyirwa ahagaragara. Amateka y'izo ntwari, inyinshi zitaramenyekana, na yo akeneye kumenywa neza kuko azaba umusingi ukomeye wo kongera kuvuka kw'igihugu cy'u Rwanda.

Nyamara, hanze y'umupaka watandukanyaga Abanyarwanda bo mu gihugu n'abo hanze yacyo, amoko yose nta kuvangura yakomeje kubana. Imiryango yose y'Abahutu yasangiye ubuhunzi n'Abatutsi ndetse n'abana babo, haje kwiyongeraho abasore baturutse imbere mu gihugu, bagize uruhare mu kubohora u Rwanda. Ibi ni akandi karusho.

Mu gushakisha kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, ibitekerezo binyuranye byaratanze. Bamwe batanze igitekerezo cyo kugira u Rwanda indagizo y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu gihe k'imyaka itanu. icyo gitekerezo bigaragara ko kitagize amanota menshi. Umuntu yakwibaza impamvu uko kuba indagizo bundi bushya byagira icyo bitanga kurusha manda n'indagizo byigize kubaho bikorwa n'u Bubirigi mu izina ry'Umuryango w'Abibumbye.

Muri make ni umuryango w'Abibumbye wemeje gusubiza ubwigenge bw'u Rwanda Parmehutu. Bityo, icyo gitekerezo cyari kije mu gihe kibi kuko imyitwarire y'Umuryango w'Abibumbye wari uhagarariwe mu gihugu na MINUAR ntiyashimwe na busa. Umuryango w'Abibumbye ntiwabashije gukumira cyangwa guhagarika jenocide n'ubwicanyi, nubwo wari ufite amakuru ahagije. Kugabanya bikabije ingabo za MINUAR mu gihe zari zikwiye kongererwa umubare ngo bizifashe guhagarika jenocide n'ubwicanyi byagize uruhare mu gutuma utizerwa n'Abanyarwanda n'ababikurikiraniraga hafi bashishoza.

Abandi bagaragazaga ko kugira ngo gutahuka kw'impunzi korohe kandi n'ubwumvikane hagati y'abanyagihugu bworohye, hakagombye gutangwa imbabazi rusange. Abandi hanyuma batanze ibitekerezo bumvikanisha ko habaho ibiganiro bya poritiki n'abahagarariye impunzi ari bo Guverinoma y'abatabazi yari mu buhungiro muri Zayire no gushyira mu bikorwa amasezerano y'Arusha hahindutseho akantu gato: bari bibagiwe ibyabaye byose hagati yo gusinywa kw'amasezerano no gushyiraho inzengo z'inzibacyuho muri Nyakanga 1994.

Nubwo muri rusange gahunda ya Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda ku birebana n'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge yagombaga gutanga umusaruro mu gihe kirekirere, intambwe yatewe n'ikizere k'ejo hazaza byagaragaye mu gihe gito. Mbere na mbere zimwe mu ngingo z'iyi gahunda zakuragaho imigenzereze yo mu gihe cyashize. Twavugaga nk'ikemezo cyo gukuraho amakarita y'irangamuntu yagaragaza ubwoko yatangiye mu myaka ya 1930, atangizwa n'Ababirigi u Rwanda rwari rubereye indagizo. UNAR imaze kubona ko ayo makarita y'irangamuntu abangamiye ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, yari yasabye ko yakurwaho. Amashyirahamwe y'Abahutu yafataga icyo gitekerezo nk'uburiganya bw'Abatutsi, yaharaniye ko ayo moko yagumamo. Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu, nta gushidikanya, yakuyemo izo nyito z'amoko. Uretse ko gushyira amoko mu ndangamuntu byafashije ku mabariyeri, kuva habaho ubutegetsi bwa Parmehutu kugeza mu mezi y'akaga ya Mata-Nyakanga 1994, byanafashije kandi mu gutoranya/kwigizayo mu gihe cya Repubulika ya mbere ndetse no ku butegetsi bw'iringaniza ry'amoko n'uturere⁶.

Gukuraho icyo kirango cya poritiki ishingiyeye ku moko mu buzima bwa poritiki nyarwanda ni intambwe iganisha mu kerekezo kiza. Birumvikana ko ikemezo cya poritiki n'urupapuro rw'ubuyobozi bitahita bihindura mu kanya goto poritiki imaze imyaka irenga mirongo itatu n'imigirire ndetse n'imyitwarire yateje kandi abantu bari baramaze kwakira.

Ni muri urwo rwego ubuyobozi busanzwe bw'izibacyuho bwitaye kuri iyi ngingo. Mu mitunganyirize ya za minisiteri, imirimo ya Leta ndetse no mu bigo bishamikiye kuri Leta hagaragayemo akantu kameze nko kuvanga Abahutu n'Abatutsi. Ibi byari bifite

⁶ Habyarimana J., *Ikiganiro Perezida wa Repubulika Perezida-Fondateri wa MRND yagiranye na ba Militantes na ba Militants bo muri za Prefegitura zose z'u Rwanda*, 16 Mata-6 Gicurasi 1976, p.70.

inyungu ebyiri zo gutuma serivisi runaka cyangwa agashami runaka katitirirwa ko ari ak'Umuhutu cyangwa ak'Umututsi, ari na ko bizana ubufatanye bwiza, gukorera hamwe hagati y'abantu, inshuro nyinshi bahuriye mu mikorere no mu buzima bunyuranye.

Kugarura ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda binyura mu bwiye kandi na bwo ntibushobora kugerwaho hadaciwe umuco wo kudahana n'ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide byombi biri mu byatumye haba uko gutsindwa kose, cyanecyane kutagarura Abanyarwanda babaye ibikoresho igihe kirekire, bayobejwe, banahonyowe n'ubuyobozi bubi, muri icyo mitego. Igikoresho k'ibanze icyo poritiki y'ubwiye no kugarura ubumwe bw'igihugu yifashishije birumvikana ko ari Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubiye.

Gahunda y'icyo komisiyo yinjira ku buryo bwumvikana muri gahunda ya Guverinoma. Yashinzwe tariki ya 12 Werurwe 1999, Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubiye ikurikiza gahunda yakozwe mu mirongo migari na Guverinoma. Ikorana ku buryo bwa hafi n'abaturage ibigisha ibyateye ivangura no kuryana byaranze amteka ya vuba y'u Rwanda, kugira ngo habeho kugaragaza no gusesengurira hamwe icyateye ugutsindwa k'ubutegetsi bwahakanye bukanasanya ubumwe bw'igihugu n'ingaruka zose byagize ku baturage, hanyuma ngo yerekane inasobanure ikerekezo gishya cya poritiki iganisha ku bumwe n'ubwiye. Izo ngendo ndende zo mu gihugu, zifasha komisiyo gusobanura akamaro ko gufasha ubucamanza cyanecyane imanza zifitanye isano na jenocide, akamaro ko kwibuka atari ku barokotse jenocide gusa ahubwo no ku Banyarwanda bose, agaciro ko gushyiraho ibiganiro hagati y'Abanyarwanda ku nsanganyamatsiko zireba jenocide.

Komisiyo ishinzwe gutegura ingando zigenewe ibyiciro binyuranye by'abantu: urubyiruko rwitegura kujya mu mashuri makuru, abasirikare bitegura gusubira mu buzima busanzwe, abahoze ari abasirikari b'u Rwanda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare mbere yo kwinjizwa mu ngabo nshya z'igihugu cyangwa gusubizwa mu buzima busanzwe. Abayobozi mu nzego zo hasi no ku rwego rw'igihugu, abarimu, n'abandi. Itegura buri gihe amahuriro y'Abanyarwanda baba hanze y'igihugu n'Abanyarwanda bo mu gihugu, ibiganiro nyunguranabitekerezo mpuzamahanga n'ibiganiro mpaka ndetse n'ubushakashatsi ku nsanganyamatsiko zinyuranye.

Komisiyo iza ku isonga mu kwitabira buri mwaka igihe k'icyunamo mu gihugu, mu gushakisha no gushyingura mu cyubahiro imibiri y'abazize jenocide, mu majoro yo kwibuka, mu gutaha inzibutso za jenocide no guhura n'abarokotse jenocide. Raporo za buri mwaka za komisiyo zifasha kumva impaka ziriho, uko abaturage b'ingeri zinyuranye ndetse n'abanyamahanga bacengerwa na poritiki y'igihugu yo kugarura ubumwe bw'igihugu n'ubwiyunge.

7.1.5. Ubutabera nyuma ya jenocide

Jenocide ni ingaruka z'umuco w'icyaha winjijwe mu nzego z'ubutegetsu kandi ushingiyeye ku ivanguramoko guhera mu wa 1959. Nta muntu washoboraga guteganya ubukare bwacyo cyangwa gutekereza ubugizi bwa nabi bungana kuriya. Umuco wo kudahana wimakajwe byarangiye wumvishije igice kimwe cy'abaturage ko mu izina rya nyamwinshi y'ubwoko byose bibemerewe kandi ubuzima bw'Umututsi nta cyo buvuze.

Mu rwego rwo kongera kubaka urwego rw'ubutabera, imirimo myinshi yari itegereje Guverinoma nshya. Kubera impamvu zinyuranye (kubura abakozi bafite ubushobozi, kuba ubucamanza bwari bukiri mu kwaha kwa Guverinoma, uburyo bw'imikorere bugoye n'ibindi), urwego rw'ubutabera rutashingaga na mbere ya 1994, ntirwari rushoboye guhangana n'ibihe bya nyuma ya jenocide. Imikorere yarwo idashwitse yari izwi. Iyo mikorere yemejwe n'abapererezi ba komisiyo mpuzamahanga, imyaka ibiri mbere yuko jenocide iba, muri aya magambo: "Intege nke z'urwego rw'ubutabera zituma abakora ubugizi bwa nabi baba bizeye kudahanwa. Gusuzuma amadosiye arebana no gukurikirana ibyaha... byatumye komisiyo yanzura ko urwego rw'ubutabera rudakora"⁷. Nk'uko bigenda ahandi hari ubutegetsu bw'igitugu, urwego rw'ubutabera rw'u Rwanda rwagenzurwaga na Guverinoma.

Ibintu byarushijeho kuba bibi nyuma ya jenocide n'ubwicanyi byo muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994. Abacamanza benshi n'abakozi b'ubushinjacyaha bari barapfuye cyangwa bafunze. Abandi bari barahunze. Nyamara abantu bose bemeza ko nta butabera butabogamye, ubwiyunge mu Banyarwanda budashobora kubaho. Umubare w'abantu bafashwe, akenshi hatubahirijwe inzira zisanzwe zikoreshwa mu bihe bisanzwe, wageze (muri Mutarama 2003), ugereraniye ni nk'ibihumbi 120,000 (harimo

⁷ Commission internationale, Communiqué du 22 janvier 1992.

80,000 bafungiyeye mu magereza makuru, abasigaye bari mu buroko bw'uturere). Kubera kubura abakora amaperereza, abasirikakare bafataga abo bababwiraga bese. Muri icyo mikorere, Minisitiri y'Ubutabera irabyemera, kurenganya ntibyaburamo, ariko byari ukwirinda kurenganya bikabije byo kutagira igikorwa biruta kutubahiriza inzira zo gufata no gufunga. Ukurikije uko ibintu byari biteye nyuma ya jenocide, rimwe na rimwe kunenga ntibyari bikwiye cyangwa kwari ukudashaka kumva ibintu.

Ibikorwa byo kwihorera, kwica nta manza zabaye, gufunga binyuranyije n'amategeko, kubura kw'abantu byakozwe nyuma yuko imirwano ihagarara ntibyari kubura nyuma ya jenocide. Nyamara, nubwo bibajye kandi ari ibyo kwamaganwa, ntibyari bifite uburemere nk'ubwo byahabwaga n'igikorwa cyo kubeshyera no guharabika ubutegetsu bushya cyakorwaga n'ibikomerezwa byo mu butegetsu bwahozeho n'abo bari bafatanyije. Ubundi byagiye bigabanuka uko inzego zagiye zishyirwaho.

Imbere y'ukuzurirana kwa gereza zo mu gihugu, aho gushyiraho amabwiriza arebana no gufata abakewagaho ibyaha, Guverinoma yihutiye gukora ibishobaka byose kugira ngo yagure ibigo byo gufungiramo (Ririma, Nsinda, Kimironko na Gikondo), iteze imbere imibereho y'imfungwa, itange ibikoresho no guhugura abakozi. Imbonerahamwe ikurikira igereranya imiterere y'abakozi bo mu bucamanza hagati ya 1994 na 2002.

Imbonerahamwe ya 18: Abakozi bakoraga mu bucamanza 1994-2002

Abakozi bo mu bucamanza na za parike	Uko ibintu byari byifashe mu Kuboza 1994	Uko ibintu byari byifashe mu Kuboza 2002
Abacamanza	244	700
Abashinjacyaha	12	246
Abanditsi	59	325
Abanyamabanga ba za parike	56	123

Aho byavuye : Réalisations du gouvernement d'union nationale.

Nubwo hashyizwemo izo ngufu zose, ubutabera bwakomeje kuza ku isonga mu bintu byari bihangayikishije Abanyarwanda. Bityo, abarokotse bumvaga ko Guverinoma nta cyo ikora ngo ibahe ubutabera, ibahe indishyi ndetse inabarinde. Imanza ntizihutaga ku buryo bushimishije.

Naho abababajwe n'ubutegetsi bwa kera ndetse n'abapfobya cyangwa bahakana ko ibikorwa by'ubwicanyi bwabaye muri Mata-Nyakanga 1994 ari jenocide, ntibigeze bizera urwego rw'ubutabera rwashyizweho na Guverinoma bitaga iy'Abatutsi. Inyandiko nyinshi zavugaga ko "Ari ubucamanza bw'uwatsinze" cyangwa ko ari igisa n'ubucamanza, kuko bwari bugamije guhorera Abatutsi. Kuri abo bose, ntawacira urubanza Abahutu bakoze jenocide, ataruciriye abayobozi ba FPR bakoze ibyaha by'intambara. Bamwe muri bo bari bahangayikishijwe no kubona "hafi ya bose mu Bahutu binjiye muri poritiki cyangwa bagiye bagira inshingano kuva haboneka ubwigenge" bakurikiranwe n'ubutabera⁸. Abandi benshi bahereye ku mubare munini w'abagize uruhare muri jenocide no mu bwicanyi, bemezaga ko byaba ari ukwibeshya gushaka kubacira imanza bose.

Guverinoma yumvise ko imbabazi zitanzwe muri rusange na Leta, atari uburyo buhitse bwo gukumira ibyabaye ngo bitazasubira cyangwa ikizere cy'ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Ntizigomba kuza mbere yo kwemera icyaha, guhana no gutanga indishyi. Mu rwego rwo kwihutisha amadosiye, hashyizweho mbere na mbere komisiyo zo kujonjora zaje gusimburwa n'amatsinda yimuka. Aya matsinda yasuzumye amadosiye 23.418, arekura abafungwa 4.106 harimo 352 b'abana, 762 b'abasaza, 302 b'abarwayi na 2.690 badafite ibimenyetso bibashinja. Byari bike ugereranije n'ibyari bitegerejwe.

Nanone, muri Nzeri 1996, Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yemeje itegeko kuri jenocide kugira ngo habeho kuburanisha abakekwaho icyaha⁹. Ibintu by'ibanze biranga iri tegeko ni ugushyiraho ibyiciro hakurikije uburemere bw'ibyaha (ibyiciro 4, abayiteguye bari mu kiciro cya mbere) n'inyungu zijyana no kwemera icyaha.

⁸ Bulletin d'information africaine, 12 octobre 1994.

⁹ Gouvernement rwandais, La loi organique n° 8/96 du 30/8/1996 sur l'organisation des poursuites des infractions constitutives du crime de génocide ou de crimes contre l'humanité commis à partir du 1er Octobre 1990

Iri tegeko ntiryatanze umusaruro wari witezwe: ugereranije imanza nk'ibihumbi bibiri ni zo zaburanishijwe kugera mu 2001; abireze bageraga ku 20.000 nubwo icyo gikorwa cyongereye umuvuduko mbere yuko inkiko gacaca zitangira. Uko byagenda kose, hagombaga kuvaho inzitizi zose zahagarikaga igikorwa cyo kongera kubaka imibereho na poritiki. Kuri iyo ngingo, ibiganiro byo muri *Village urugwiro* byabaye intambwe y'ingenzi, byashishikarije Guverinoma kwiga igisubizo cya gacaca abashakashatsi b'Abanyarwanda, bahereye ku bitekerezo byatanzwe na komisiyo y'iperereza yashyizweho na FPR, bemeje ko ari yo nzira ikwiye¹⁰. Nyuma y'ibiganiro byinshi (hagati y'impuguke n'abaturage) byateguwe kandi byayobowe na Minisiteri y'Ubutabera, igisubizo cya gacaca cyafashe isura, maze itegeko ritorwa n'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho tariki ya 12 Ukwakira 2000¹¹.

a. Inkiko gacaca

Gacaca ni ikimenyetso cy'ugutsindwa k'urwego rw'ubutabera busanzwe no kutagira icyo rukora imbere y'akazi gakomeye k'imanza zari zigitegereje. Ni ubuhamya kandi bw'ubushake bwo gutanga ubutabera mu yindi nzira: kuva ku butabera buhana ujya ku butabera bwunga bukoresha umuryango nyarwanda wose.

Igitekerezo cya gacaca cyakiranywe ubwuzu n'Abanyarwanda bari bagifitemo ikizere¹², bitewe n'ibyo bari bayitezeho binyuranye, baba abarokotse cyangwa se abafunze¹³. Ndetse n'indorerenzi zo hanze y'igihugu. Abanyarwanda barenga 70% basanga gacaca ari igisubizo gikwiye. Ndetse n'abarokotse, bayibonagamo uburyo bwo gutanga imbabazi buhishe, bagabanyije kuyinenga. Ibiri amambu, itegeko kuri gacaca n'imikorere yaryo bizwi n'abantu bake.

Ibyari byitezwe ku nkiko gacaca byari: kugaragaza ukuri kuri jenocide, kwihutisha imanza, uruhare rw'abaturage nk'uburyo bwo guca umuco wo kudahana, uruhare rw'abaturage mu guhana abakoze ibyaha mu rwego rwo gushimangira ubumwe

¹⁰ Presidency of the Republic, Report on the reflection meetings held in the office of the President of the Republic from May 1998 to March 1999, Kigali. August, 1999.

¹¹ Cahier du Centre de gestion des conflits, "Les juridictions gacaca et le processus de réconciliation nationale", n° 3, UNR, 2003.

¹² Les évêques catholiques, "Pour une justice qui réconcilie", 13 juin 20002.

¹³ Commission nationale pour l'unité et la réconciliation, *Opinion Survey on Participation in Gacaca and national Reconciliation*, January 2003.

bw'Abanyarwanda no gusana umuryango nyarwanda, kuvoma mu muco nyarwanda uburyo bwo gukemura amakimbirane, gukemura ikibazo cya jenocide kugira ngo ingufu zishyirwe mu iterambere.

Inkiko gacaca zijyana n'inzego z'imiyoborere (serire, segiteri, akarere n'intara). Umubare wazo ni 10684 (aho kuba ingereko 12 zihariye zateganywaga n'itegeko ngenga ryo mu wa 1996) n'abantu bagera ku 260.000 b'abagabo n'abagore baca imanza nk'inyangamugayo.

Inkiko gacaca zatangiye gukora guhera muri Kamena 2002 zasabye ingufu za Guverinoma n'amashyirahamwe atabogamiye kuri Leta. Impungenge zo mu ntangiriro za 2003 zaterwaga n'ukwiyongera kw'ibintu bikurikira: ubwitabire bw'abaturage bwagabanukaga; abacamanza batowe n'abaturage na bo bashinjwaga icyaha cya jenocide; abantu batinyaga gushinjwa no gufatwa bahitagamo guhunga igihugu, bamwe mu nyangamugayo ntibari bazi kwandika no gusoma; inama zititabirwaga kubera impamvu zitazwi; abagabo cyangwa abashinjwa bari bahangayikishijwe n'umutekano wabo; kugerageza gushinjura nkana abakekwagaho ibyaha (cyanecyane imiryango y'abafunze); bamwe mu nyangamugayo basabye umushahara; imiryango ifite abantu bishwe n'abasirikare ba FPR yifuzaga ko ibyo na byo byakwigwa na gacaca; bimwe mu bintu nkenerwa bijyana n'itegeko ryo ku nkiko Gacaca byari bitaraboneka (urugero nk'itegeko ku ndishyi).

Muri rusange, abafungwa bavugisha ukuri babaye imbarutso mu rwego rwo gushishikariza abandi kubikora. Abantu bemeranywa ako iki gikorwa gishobora gutungana aruko ibikorwa byo kugishishikariza abaturage byakomeza kuko umubare w'ibibazo bigaragaramo bituruka ku bantu bamwe bazaga mu nama za mbere bafite amakuru atari yo cyangwa atuzuye ku nshingano za gacaca cyangwa ku byiciro biyigize. Hari ikizere mu ndorerezi no mu baturage cy'uko izarangira neza nihakosorwa amakosa agaragaramo. Abantu bavugishije ukuri bakanemera uruhare rwabo mu bwicanyi, bagisohoka, bahise bavuga n'abandi bakidegembya¹⁴.

Indi ntambwe muri gacaca, yatewe biturutse ku Iteka rya Perezida ryo muri Mutarama 2003 risaba inzego zibifitiye

¹⁴ Ministère de la Justice, "Dans cinq provinces, ceux qui ont fait des aveux ont dénoncé 250,000 qui sont en liberté", muri *Kinyamateka* no 1614, Mutarama II 2003

ububasha gufungura by'agateganyo abafungwa bemeye ibyaha byabo, abasaza (barengaje imyaka 70) n'abarwayi b'indembe ndetse n'abari abana mu gihe k'ibikorwa. Hari hitezwe ko abantu barenga ibihumbi 40.000 ari bo barebwa n'icyo kemezo. Nyuma, hagendewe kuri raporo ya Minisiteri y'Ubutabera ya tariki ya 4 Gashyantare 2003, harekuwe abantu ibihumbi 21.410, abenshi muri bo bajyanwa mu ngando mu gihe cy'amezi atatu mbere yo gusubizwa mu ngo zabo. Iki kemezo si imbabazi rusange cyangwa amayeri yo gutsinda amatora nk'uko bamwe babivugaga. Ni ugushyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo byafashwe mbere n'inama ya Guverinoma cyangwa kubahiriza ibiteganywa n'itegeko rya gacaca.

Ibi bishatse kuvuga ko igikorwa cyo kubisobanura cyakozwe na Guverinoma kitabashije gucubya impungenge zatewe n'iki kemezo cyanecyane mu barokotse. Kuko, nubwo bisonutse, Iteka rya Perezida ryatunguye buri muntu, cyanecyane ko igihe cyo kurishyira mu bikorwa cyari gito. Byongeye kandi, ntawakwirengagiza kurengera kwagaragayemo mu kurishyira mu bikorwa. Bamwe mu bantu barekuwe batabikwiye basubijwe muri gereza.

b. Ibikorwa by'Urukiko Mpanabyaha Mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda (TPIR)

Mu rwego rwo guhangana n'imiterere n'uburemere bw'ubwicanyi bwakorewe Abatutsi mu gihugu, FPR yatangiye igikorwa cyo gusobanurira umuryango mpuzamahanga ngo wemere ko ubwo bwicanyi bwari jenocide. Kubera icyo gikorwa, abanditsi n'abapererezi mpuzamahanga baje mu gihugu ngo birebere ukuri kwa jenocide mu Rwanda, nubwo hari igitutu cya bimwe mu bihugu by'ibihangage n'ibindi bikanyakanya byayipfobyaga cyangwa biyihakana. Imaze kwemezwa, habaye ikindi gikorwa, muri ONU ndetse no mu bahagarariye ibihugu byabo mu Rwanda, kugira ngo hashyirweho urukiko mpuzamahanga, hagaragazwa ko rutagiyeho, ingaruka zishobora kuba mbi cyane nko kuba birya byaha byakongera gukorwa ndetse no gutiza umurindi ibikorwa byo kwihorera.

Mu ntangiriro, byagaragaye neza ko umushinga wa ONU kuri ruriya rukiko wanyuranyaga n'ibitekerezo bya Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ku ngingo nyinshi. Guverinoma y'u Rwanda yarabirwanyije biba iby'ubusa. Akanama gashinzwe umutekano muri ONU, nyuma yo gushidikanya kwinshi, byarangiye

gatoye, ku itariki ya 8 Ugushyirahamwe 1994 umwanzuro n° 955 ushyirahamwe TPIR. Zimwe mu ngingo zirushyirahamwe zanengwaga na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda muri icyo gihe, kandi ifite ukuri, n'ubu ni ko zigiteye. U Rwanda rwafashe iya mbere rusaba Umuryango w'Abibumbye gushyirahamwe urwo urukiko ntirwatoye uwo mwanzuro. Ntirwanenze gusa uko rwari rwatekerejwe, ahubwo inshuro nyinshi rwananenze imikorere yarwo.

Bityo, ububasha bw'urukiko mpuzamahanga bwari ubwo gukurikirana abantu bakoze ibyaha byibasira inyoko muntu n'abagize uruhare muri jenocide yo mu Rwanda mu gihe kiva ku itariki ya 1 Mutarama kugeza ku ya 31 Ukuboza 1994. Kuri Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ndetse n'imwe mu miryango yo mu gihugu iharanira uburenganzira bwa muntu, igihe kivugwaho cyakagombye kumanuka hasi kuko jenocide yateguwe. Ibindi byanenzwe byarebanaga, ku ruhande rumwe, n'ikicaro cyarwo cyashyizwe hanze y'igihugu (Arusha) kandi ibyaha byarakorewe mu Rwanda kandi bigakorwa n'Abanyarwanda. Hanengwaga kandi ibihano byatangwaga: amategeko mpuzamahanga ntiyatangaga igihano cy'urupfu binyuranyije n'amategeko y'u Rwanda muri icyo gihe. Guhera ubwo, imikoranire hagati y'urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga ku Rwanda na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda ndetse n'amashyirahamwe y'abarokotse jenocide ntiyahwemye guhura n'ibibazo ndetse rimwe na rimwe no guhagarara.

Mu kiganiro yagiranye n'abanyamakuru umushinjacyaha mukuru mu rukiko rw'ikirenga yashinje TPIR "gukorera ku gitutu cya poritiki cya Guverinoma zimwe na zimwe" zashyigikiye Guverinoma y'abatazi n'abashaka ko TPIR iburanisha abasirikare bo mu ngabo za FPR ku byaha byibasiriye inyoko muntu n'ibyaha by'intambara¹⁵. Perezida wa Ibuka yasabye ko "Urukiko ...rwaha uburyo bwo kubaho abasizwe iheruheru na jenocide", cyanecyane abagore n'abakobwa batewe VIH/SIDA muri jenocide, afata nk'"indishyi n'ingurane mu icibwa ry'imanza kandi ikimurira ikicaro cyayo mu Rwanda"¹⁶. Muri rusange, TPIR ishinjwa gutinza imanza¹⁷, ruswa, gufata nabi abatangabuhamya (bashinja), gushaka kuringaniza amoko no gutanga akazi bikemangwa.

¹⁵ Diplomatie judiciaire, n° 89, 2002, p., 9.

¹⁶ Mugesera A., Ijambo yavugiye muri *Conférence internationale sur la vie après la mort*, Kigali 2001, p.3.

¹⁷ TPIR, nyuma y'imyaka ikenda rwari rurangije imanza 11, abantu 12 bahamwe n'icyaha undi umwe agirwa umwere, muri werurwe 2003

Kuva rwashingwa, urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga rwamunzwe n'imikorere yo mu biro. Rwakunze kuba igisebo ku barokotse babonaga abakekwagaho kugira uruhare muri jenocide babaho neza kubarusha, ko ingengo y'imari nini yahabwaga urwego rukora buhoro gutyo kandi ko hakorwaga ibishoboka kugira ngo imanza zitinzwe.

c. Imbogamizi mu guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu

Intambwe zaratewe mu rwego guteza imbere uburenganzira bwa muntu. Raporo za komisiyo y'igihugu y'uburenganzira bwa muntu (CNDH) zirabigaragaza ndetse n'igikorwa cyo guharanira uburenganzira bw'umwana n'umugore. Ku ruhande rwawo, umuryango mpuzamahanga wasanze atari ngombwa ko habaho umwanditsi wihariye wa ONU ku burenganzira bwa muntu mu Rwanda. Ariko hari hakiri byinshi byo gukora. Raporo ya CNDH yagaragazaga ko itegeko ry'ubutaka ryihutirwa kugira ngo hakemurwe amakimbirane menshi yari agitegereje, yamaganaga gufunga binyuranyije n'amategeko bikabije, kubura kw'abantu, imanza zitarangizwa ukwivanga k'urwego nyubahirizategeko n'imanza zimara igihe mu nkiko¹⁸.

Abanyarwanda bemeza ko urwego rw'ubutabera ari ho habarizwa ibikorwa bya ruswa cyane. Ibikorwa bya ruswa byagaragajwe ni ibikurikira:

- Abacamanza bahabwa ruswa n'abakekwaho ibyaha cyangwa imiryango yabo kugira ngo bababere mu manza ndetse banabagire abere cyangwa babagabanyirize ibihano;
- Guhimba amadosiye bikorwa n'abakozi bo mutabera ndetse no mu magereza¹⁹;
- Guta kubushake amadosiye bikorwa n'abakozi bo mu butabera: uregwa adafite idosiye arafungurwa;
- Itsinda ry'imanza;
- Uburenganzira bwo gusohoka bukabije buhabwa abafunze (n'abakekwaho icyaha cya jenocide) bugatangwa n'abakozi b'amagereza (kujya gukora, gusura imiryango, kurongora...);
- Gufungura abagororwa bisabwe na bamwe mu bayobozi b'abanyaporitiki, abo mu buyobozi busanzwe, n'abasirikare; gukangisha gufunga (kubera jenocide)

¹⁸ CNDH- NHRC, raporo y'umwaka wa 2001, p. 82-84.

¹⁹ Ibuka, Kongere ya Ibuka, yo ku wa 15 kugeza ku wa 16 Nzeri 2001.

bikorwa n'abacamanza, abagenzacyaha, babibwira abantu runaka, kugira ngo bigure bagahita babaha amafaranga;

- Kugurisha mu buryo budafututse imitungo y'abantu badahari, baba hanze²⁰ cyangwa mu magereza n'iy'abana barokotse jenocide;
- Gufunga bitemewe n'amategeko kuko bisabwe gusa n'abantu bakize cyangwa abafite agatuza, n'ibindi.

Uko Abanyarwanda benshi bumva ruswa ikabije yo mu rwego rw'ubutabera bigaragara no mu bundi buhamya. Bityo, muri raporo y'igenzura ya Komisiyo y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiyunge (CNUR) y'i Byumba, binubiye "ubucamanza bukora nabi, ari na byo bitera gutinda kw'ianza; imanza zisubikwa nta mpamvu ifatika"²¹. Muri raporo ya buri mwaka ya CNDH yo mu wa 2000 dushobora gusomamo: "ikigaragara nuko igice kinini k'ibikorwa byo kurengera [uburenganzira] bishingiye ku kudashyira mu bikorwa ibyemezo by'inkiko kandi uruhare runini rufitwe n'inzego zishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa ibyo byemezo. Komisiyo irashimangira ko igihe cyose iyo nshingano izaba itubahirijwe, ntawugomba gutangazwa no kunengwa ku mugaragaro bikorwa, ubutabera butubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu"²². Komisiyo y'ubutabera yatanze igitekerezo cyo kuvugura imikorere y'ubutabera bw'igihugu.

7.1.6. Kutumvikana mu buyobozi bwa poritiki

Haruguru twakomoje ku banyaporitiki bari bahari, impaka zatewe n'uruhare rwagizwe na FPR mu gushyiraho gahunda ya poritiki ya Guverinoma ndetse no kuyobora igihugu. Kuri icyo ngingo, ihuriro ry'amashyaka ndetse n'urwego rw'imikorere yayo byateye kutumvikana mu bitekerezo. Twabonye nyamara ko ik'ingenzi ari ko amashyaka yose yahurirazaga ku bitekerezo bimwe kandi bakagira n'intumbero imwe ku kerekezo k'igihugu: kongera kubaka ubumwe bw'igihugu no kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko.

Ku birebana n'ubuyobozi bw'igihugu, kutumvikana mu ishyamba rimwe imbere cyangwa hagati y'amashyaka menshi

²⁰ Idem

²¹ CNUR "Ubutabera bukora nabi bigatuma imanza zitihuta cyangwa zihora zisubikwa nta mpamvu", *Le Verdict*, no 32, Ugushyirahamwe 2001, p. 20.

²² CNHD, Rapport annuel 2000, mars 2001, p. 29.

byaragaragaye. Mu gihe cya mbere, guhuzagurika ntibyari kubura: bashyiraga mu buyobozi bw'igihugu abantu batigeze bakorana, bari mu mirimo akenshi batari bafitiye ubushobozi cyangwa ubunararibonye bukenewe, bakoreraga mu buryo bugoye cyangwa se bikaba gutangirira kuri zero, uburyo buke, cyangwa aho byasabaga kongera gutangira cyangwa guhimba.

Minisitiri w'Intebe yari yatanze imirongo mikuru ya poritiki, ariko hagombaga gukorwa porogaramu ndangamikorere za buri kiciro zihariye kandi zifatika. Kuri ibyo bihe by'akaga, aho umutekano wahoraga uhungabanywa n'abajenosideri batemberaga mu mudendezo mu gihugu cyangwa bavaga mu nkambi z'impunzi, hiyongeragaho imikorere mpuzamahanga yarwanyaga "ubutegetsu bwa nyamuke". Kuri ibyo hagataho igikorwa cyo guharabika no guhunga byaterwaga inkunga n'abafatanyije ndetse n'ibitso by'ubutegetsu bwatsinzwe kugira ngo haboneke abarwanya ubutegetsu bwavugwaga ko buzahirima mu gihe gito. Ibyo byose ntibyatumaga haba uburyo bwo gukora mu mutuzo.

Nk'uko bigaragara muri raporo nyinshi zayo za mbere ya 1998, ubuyobozi bukuru bwa FPR bwarinengaga bikomeye: intege nke no gucikwa by'ubuyobozi, kutagira icyo bitaho, kutagira ikibahangayikisha, ubujura, ruswa, ivangura, urugomo imikorere mibi y'amakomisiyo, ubukangurambaga budafite ingufu, n'ibindi. Muri Gashyantare 1998, hamaze kuba isuzuma nta marangamutima ry'uruhare rwa FPR kuva yakwinjira muri Guverinoma kandi hashyizweho indi komite nyobozi, habaye gutangira bundi bushya hakurikijwe imirongo ibiri ikurikira: kugira FPR moteri ya Guverinoma kugira ngo habeho mu gihugu amahinduka mashya ndetse no kugeza ku Banyarwanda bose ibitekerezo bya FPR.

Guhera kuri iyo tariki, ni bwo FPR yagize uruhare rufatika mu gushyiraho porogaramu ndangamikorere za buri kiciro. Hagati aho, FPR yagize ibibazo imbere mu ishyamba n'abayihagarariye bakuru muri Guverinoma ndetse n'abayobozi bakuru ba gisivire n'abagisirikare bahunze. Bamwe mu basirikare bakuru bashinjwaga kujya mu Bugande gusangayo ingabo z'umwami, zakekwagaho guhuza abarwanya Leta barimo abitandukanya na FPR, abahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda ndetse n'*Interahamwe* hamwe n'abandi binjizwagamo. Biro poritiki yashinjaga abaminisitiri kudashyigikira ibitekerezo bya FPR mu birebana no gushyiraho ba perefe ndetse na ba burugumesitiri.

Muri ibyo bibazo by'imbere muri FPR hiyongeraho icya Pasteur Bizimungu kikemuye yeguye. Perezida Bizimungu yavugaga ko mu rwego rwo kugenzura ibikorwa bya Guverinoma, inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho yagenzuye kandi ikuraho ikizere abaminisitiri ba MDR (Anastase Gasana na Ngirabanzi) ntiyagenzura ab'andi mashyamba nka FPR, Donald Kaberuka (ubukungu n'Imari) na Jean de Dieu Mucyo (Ubutabera) na bo barebwaga n'icyo gikorwa. Perezida yemezaga kandi ko atagishijwe inama mbere yo gufata ibyemezo. Habayeho guterana amagambo bikomeye hagati ya FPR n'andi mashyamba ariko baza kumvikana. Ibyo batumvikanagaho byarebanaga n'uruhare rwa FPR ishyamba ryiganje, Ihuriro ry'amashyamba n'imikorere y'amashyamba (Biro poritiki) atarageraga hasi, mu gihe FPR yari ikomeje kwinjiza abanyamuryango inagaragara hasi mu matsinda yihariye.

Mu kwezi k'Ugushyamba 1994, MDR yakoze inyandiko inenga. Ibyo yanengaga umuntu yabihina ku buryo bukurikira: FPR yikubiye ubutegetsi n'imitungo y'abantu. Inshuro nyinshi abayoboze ba MDR bakomeje kwerekana ibyo batemeranywaho na FPR. Mu mpera z'umwaka wa 1994, Minisitiri w'Intebe Faustin Twagiramungu yavuze ibintu byababaje abantu: yabonaga ko icyunamo cya jenocide cyamaze igihe. Iperereza ryakozwe n'Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho guhera tariki ya 24 Ukuboza 2003 ryagaragaje ko hari inzego zihishe za MDR zubakiye ku ngengabitekerezo ya Parmehutu.

Inteko ishingira amategeko y'inzibacyuho yasabye Guverinoma gukemura ikibazo cya MDR. Iryo shyamba ntirikiri mu mashyamba ya poritiki afatanyaga mu buyobozi bw'igihugu. Andi mashyamba ntiyanenze byihariye FPR cyangwa ubuyobozi bw'igihugu. Kunenga bikomeye byakozwe n'amashyamba hamwe ya poritiki yo hanze y'igihugu cyanecyane ihuriro rya demokarasi mu Rwanda (*Rassemblement pour la Démocratie au Rwanda* - RDP) n'abantu cyangwa imiryango ifite aho ihuriye n'ubutegetsi bwahozeho.

7.1.7. Gushyiraho demokarasi n'imiyoborere myiza

U Rwanda rukiva mu mahano yo mu wa 1994, ntibyari kuba gushyiraho mu gaciro, gusaba Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho demokarasi nyayo. Nyamara buhorobuhoro amahame y'ibanze n'inzego byashyizweho nyuma y'ikigero cy'ubutabazi bw'ibanze. Byasabaga ko amagambo nka demokarasi, nyamwinshi, na

nyamuke bisubizwa ibisobanuro byayo bikwiye. Abashinze n'abarwanashyaka ba Parmehutu ndetse n'abo bafatanije bo hanze bitiranya demokarasi no kwikiza Abatutsi hakoreshejwe urugomo rwo ku rwego rwa poritiki ndetse no kujya ku butegezi kwa rubanda nyamwinshi cyangwa se Abahutu mu magambo atari ay'ibanga.

Ni byo koko, mu bihugu bigendera kuri demokarasi, ubutegezi butangwa na nyamwinshi binyuze mu matora ya buri gihe. Aha ariko nyamwinshi na nyamuke bigaragarira mu kwitabira porogaramu poritiki runaka; uko kwitabira bigakorwa n'umuntu ku giti ke. Ibi bikuraho rero nyamwinshi-nyamuke bireberwa ku ko umuntu yavutse. Muri iyi myumvire ya demokarasi (itari yo) ya Parmehutu-MRND, amatora yakabaye amabarura y'amoko kandi ibizavamo bikaba bizwi mbere.

Mbere yo gushyira Abanyarwanda mu nzira ya demokarasi, Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yagombaga kubanza gukosora iyo myumvire ya demokarasi ya mbere igice kinini cy'abaturage cyari cyaramize bunguri. Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yaba yarageze kuri iyo ntego? Amatora ya Perezida yo mu wa 2003 atwemerera gusubiza yego. Ni intambwe ya mbere, nyamara itatuma umuntu aririmba insinzi.

Nubwo ari ukurwanya demokarasi, iyo myumvire ya mbere ya demokarasi yarenze cyane imbibi z' u Rwanda na Afurika ibona abayoboze bayemera kandi bayiharaniye mu bihugu nyamara bari bamaze ibinyejana bakorerwa muri demokarasi. Hagaragaramo urutonde rurerure rw'abanyamakuru, abarimu muri za Kaminuza, abanditsi n'abanyaporitiki.

Ibiganiro byabereye muri *Village urugwiro* biyobowe n'umukuru w'igihugu byabigizemo uruhare runini. Ibyo biganiro byahuje abantu bagize uruhare rukomeye mu gihe cyo kwipakurura ubukoroni (harimo abahagarariye Unar na Parmehutu), abari bakomeye muri Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri, abayobozi ba gisivire na gisirikare bari mu buyobozi bw'inzibacyuho ndetse n'abarimu muri za Kaminuza b'inzobere mu mateka y'u Rwanda. Insanganyamatsiko baganiragaho, babwizanya ukuri ni izi zikurikira: Amateka y' u Rwanda rwo hambere, guharanira ubwigenge, imibanire hagati y'Abanyarwanda, intambara hagati y'abenegihugu yo mu ya 1990-1994 n'ingaruka zayo, kugarura ubumwe n'ubwiyunge. Ibi biganiro byo muri *Village urugwiro*

byabaga mu rwego rw'ibikorwa bisanzwe byo kungurana inama ndetse n'ibiganiro FPR yagiranaga n'abo bafatanyije, kimwe no mu ihuriro ry'amashyaka, urebye byabaye intambwe ya mbere.

Intambwe ya kabiri yabaye gutegura amatora anyuranye. Nyuma y'ibikorwa byinshi byo gukangurira abantu, ku nzego zose, ibitekerezo bishya bya demokarasi, ukwitabira kw'abanyagihugu n'imyumvire mishya ku micungire y'ubuyobozi na poritiki hatayeho amatora: 1999, amatora ya komite z'ubuyobozi bw'ibanze (serire na segiteri); 2001, amatora ya komite nyobozi na njyanama by'uturere n'imigi.

Mu gutangiza iyo nzira ya demokarasi, Guveronoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yazanye udushya twinshi; utwibanze ni utu:

- Abatora bakora umurongo inyuma y'umukandida bihitiyemo, ibi birumvikana ko bitashimishije abakunda gutora mu ibanga;
- Abayobozi ba za serire na segiteri ntibongeye kuyobora bonyine uduce twabo ahubwo bayoborana na komite nyobozi (igizwe n'abantu 8 batowe) n'inama njyanama (igizwe n'abaturage bose b'ako gace bujuje imyaka 18);
- Inzego z'abagore n'urubyiruko zashyizweho, aho umuhuzabikora ahita aba umwe mu bagize komite nyobozi;
- Abaturage bashobora, igihe icyo ari cyo cyose, gukuraho ikizere ugize komite uwo ari we wese babona ko adakorera inyungu z'abaturage.

Ibyo bihe byaranzwe by'umwihariko no gushyira mu bikorwa umuco wo kungurana inama ndetse n'ibiganiro hagati y'inzego zose z'igihugu kugira ngo habeho kujya inama no gutanga ikerekezo ku bintu binyuranye birebana n'ubuzima bwa poritiki, ubukungu n'imibereho by'igihugu. Ni muri urwo rwego havutse poritiki y'imiturire yo mu midugudu, itegeko kuri gacaca na gahunda y'ubwiyunge mu gihugu, n'ibindi.

Itangazamakuru ryo mu gihugu cyanecyane radiyo, ryabigizemo uruhare runini rifasha abaturage gutanga ibitekerezo kuri gahunda za Guverinoma, rinatanga ibitekerezo uko zashyirwa mu bikorwa. Itangazamakuru ryigenga, iryandika na radiyo, inyinshi zashinzwe mu gihe k'inzibacyuho ryagize na ryo uruhare runini muri izo mpaka. Amaradiyo y'amahanga, BBC, DW na VOA zagize uruhare rushimishije.

Umwaka wa 2003 wasoje igihe k'inzibacyuho, wagejeje iyo nzira ya demokarasi kuri Kamaramapaka, amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'abadepite.

7.1.8 Komisiyo y'Itegeko nshinga n'andi mategeko.

Mu rwego rwo gutegura itegeko shingiro, komisiyo y'amategeko n'itegeko nshinga yatangije igikorwa cyashoboraga kugaragara nkaho ari kirekire ku bantu batari bumvise intego yacyo y'ibanze: "Itegeko nshinga rigomba gutegurirwa Abanyarwanda bose, ni yo mpamvu komisiyo nta cyo idakora ngo ibinjize muri iki gikorwa. Muri iyo ntumbero, komisiyo yahisemo gukoresha uburyo bw'ubufatanye busesuye, bugaragara kuri buri ntera y'ibyo izakora"²³.

Nyuma yo gutora abayigize 12 tariki ya 10 Nyakanga 2000, komisiyo yatangiyeye ibikorwa byayo muri Mutarama 2001. Yateguriye amahugurwa abayigize, abafatanyabikorwa ku rwego rwa Minisiteri no ku rwego rw'igihugu. Kungurana ibitekerezo ku rwego rw'igihugu ndetse n'urwego mpuzamahanga byayifashije kwimenyereza intego z'ibyo igamije kugeraho, gushyiraho ingamba, gukora inyandiko zikenewe.

Intambwe ya kabiri yabaye iyo kujya gusobanurira abaturage b'ingeri zose icyo komisiyo ari cyo, gukusanya ibitekerezo b'ibyo abaturage bashakira gushyira mu itegeko nshinga ryabo, kwandika umushinga wa mbere ihereye ku bitekerezo byavuye mu baturage no kwereka abaturage uwo mushinga. Byatangaje abantu babonaga abagize Komisiyo bakorana n'abagororwa muri iki gikorwa. Aka na ko ni agashya. Mu rwego rwo gutunganya umushinga, komisiyo yari yiteguye kwakira ibitekerezo binyuze mu butumwa busanzwe, kuri terefoni (guhamagara ari ubuntu), mu butumwa bwo kuri interineti, ndetse no gusura ibiro byayo. Yakoze ingendo mu bihugu binyuranye kugira ngo yigire ku mategeko nshinga y'ibyo bihugu. Komisiyo yakoze inyandiko yise "Ikegeranyo k'ibitekerezo by'abaturage ku itegeko nshinga rishya". Iyo mbanzirizamushinga y'itegeko nshinga yunguranyweho ibitekerezo n'abantu 700 noneho ikegeranyo gisubiwemo gishyikirizwa Guverinoma n'inteko inshinga amategeko kugira ngo izo nzego zigire icyo zikivugaho mbere yo gukora umushinga ugomba gushyikirizwa ku mugaragararo izo nzego.

²³ Commission juridique et constitutionnelle, Rapport, février 2003.

Binyuze muri uko guhura n'abaturage n'abakuriye serivisi zinyuranye z'ubuyobozi, komisiyo yabonye ko abantu bake ari bo babasha kumva akamaro k'itegeko nshinga mu buzima bw'igihugu, ku buryo abayobozi **bashobora kurihindura uko bishakiye**. Bityo, ibyo biganiro n'ako kazi ko kwigisha byafashije kumenyekanisha akamaro k'itegeko nshinga ndetse no kuganira ku birigize akantu ku kandi.

Uko kungurana ibitekerezo, byatumye haganirwa ingingo zikurikira: Ikibazo cy'amashyaka, ibyo Abanyarwanda bibukira ku ishyaka rimwe rukumbi n'amashyaka menshi, ihuriro ry'amashyaka ryafatwaga na bamwe nk'urwego rukwiye, abandi barifata nk'uburyo bwo kuniga andi mashyaka bwatekerejwe n'ishyaka rifite ingufu cyangwa uburyo bwo gukuraho abatavuga rumwe na Leta bitavuzwe ku mugaragaro. Twibutse ko nta n'umwe mu bahagarariye amashyaka yari afatanije na FPR mu buyobozi bw'inzibacyuho wabajijwe ngo abyemere mu ruhame. Umuntu yakwemeza ko bose cyangwa bamwe muri bo babikoze banyuze mu zindi nzira?²⁴

Kugabana ubutegetsu ntawucuze undi, kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, uruhando rw'amashyaka menshi, kurwanya ingengabitekerezo ya jenocide n'amacakubiri ashingiye ku moko, ubumwe bw'igihugu, gushyiraho Leta yita ku mibereho myiza y'abaturage no ku burungarira, guharanira ubudahwema kumvikana binyuze mu biganiro, iyo ni yo mirongo mikuru y'ibitekerezo byari mu itegeko nshinga, byaturutse mu kungurana ibitekerezo n'abaturage no kubaza inzobere ndetse n'ibitekerezo bya Komisiyo y'itegeko nshinga n'andi mategeko; ibitekerezo by'Inteko ishinga amategeko y'inzibacyuho na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda.

Ugereranije n'amategeko nshinga yari yarabanje, iri tegeko nshinga rifite ibishya byinshi kandi by'ingirakamaro, ari byo:

- Kwemeza amashyaka menshi ariko hakanajyaho n'amategeko ngengamytwarire y'amashyaka n'imitwe ya poritiki. Ibibi byibukwaga ndetse no kurengera byaranze imikorere y'amashyaka n'imitwe ya poritiki byatumye abashyiraho amategeko bafata ingamba bashimangira imytwarire izaranga imitwe ya poritiki;
- Amashyaka atazabona 5% by'amajwi mu matora

²⁴ Reyntjens P., *Analyse de l'avant-projet de constitution de la République rwandaise*, Anvers, le 11 février 2003, p. 9

ntashobora kwinjira mu nteko inshinga amategeko cyangwa kubona inkunga ya Leta, ibi bigamije gukuraho uruhuri rw'amashyaka n'imitwe ya poritiki;

- Abadepite bazatorerwa manda y'imyaka itanu mu matora rusange ataziguye, mu ibanga kandi ashingiye ku guhagararirwa bingana;
- 30% by'imyanya bizahabwa abagore;
- Sena igizwe n'abantu mu gice kimwe batowe n'abajyanama b'ubuturere n'imigi, ku kindi bashyirwaho n'inzeho zibifite ubushobozi;
- Gushyiraho komite y'abunzi igamije guha abaturage urwego rw'abunzi mbere yo kwitabaza inkiko ku rwego rw'ibanze. Aha ikigambiriwe kwari ugushimangira ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda binyuze mu biganiro;
- Gushyiraho Komisiyo nshya: Komisiyo yo kurwanya jenocide, Komisiyo y'Imirimoya Leta, urwego rwokurengera uburenganzira bw'umuturage, urwego rw'Ubugenzuzi Rusange bw'Imari ya Leta, Inteko nyarwanda y'Ururimi n'Umuco, ikigo gishinzwe "uburinganire", n'ibindi;
- Ubuyobozi, aho Perezida ategukana na Minisitiri w'Intebe.

Umushinga w'itegeko nshinga watumye havugwa byinshi, muri byo twavugaga nka *International Crisis Group*, imaze kugaragaza ibyo inenga ku nyandiko, yasabye umuryango mpuzamahanga kudahubuka: "niba umuryango mpuzamahanga utanze inkunga y'imari mu matora, uzaba ugize uruhare mu kwemeza ibisanzweho"²⁵.

F. Reyntjens amaze gusoma no kujora ingingo nyinshi z'umushinga w'itegeko nshinga, ahereye ku bintu byinshi bidahwitse ndetse n'ibyuhoro bya tekini, yibajije "niba u Rwanda rugira abanyamategeko bazobereye mu buhanga bwo gukora amategeko nshinga"; akomeza agira ati: "Nubwo rigaragara neza urebeye inyuma, iri si itegeko nshinga. Urebeye mu nyandiko wumva ko abaryanditse bagendeye ku bikorwa inzibacyuho irimo. Mu yandi magambo, iri tegeko nshinga rishobora gukora aruko ibiganza bifite ubuyobozi bigumye kuba ibibufite uyu munsi (...) si inshuro ya mbere u Rwanda rwemeza itegeko nshinga ribereye kandi ryadozwe hakurikijwe ibipimo byatanze n'abari ku butegegi"²⁶.

²⁵ International Crisis Group, "Fin de transition au Rwanda: une libération politique nécessaire", Nairobi/Bruxelles, 13 Novembre 2002, p.9.

²⁶ Reyntjens P., *Analyse de l'avant-projet de constitution de la République rwandaise*,

Concertation Permanante de l'Opposition Démocratique Rwandaise (CPODR) ihuza amashyirahamwe menshi ya poritiki anenga ubutegetsi bwa Kigali, yateye utwatsi imitegurire n'imigendekere y'itegeko nshinga ndetse n'amatora "byatangijwe, ntawe bubajije, n'ubutegetsi bwa Kigali binyuze mu buriganya n'imyumvire y'amarangamutima (...) bidafite aho bihuriye n'ukuri kw'ibikorwa"²⁷.

7.1.9. Kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi

Umuminisitiri umwe wa Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu avuga ku mikorere y'ubuyobozi basanze mu gihugu yagize ati: "Twahasanze ubuyobozi bwa MRND (...) intege nke z'ubwo buyobozi zari ko bwari ubw'igitugu (...). Igisubizo cyabaye kugumishaho by'agateganyo izo nzego ariko zikavugururwa vuba. Uyu munsu, byarakozwe. Guha ijamba abaturage no gushishikariza abayobozi kwegereza abaturage; uwo ni wo mwihariko wa FPR"²⁸.

Icyari kigamijwe muri poritiki yo kwegereza abaturage ubuyobozi, agashya nyamukuru, kwari ugutuma abaturage bagira uruhare rufatika mu mpaka ku bintu bibareba no guhatira abatowe n'abaturage kubagezaho amakuru asobanura izo mpaka no kubafasha gufata ibyemezo bazi mpamvu. Kwegereza abaturage ibikorwa bijyana no kubegereza imari, ibikoresho n'abakozi. Kwegereza ubutegetsi abaturage ntibibafasha gusa kwitorera abayobozi, ahubwo binabafasha kubagenzura, byaba na ngombwa kubahana babakuraho.

Ni poritiki nshya, y'urugendo rwo gukuraho ibintu byari bimenyerewe mu buyobozi butegereye abaturage, buzwiho gutanga amabwiriza binyuranye no muri serivisi zegerejwe abaturage no mu baturage ubwabo bamenyerewe guhabwa amabwiriza. Nyamara, kuba bamwe mu bayobozi bo hasi bakagombye kuba inkingi zo kwegereza ubutegetsi abaturage, batabona imishahara bishobora kuba inzitizi ikomeye y'igikorwa ntagereranywa cyo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage.

Anvers, le 11 février 2003, pp. 8-9.

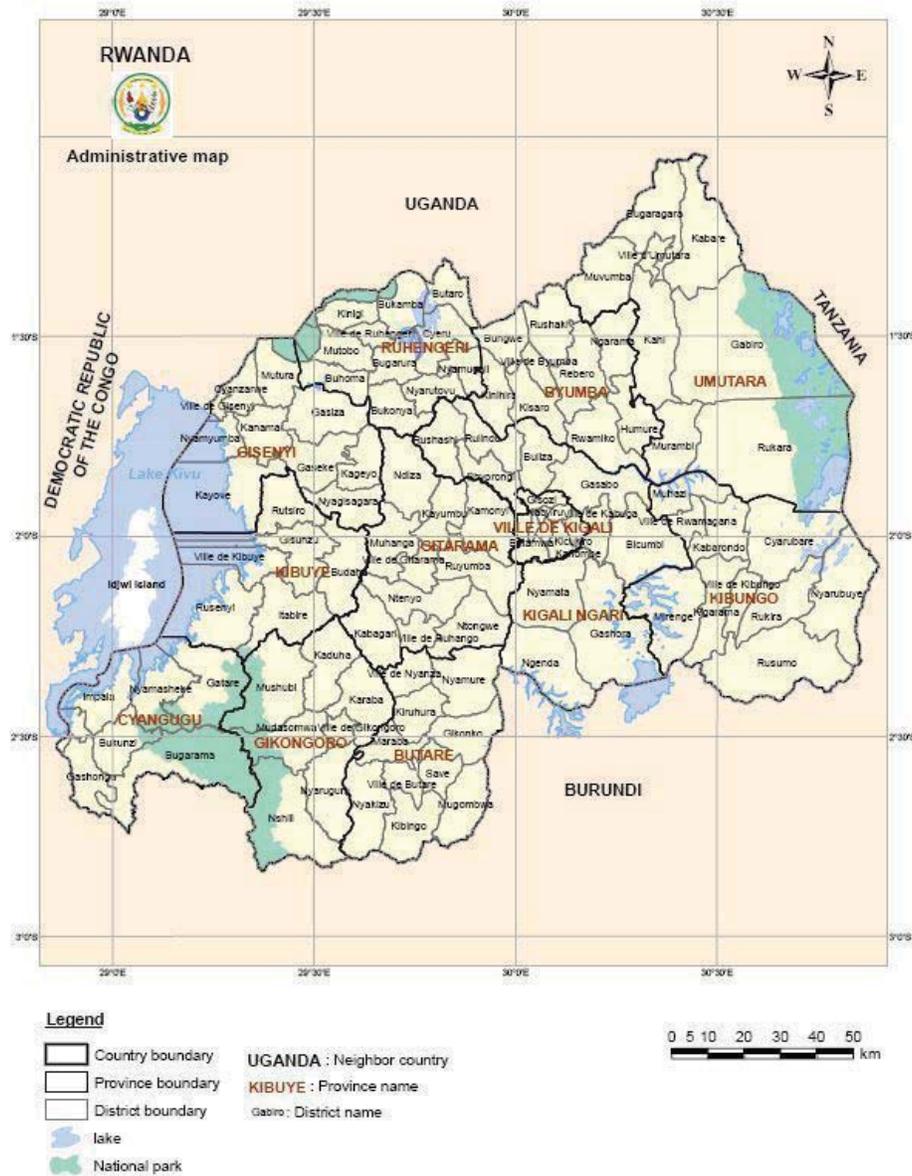
²⁷ Sebasoni S., "La contestation du régime rwandais dans la diaspora", muri *Grand Lacs hebdo*, Février 2003.

²⁸ Muligande C., "Les propos de l'ancien secrétaire général du FPR et ancien Ministre des Affaires Étrangères et de la Coopération Régionale", in *Grand Lacs Hebdo*, février 2003, p. 11.

Hagendewe ku mikorere yari imaze kumenyerwa, poritiki yo kwegereza ubutegetsi abaturage yemejwe nyuma yo kungurana ibitekerezo no kuganira n'abaturage. Mu mwaka wa 2002, Minisiteri y'Ubutetegetsi bw'Igihugu, yashinzwe mu wa 1999, yashyize ahagaragara inyandiko yitwa "poritiki y'igihugu yo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage" yakurikiwe, mu wa 2002, na "poritiki y'iterambere rusange" umuntu yahina ibitekerezo by'ibanze bikubiye muri iyo poritiki ndangamikorere ku buryo bukurikira:

- Gufasha abaturage kugira uruhare mu gufata ibyemezo ku nzego zose;
- Gufasha abaturage kwihitiramo ku mudendezo abayobozi bazi neza;
- Guha umusingi ukomeye gahunda yo gukorera mu mucyo, bityo hakabaho kurwanya imikorere mibi mu gucunga iby'abaturage; guteza imbere uburinganire bwa bose imbere y'amategeko. Kugira ngo iyo poritiki ikorwe neza, Guverinoma yashyizeho inzego eshatu: ubuyobozi bukuru, ubuhagarariye ubuyobozi bukuru bw'igihugu (intara), n'ubuyobozi bwegereye abaturage (uturere n'imigi), ndetse bongera kugena ibice by'ubuyobozi hagendewe ku mibereho yabyo;
- Guhamagarira minisiteri kwikuraho buhorobuhoro zimwe mu shingano zigahabwa inzego zihagarariye ubuyobozi bukuru n'izegerejwe abaturage ndetse bikajyana no koherezayo abakozi, uburyo bw'ibikoresho n'umutungo nk'ibyiciro bimwe na bimwe by'amahoro n'imisoro. Haracyari kare gupima icyo byahinduye ndetse n'inyungu n'inzitizi zishobora kuba zaratewe n'iyi poritiki. Umuntu yavuga gusa bimwe mu bintu bitangiye kugaragara.

Ikarita ya 13 : Uturere tw'imiyoborere y'u Rwanda (2001)



Inyungu z'iyi poritiki zigaragarira mu gukorera hamwe mu gihe cyo gufata ibyemezo hagati ya nyanama na komite nyobozi, ubuyobozi bw'ibanze bwegereye abaturage kandi bubasha kubakemurira ibibazo (ubumwe), kuko abaturage b'amoko yose agira uruhare mu gushyiraho no kugenzura abayobozi, ariko cyanecyane kuko bigira kandi bagafatira hamwe ibyemezo kuri gahunda n'ibikorwa bifatika bibareba.

Poritiki yo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage yari ifite kandi imbogamizi cyangwa inzitizi zishoboka, ari zo: urwego rw'amashuri, urwego rw'imibereho no kubura akamenyero ko kwitabira amahuriro byashoboraga gutuma igice cy'abaturage kitayitabira ; icyubahiro n'umuco wo gushaka gutegeka byose wagaragaraga ku myanya imwe n'imwe byashoraga gutuma abari muri iyo myanya badatuma kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage bigira umumaro wabyo; ubukene bwa tumwe mu duce twegerejwe abaturage tudashobora kwibonera umutungo watwo mu rwego rw'iterambere ry'abaturage batwo tutitabaje izindi ngufu (Leta n'abaterankunga); kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage ntibiteganyanya ikintu cyo kwita kuri bamwe mu bayobozi bo hasi.

7.1.10. Poritiki yo hanze y'igihugu

Aha Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yagombaga guhanga udushya muri poritiki yayo yo hanze y'igihugu kurenza izindi nzego. Kubera iyo mpamvu byasabaga kubanza kumenya ibyangiritse n'inzitizi kugira ngo higwe poritiki ndangamikorere hitawe kandi ku bintu bishobora kuyifasha.

Nyuma ya jenocide, izina Rwanda ntiryibutsaga ikirere kiza cyarwo, ubwiza bwarwo, umuco warwo unoze, cyangwa ubwemarare bw'ababyinnyi barwo *'intore'* begukana ibikombe mu isi hose. U Rwanda rwari rwahindutse igihugu k'imipanga, aho nyamwinshi y'Abahutu yahisemo *igisubizo cya nyuma* kugira ngo yikize burundu nyamuke y'Abatutsi.

Umurimo wa mbere wa Diporomasi ya Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu wagombaga kuba uwo kwereka isi uburyo ubuyobozi bubu bwubutse ubutwererane n'ibihugu byakataje muri demokarasi no mu migenzereze myiza mu isi nk'Umuryango w'Abibumbye, amadini, n'ibindi. Ubwo buyobozi bwubakiraga ibikorwa byabwo kuri poritiki yo guheza, ibibi iyo poritiki yakoze ku manywa y'ihangu bikaba byuzuye amateka y'u Rwanda rwigenga. Nta muntu n'umwe wakemanga ubwo buyobozi cyangwa ngo agerageze kubwamagana ku mugaragaro mu bihugu byateye imbere. Jenocide yo mu wa 1994, yatangijwe kera, ni igikorwa cyumvikana cya poritiki ya Leta. Akazi ka mbere ka Guverinoma kari ako kugaragaza ko Abanyarwanda batangiyeye kubana, bongeye gusana ubumwe bwabo nk'abanyagihugu, batangije igikorwa cy'ubwiyunge no kubaka igihugu kigendera kuri demokarasi, Leta yiyemeje kubaha amasezerano yose

mpuzamahanga arebana n'uburenganzira bwa muntu. Kubera iyo mpamvu Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yohereje intumwa mu isi yose.

Indi mbogamizi ikomeye yari iyo kubasha gukora diporomasi yigenga. Nubwo u Rwanda rwabonye ubwigenge mu wa 1962, rwagumye kuba indagizo ya Kiriziya gatorika, u Bubirigi nyuma haza kwiyongeraho u Bufaransa. Diporomasi yarwo yakomeje gukorera mu kwaha kw'izindi diporomasi, iz'abari baruragiye, bafunze amaso, bagahishira ibyaha cyangwa barushyigikiye mu bikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byo mu ntambara y'abanyagihugu yo mu wa 1990-1994 na none bagashyigikira ubutegetsi bwatsinzwe mu buhunzi kugira ngo buzagaruke mu Rwanda.

Guverinoma nshya ikimara kwinjira mu ruhande mpuzamahanga, yagaragaje ukwigenga kwayo haba mu Muryango w'Abibumbye, Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika no mu zindi nzego mpuzamahanga. Bityo ambasaderi wa mbere w'ubutegetsi bushya yatangariye mumuryango w'Abibumbye ko "U Rwanda ari igihugu kigenga, ko atari u Bufaransa bugomba kugaragaza aho ruhagaze (...) nk'uko bubikorera ibindi bihugu bikoresha ururimi rw'igifaransa byo muri Afurika". Ibyavuzwe n'intumwa z'u Rwanda muri iyo miryango mpuzamahanga inyuranye ntibyongeye guhesha agaciro n'ishema u Rwanda gusa, ahubwo byagahesheje Afurika yose.

Abafatanyabikorwa b'u Rwanda benshi, bari bamenyereye imikorere ya Repubulika ya mbere n'ya kabiri byarabagoye kumenyera ibyo ubutegetsi bushya kwasabaga dore ko bwari bufite ihame ry'ibanze *kubaha ubusugire bw'igihugu*. Birakwiye kwibutsa ko imikorere mpuzamahanga yarurwanyaga kubera impamvu zinyuranye. Abafatanyabikorwa bashyigikiraga byimazeyo ubutegetsi bwatsinzwe, nta kindi bashoboraga gukora uretse kurwanya u Rwanda. Abitiranyaga nyamwinshi/nyamuke y'ubwoko na nyamwinshi/nyamuke ya poritiki bari mu gice cyatsinzwe nta kindi bashoboraga uretse guhamagarira cyangwa kwihutisha ihirima ry'ubutegetsi buriho. Bamwe baracyabihararira bashishikaye²⁹.

Iruhande rw'izo ngufu zarurwanyaga hari, ku rundi ruhande, ingufu zari ziyemeje kwamagana ibyaha byakozwe mu Rwanda

²⁹ IDC., *Rapport succinct concernant la rencontre de Bukavu sur le thème crucial du retour des réfugiés rwandais*, 23-28 octobre 1994.

n'ingaruka zabyo. Inyandiko zinyuranye z'abanyamakuru, abanditsi, abahanzi, abarimu muri za Kaminuza, n'abandi³⁰.

Aha twakwibutsa igikorwa cy'abanditsi b'Abanyafurika bavuze ku kaga kagwiriye u Rwanda bafatiye ku nsanganyamatsiko yiswe “*écrire pour devoir de mémoire*” (kwandika nk'inshingano yo kwibuka). Hari kandi firime nyinshi zakozwe ku ishyano ryagwiriye u Rwanda.

Mu ntambara yayo ya diporomasi, Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'igihugu yibanze ku bihugu bituranyi. Haza mbere na mbere Zayire; Umubano n'icyo gihugu wari mubi kubera abaturage ba Zayire bavuga ikinyarwanda bagirirwaga nabi Leta yabigizemo uruhare, abanyamahirwe babashije guhungira mu Rwanda, kubera impunzi zakoraga imyitozo ya gisirikare kandi zikagura intwaro kugira ngo zizatere u Rwanda, kubera kandi ibitero shuma by'ubwicanyi byaterwaga mu Rwanda biturutse muri Zayire. Ubuyobozi bw'ibihugu byombi bwabashije kumvikana byatumye Zayire isubizwa indege yayo yafatiriwe mu Rwanda, u Rwanda na rwo rugasubirana kajugujugu n'ibindi bikoresho bya gisirikare byari byajyanywe n'abahoze ari abasirikare b'u Rwanda. Izo ngufu za diporomasi nyamara ntizabashije kubuza ko haba amakimbirane ubugira kabiri.

Mu makimbirane n'u Buganda, guhura kenshi hagati y'abahagarariye ibihugu byombi byatumye bihosha. Binyuranye no muri Zayire na Tanzaniya, u Burundi bwabashije gucunga inkambi z'impunzi, mu gihe impande zombi byarebega zumvaga ko gikwiye, impunzi zaratashye.

Umubano na Tanzaniya wakomeje kuba mwiza. Uwo mubano washimangiwe no kongera kubyutsa umushinga wo kubaka umuhanda ujya ku cyambu cya Isaka, kubaka inzira ya gari ya moshi Tanzaniya-Uganda-Rwanda-Burundi-RDC, gutanga ikibanza cyo kubakamo ububiko bw'ibicuruzwa biza mu Rwanda.

³⁰ Gouteux J.-P. , *La nuit rwandaise. Implication française dans le dernier génocide du siècle*, Izuba-Esprit frappeur, 2002; Verschave F.-X., *Complicité de genocide? La politique de la France au Rwanda*, la Découverte, 1994; Les temps modernes, *Les politiques de la haine. Rwanda, Burundi 1994- 1995*; Hertzfeld J., *Dans la nue de la vie. Récit des marrais rwandais*, Paris, Seuil, 1999; Hertzfeld J., *Une saison de machettes. Récits*, Seuil, 2003; Kayimahe V., *France-Rwanda: Les coulisses du génocide-Témoignage d'un rescapé*, Esprit frappeur-Dogorno, 2003; Dupaquier F. (dir.), *La justice internationale face au drame rwandais*, Paris, Kharthala, 1996.

Uretse abaturanyi ba bugufi, Guverinoma yongeye gufungura ambasade n'abahagarariye inyungu zarwo byari bisanzwe, ifungura n'izindi hakurikijwe inyungu z'igihugu. Yashimangiye kandi umubano wayo n'imiryango mpuzamahanga ishamikiye kuri za Leta (by'umwihariko Umuryango w'Abibumbye n'amashami yawo n'imiryango nyafurika n'iyi mu karere) n'idashamikiye kuri Leta. U Rwanda rwasezeye muri imwe mu miryango.

U Rwanda rwasubukuye imikoranire n'abaterankunga kugira ngo rubashe gutangiza gahunda yo kongera kubaka inzego zose z'igihugu. Bamwe muri bo, bumvaga ibibazo byihariye by'igihugu, bahise basubiza, u Rwanda na rwo rwagobotse mu gikorwa cy'ubuhuza nko muri Tanzaniya mu kibazo cy'u Burundi no muri Etiyopiya na Eritereya mu makimbirane y'imipaka hagati yabyo.

U Rwanda rwakiriye kandi abantu banyuranye bakomeye (muri bo harimo Julius Nyerere na Nelson Mandela) n'intumwa z'amahanga ndetse runemeza ba ambasaderi n'abahagarariye imiryango mpuzamahanga, by'umwihariko abo mu Muryango w'Abibumbye bagize kandi bagikomeza kugira uruhare runini mu kongera kubaka u Rwanda. Birakwiye kwibutsa kuri iyi ngingo ko igikorwa cyo kwemeza ko ubwicanyi bwakozwe mu Rwanda bukorewe Abatutsi ari jenocide ndetse kuba ONU yarashyizeho urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga, nta gushidikanya byabaye nk'indishyi y'akababaro.

Byongeye kandi, Umuryango w'Abibumbye washyizeho komisiyo yigenga yo kwiga ibyakozwe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye mu Rwanda. Raporo y'iyi komisiyo yanzuye ko Umuryango w'Abibumbye wateshutse ku nshingano zawo mu Rwanda, maze itanga inama zinyuranye harimo iyo gusaba imbabazi u Rwanda, izo nama zose zemewe n'Umuryango w'Abibumbye³¹. Boutros Boutros Ghali ndetse n'uwamusimbuye ku mwanya w'Umunyabanga mukuru w'Umuryango w'Abibumbye basabye u Rwanda ndetse n'Abanyarwanda imbabazi ku mugaragaro. Kofi Annan we yarengejeho asaba ibihugu bigize ONU ko byakunama tariki ya 7 Mata byibuka ishyano ryagwiriyeye u Rwanda. Yateguye kandi i New York n' i Genève urugendo mu rwego rwo kwibuka ku nshuro ya cumi jenocide. Gusaba imbabazi byakozwe kandi

³¹ ONU, *Commission d'enquête indépendante pour examiner l'action des Nations Unies au Rwanda, 1990-1994*. B

na Minisitiri w'intebe w'u Bubirigi. Yari yaje i Kigali kwitabira imihango yo kwibuka ku nshuro ya cumi jenoside, yagize ati "Mu izina ry'igihugu cyange, n'abaturage bange, mbasabye imbabazi". Mbere yo kuba Minisitiri w'Intebe yagize uruhare mu kwandika raporo ya komisiyo y'inteko ishingira amategeko y'Ababirigi ku mahano yagwiriyeye u Rwanda.

Umuryango w'Ubumwe bw'Afurika na wo wakoze raporo nziza y'iperereza kuri "jenoside yo mu wa 1994 mu Rwanda n'ingaruka zayo". Twavugaga kandi ko inteko ishingira amategeko y' u Bufaransa yakozwe raporo mu wa 1998 ku butabazi bw'u Bufaransa mu Rwanda. Nubwo iyo raporo itagaragaza uruhare rw'u Bufaransa mu bikorwa byabo mu Rwanda, irimo nyamara amakuru y'ingirakamaro cyane yakoresheye³².

Mu kwanzura, umuntu yakwemeza ko umuhate wa diporomasi y'u Rwanda, imirongo migari yayo yashyizweho mu wa 1995/1996, watanze umusaruro: isura nshya y'u Rwanda yarigaragaje buhorobuhoro, ibitekerezo by'u Rwanda birumvwa mu nama mpuzamahanga, umubano ukomeye warubatswe haba hagati y' u Rwanda n'ibindi bihugu kimwe ukwacyo, cyangwa ibihugu byinshi, igihugu kigira uruhare mu butumwa bw'imishyikirano no kubungabunga amahoro, twavugaga kandi ko u Rwanda rutanga ikizere kuko rwakira buri gihe inama mpuzamahanga n'izo mu karere zo mu rwego rwo hejuru.

7.1.11. Amakimbirane yo mu karere

Nubwo hari umuhate wo kuvugurura diporomasi, u Rwanda ntirwabashije kwirinda intambara ebyiri rwarwanye na Zayire n'amakimbirane yihishe n'u Buganda.

a. Intambara zombi za Kongo

Guhera muri Nyakanga 1994, ibibazo by'ingorabahizi byerekeranye n'umutekano w'u Rwanda byaberaga muri Zayire yari yongeye kubatizwa Repubulika iharanira Demokarasi ya Kongo (RDC) mu wa 1997. Bayobowe kandi barinzwe n'ingabo z'Abafaransa zo mu gikorwa cya Turukwaze, izahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda zigera ku bihumbi 50.000 n'ibihumbi 20.000 by'imitwe yitwara gisirikare *Interahamwe - n'impuzamugambi* bambutse umupaka wa Zayire bivanze n'impunzi, bari bafite

³² Parlement français, *Rapport sur l'intervention de la France au Rwanda*, 1998.

intwano kandi ubona byateguwe. Ibikoresho byabo bya gisirikare byaje kwiyongera kubera ko batewe inkunga n'u Bufaransa n'abajenerari ba Mobutu babonaga muri icyo gikorwa isoko y'imari batari biteguye, tutibagiwe inkunga y'ubutabazi mpuzamahanga yahise ihindurwamo "umusanzu w'intambara".

Impunzi zari zirangajwe imbere n'abayobozi bo mu rwego rwa poritiki, ubuyobozi busanzwe ndetse na gisirikare babategekaga kugurisha igice k'ibyo kurya bahabwaga ngo batange umusanzu w'intambara (umusanzu wa buri kwezi wari amadorari 1, 2 ku mpunzi). Bamwe mu bageragezaga kugaruka mu Rwanda bahitaga bicirwa aho mu rwego rwo guca intege abandi bashoboraga kubuririraho. Impunzi zihinduka gutyo ingwate n'inkambi zazo ziba icyuzi cyo kurobamo abantu bo kujya mu gisirikare gishya cyarimo kubakwa.

Ikibazo cy'umutekano cyaragaragaraga kandi gikomereye u Rwanda. Mu wa 1995 abahoze ari abasirikare b'u Rwanda batangiye gucengeza abarwanyu mu Rwanda. Igikorwa cyari kiboroheye kuko inkambi z'impunzi zari zirimo kandi inzego za gisirikare zakoze jenocide, zari mu birometero bike (rimwe na rimwe kirometero 1 uvuye ku mupaka w'u Rwanda binyuranye n'amasezerano mpuzamahanga arebana n'impunzi).

Hagati ya 1995 na 1996, imyiteguro ya gisirikare yari imaze kunoga ku rundi ruhande rw'umupaka. Mu Rwanda, ibihuha bishingiye ku makuru yaturukaga mu nkambi byavugaga igihe igitero karundura gitererwa ku Rwanda. Ingabo z'abajenosideri zari zubatse bya gihanga. Hari diviziyo ebyiri muri Kivu y'Amajyaruguru n'iy'Amagepfo; yari igabanyijemo amaburigade na batayo, hakaba ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo i Mugunga ndetse n'ubuyobozi bukuru kuri buri rwego. Umubare wazo warutaga uw'ingabo za APR.

➤ **Igikorwa cya mbere cya gisirikari muri Kongo yitwaga Zayire (18 Ukwakira 1996-17 Gicurasi 1997): icyabiteye n'itego**

Hari ku itariki ya 19 Ukwakira 1996 ubwo intambara yatangiraga ku mugaragaro mu karere ka Uvira hagati y'ingabo za Zayire (Force Armées Zaïroises - FAZ) n'abarwanyu ba "Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo-Zaïre (AFDL). Iyo mirwano yabanjirijwe n'igikorwa cy'urugomo rwakorerwaga Abanyamurenge, Abatutsi batuye muri Kivu y'Amagepfo hashize

ibinyejana bibiri. Urwo rugomo rwakorwaga n'abayobozi bo muri ako gace (komiseri wa zone ya Uvira, Guverineri wa Kivu y'Amagepfo n'abandi) bafatanije n'abayobozi bo hejuru mu nzego za poritiki na gisirikare. Intagondwa z'Abahutu b'Abarundi n'Abanyarwanda bari muri ako gace na bo binjiye muri icyo gikorwa cyo guhiga Abatutsi. Umubare nyawo w'iryo kubura ry'ubwoko ntiwagaragajwe. Intambara ya AFDL yagaragaye mu bihe bya mbere nk'iy'Abanyamurenge barwanyaga poritiki yo kubarimbura. Nyamara intego z'iyi intambara zari zirenze izo.

AFDL mu by'ukuri yashinzwe muri Kanama 1996 mu nzu y'umuntu ku giti ke ku Kacyiru, nubwo amategeko ayishyiraho ku buryo bwemewe ari ho izina rya Remera (hafi ya Uvira). Iyo nzu yaje gukomeza kuba inzu y'icumbi ridahoraho rya AFDL na RCD, nyuma yaho. Iryo huriro ryari rigizwe n'imitwe ya poritiki ine: *Le Parti de la Révolution populaire* (PRP) ya L.-D. Kabila, *Alliance Démocratique des Peuples* (ADP) rya Déogratias Bugera, *Le Mouvement Révolutionnaire pour la Libération du Zaïre* (MRLZ) rya Masasu Nindaga ndetse na *Conseil National de Résistance pour la Démocratie* (CNRD) rya Kisase Ngandu.

Mu rwego rwa gisirikare, imyiteguro yatangiye mu gice cya mbere cy'umwaka wa 1996. Habaye guhura hagati y'abayobozi b'igisirikare cy'u Rwanda n'ibyahoze ari imitwe yitwara gisirikare ya Mai-Mai na Bangilima yo muri Kivu, abarwanyi bayo bahabwa imyitozo mu karere ka Gisenyi. Abasirikare bo muri APR bari bazi Zayire batoranyijwe mu mitwe yose kugira ngo bage mu ngabo nshya ziteguye kujya kurwanira muri Zayire igihe kigeze. Gucengera ku buryo bwimbitse byarateguwe mu rwego rwo kwinjira mu nkambi z'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zo muri Kivu y'Amagepfo n'iy'Amajyaruguru.

Igihe intambara yari itangiye mu wa 1996, ibyari bigambiriwe n'u Rwanda ni ibi bikurikira: gusenya inkambi z'impunzi no gucyura izo mpunzi mu Rwanda, gusenya inzego za gisirikare z'abahoze ari ingabo za FAR n'*Interahamwe-Impuzamugambi*. Intego ya gatatu yo guhirika Mobutu, ntiyagaragaraga neza mu ntangiriro y'iki gikorwa. Mu kiganiro yagiranye na *Washington Post* tariki ya 9 Nyakanga 1997, Generari Majoro Paul Kagame, wari Visi Perezida akaba na Minisitiri w'Ingabo yemeje neza ko yari intego ya gatatu "yaguye" y'intambara. Nyamara, abandi bantu babikurikirira hafi batekereza ko ihirima rya Mobutu ritazaga mu ntego zo ku ikubitiro.

Insinzi nini n'ukwihuta byagaragaye mu isenywa ry'inkambi z'impunzi n'inzego za gisirikare z'abajenosideri nta kabuza byateye u Rwanda akanyabugabo ko gukurikirana intego ya gatatu. Iyi ntego yatangaga ikizere cyo kubungabunga ibyagezweho n'intego ebyiri z'ibanze. Kuba ingabo za Mobutu zitarigeze zihangana ndetse no kuba abaturage ba Zayire burumvaga neza cyane inyeshyamba zafatwaga nk'izivuye mu ijuru, byabaye ibirungo ntagereranywa.

Hirya y'intego z'u Rwanda mu ntambara ya AFDL, birakwiye kuvuga ku buryo bwihuse icengezamatwara ryarwitiriraga ribifashijwemo n'itangamakuru³³:

- Gushyiraho "Umuhora" w'agace "karangwamo imirwano" ku mupaka w'u Rwanda na Zayire kugira ngo rwirinde ibitero by'izahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare. icyo gitekerezo cyavuzwe igihe kirekire na Guverinoma ya Zayire ya Kengo wa Dondo³⁴ ;
- Kwigarurira Kivu ikomekwa ku Rwanda byahagurukije bamwe mu bahezanguni banga urunuka Abatutsi muri Kongo no mu isi. Inyandiko itari yo, yiswe "Amaserano ya Remera", yarahimbwe mu rwego rwo gushimangira icyo gitekerezo bagaragaza ko ari cyo kiguzi cyumvikanyweho hagati y'inyeshyamba zo muri Kongo za AFDL n'Abanyarwanda mu rwego rwo kubafasha kurwanya Mobutu. icyo gitekerezo kijya gusa n'ihange ryamamaye ry'ubwami bw'abami Hima-Tutsi ryazanywe n'abo bantu³⁵ ;
- Kuvoma umutungo w'amabuye y'agaciro ya Kongo ni kimwe mu bisobanuro bitangwa kuba k'u Rwanda muri Kongo. Komisiyo yo kugenzura ubusahuzi bw'umutungo bukorwa n'ingabo zariyo yashyizweyo na ONU. Bigaragara ko u Bufaransa bwari bubyihishe inyuma, iyi komisiyo yashyize ahagaragara raporo ya mbere itarumvikanyweho kubera ko "itakoranywe ubuhanga" kandi "ibogamye". Raporo ya kabiri na yo yasabwe n'umuyamabanga mukuru wa ONU, wanagombye guhindura abagize iyo komisiyo;
- Gutsemba impunzi z'Abahutu ni indi ntego yitiriwe u Rwanda, bikavugwa n'abantu bamwe na bamwe mu gihe k'igitero cya AFDL. Nyuma y'ibyumweru bike imirwano

³³ Braeckman C., *Les nouveaux prédateurs. Politique des puissances en Afrique centrale*, Fayard, 2003

³⁴ Kengo wa Dondo, *Discours au sommet de l'OUA de Lomé en 1997*

³⁵ Kamanda wa Kamanda, Discours du Ministre zaïrois des Affaires étrangères au sommet des Ministres de l'OUA à Lomé, préparatoire à celui des chefs d'États et de Gouvernements, in *International*, no 301, Février 1997.

itangiye, uwiyeze kuba Minisitiri w'ubutwererane w'u Bugaransa Bernard Debré, yageze aho atanga igitekerezo cyo "kongera guca imipaka, kugira ngo iruhande rw'igihugu cy'Abatutsi, hashyirweho igihugu cy'Abahutu (un hutuland)". "Niba imipaka itongeye gucibwa hazapfa miriyoni y'Abanyarwanda" ni ko yababuriraga³⁶.

Ni uruhe ruhare rukuru u Rwanda rwagize mu gikorwa cyo kurwanya Mobutu? "Si benshi bemeraga ko Mobutu nta ngufu yari afite koko": uko ni ko P. Kagame yabwiye umunyamakuru wa *Washington Post* muri Nyakanga 1997. "Batekerezaga Mobutu nk'igikoko kitashoboraga gutsindwa, n'ikigofero ke kinini n'igikoni ke kinini". Batekerezaga buri gihe mu myumvire y'"u Rwanda ruto" na "Zayire nini". «usa, ubwo twari tumaze gutangira ni ho babashije kureba ikarita no kubona ko bishoboka».

Muri icyo kiganiro, ni ubwa mbere umuyobozi wo mu rwego rwo hejuru yemeraga ku mugaragaro uruhare rw'u Rwanda muri icyo ntambara, Jenerari Majoro Paul Kagame yemeye "uruhare rukomeye rw'u Rwanda mu guhirika Perezida Mobutu" atangaza ko "ari u Rwanda rwateguye, rukanayobora inyeshyamba zahiritse umusaza w'umunyagitugu"; ko ari abasirikari bakuru n'ingabo z'u Rwanda bayoboye abarwanyirwaho b'inyeshyamba; ko 'ingabo z'u Rwanda zagize uruhare mu gufata byibura imigi ine y'ingenzi ari yo Kinshasa, Kenge, Kisangani na Lubumbashi"; kandi ko «u Rwanda rwahaye izo nyeshyamba imyitozo n'intwari mbere y'urugamba rwo guhirika Marishari Mobutu mu Kwakira 1996».

Ashyigikiye n'ibihugu by'ibihangange by'i Burayi ahagana mu myaka ya 1960, Mobutu yabashije kwigaragaza nk'urwandiko rw'abaturage yabatije Abazayirwa. Nta gitangaje kuba ihirikwa rye ryarabaye ikintu gihambaye mu mateka y'isi. Uruhare rw'u Rwanda muri icyo gikorwa, ahubwo ntirwashimwe ukurikije agaciro kacyo kubera impamvu zuzuzuye: kuba u Bugaransa bwarakirwanyaga, ingengabitekerezo y'ironyamoko yo kwanga Abatutsi itutumba mu karere kandi itangiye gukwira mu isi, cyanecyane inari ge y'abaturage ba Kongo (Abazayirwa) bumva ko basuzuguye, babohorwa n'agahugu gato nk' u Rwanda.

³⁶ Debré B., *Le retour du Mwami. La vraie histoire des génocides rwandais*, Paris, Ramsay, 1998, p. 107.

Bamwe mu basesengura bashatse koroshya urwo ruhare bavuga ko habaye “ubufatanye bwaguye bw’akarere’ mu guhirika Mobutu n’ubugambanyi bw’Amerika. Ni byo koko, “gukorera hamwe mu karere” byabayeho mu rwego rwo gufasha AFDL. Ariko byatangijwe n’u Rwanda kugira ngo bihe igikorwa cyarwo ingufu za diporomasi zari zikenewe mu karere. Ni indi mpinduramatwara y’imyumvire ya diporomasi ku mugabane w’Afurika, aho ubwo buryo bwo gukorera hamwe no guterana inkunga ubusanzwe byaganirwagaho gusa n’ibihugu by’i Burayi. Ikindi gikorwa cy’u Rwanda cyabaye gusubiza agaciro uruhare rw’abayobozi b’Afurika mu gihe cyo gufata ibyemezo by’ingenzi ku mugabane.

Ababikurikiraniraga hafi benshi, bakiranye ibyishimo ako gashya. Asubiramo amagambo y’abambasaderi benshi b’Ubumuryango w’Ibihugu by’u Burayi i Kinshasa ndetse n’i Luanda, umunyamakuru wa *Nouvelle Afrique Asie* yagize ati: “Ibihugu by’Afurika byo mu karere byahisemo kugena ejo hazaza habyo no kutongera gutegereza uburenganzira bw’Abanyaburayi kugira ngo bigire icyo bikora. Ni impinduka mu mateka y’Afurika ndetse n’isomo ku bahoze babakoronije. Poritiki yo mu karere irimo gutera intambwe yihuta”³⁷.

Naho ubundi, u Rwanda ni nkaho ari rwo rwonyine rwikoreye umutwaro wose w’intambara. Yaba ari kamere yo gukunda intambara nk’uko bamwe bashatse kubyumvikanisha? Si byo na mba. Ahubwo inyungu ikomeye ni umutekano warwo no kubaho kwarwo byumvikana kandi bikomeye kuruta iby’abandi baturanyi ba RDC. Ngicyo igisobanura uruhare runini rw’u Rwanda muri icyo ntambara: ku buryo buziguze, hari uburemere nyabwo bw’abandi binjiyemo maze uruhare rwabo rugakabirizwa. Ibyo byabayeho kuri Angola yagize “uruhare rukuru mu ifatwa rya Kenge”, ikare ya nyuma y’ingabo za Mobutu mbere yo kugera mu mugi, yaravuzwe byimazeyo mu makuru menshi. Ukuri nyamara ni guto: “imfanshanyo y’Angola yabayeho cyane iy’ibikoresho. Naho ku rugamba batwoherereje abakomoka ku bajandarume b’i Kanta batari bashoboye, batanafite ikinyabupfura”. Uko ni ko umwe mu basirikare bakuru ba APR yatangaje.

Uruhare rw’u Buganda na rwo rwarakabirijwe. Museveni yari yijeje gutanga abasirikare 4.000 mbere y’intambara, imaze gutangira nta musirikare w’u Buganda warwanye cyangwa ngo

³⁷ *Nouvelle Afrique-Asie*, no 94- 95, Juillet–Août 1997.

akandagire ku butaka bwa Zayire kugeza Kinshasa yafatwa, uretse umusirikare wakoraga ku giti ke, atari mu butumwa bw'ingabo z'u Buganda (UPDF). Museveni nyamara yafashwe igihe kirekire nkaho ari we wateguye, akanayobora inyeshyamba zarwanyaga Mobutu. Kubera guharanira inarige, yakomeje kugumishaho urwo rujijo.

Abandi binjiyemo bagize uruhare ruto. Abanyamerika bavuzwe inshuro nyinshi nk'abafashije u Rwanda na AFDL mu gikorwa cyo kurwanya Mobutu. Uruhare rwabo ntirwamenyekanye neza. Ubuhamya buturuka muri APR busa n'ubuha agaciro gake uruhare rwabo. Eritereya, Etiyopiya, u Burundi na Zambia ni abandi bavugwa cyane ko bagizemo uruhare. Uburemere nyabwo bw'ibyo bakoze ntiburamenyekana. Ntawahakana ko kuba ibihugu byo mu karere byarumvaga neza ziriya nyeshyamba bitari mu byahiritse Mobutu.

➤ **Igikorwa cya kabiri cya gisirikari muri Kongo (2 Kanama 1998 –Ukwakira 2002)**

Umubano w'u Rwanda na Perezida L.-D. Kabila wasimbuye Mobutu wahise uba mubi. Kuba yarafashijwe n'u Rwanda gufata ubutegetsi, kuva mu ntangiriro byahise bimubera inzitizi nini ya poritiki mu maso ya rubanda. Abatavuga rumwe n'ubutegetsi bayobowe na UDPS ya Tshisekedi ndetse n'amashyirahamwe ategamiye kuri Leta bakomeje invugo yo kwanga Abatutsi ndetse banakomeza kumva ko kuba Kabila afashwa n'u Rwanda ari iturufu yo kumurwanya. Kabila na we ubwe yifuzaga kwikiza vuba na bwangu Abanyarwanda, yumvaga ko bamubangamiye. Ariko kuba atari afite abasirikare yigengaho, yagombye kwinginga u Rwanda ngo rumutize James Kabarebe nk'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo. Kabarebe yagumye muri RDC n'ikipe nto y'abasirikari 199 kugeza akuweho mu wa 1998.

Abaturage ba Kongo babifataga nk'agasuzuguro kubona umunyamahanga aba umugaba mukuru w'ingabo z'igihugu. icyo gikorwa cyabyukije inzika z'abibukaga Barthélemy Bisengimana Rwema wayoboye imyaka n'imyaka ibiro bya Mobutu. Bakoze ibishoboka byose ngo bikize Umututsi wari umuyobozi w'ibiro bya Perezida, kandi guhera ubwo batangiye guhiga abantu bafite ubwenegihugu bukemangwa, umuhigo wari wibasiye by'umwihariko Abatutsi. None dore Kabila ushyizwe ku butegetsi n'ingabo z'Abatutsi, ahaye ubuyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo

Umututsi. Bamwe bibazaga niba u Rwanda rutaribeshye rwemera uwo mwanya w'umugaba mukuru w'ingabo za Kongo.

U Rwanda rwahise rubona vuba ko rwangwaga nyuma yuko Kabila afata ubutegetsu, n'ikemezo cyo gucyura ingabo zarwo muri Kongo cyahise gifatwa, nyamara rwitondera kumenyesha ibindi bihugu bari bafatanyije mu karere kugira ngo bisimbure ingabo z'u Rwanda byohereza amakipe ya tekini. Tanzaniya yihutiye kohereza abigisha b'ingabo, ariko bigaragaje mu gikorwa cyo gushishikariza Abanyakongo kwanga Abatutsi n'Abanyarwanda. Batozaga abahoze ari abasirikari b'u Rwanda n'*Interahamwe* mu nkambi za Kitona ku buryo buzwi, bari bashinzwe gutoza abasirikari barinda Perezida Kabila. U Rwanda rwagombye kwihanangiriza Tanzaniya na Kabila, maze rusezeranywa ko icyo gikorwa kigayitse kigiye guhagarikwa.

Abarimu ba gisirikare ba Tanzaniya basimbuwe inshuro ebyiri, ariko igikorwa cyo kwanga Abatutsi n'u Rwanda nticyahagarara nubwo abayobozi ba Tanzaniya bakomeje kuvuga ko ari abere banarahira ko batigeze batanga ayo mabwiriza. Nyuma, komisiyo y'iperereza ihuriweho n'u Rwanda na Tanzaniya yagaragaje ko igikorwa cyo kwibasira u Rwanda n'Abatutsi cyakozwe n'abarimu ba gisirikare b'Abanyatanzaniya cyateguwe kandi kikayoborwa na Kabila ubwe. Bimurenze, asaba imbabazi Abanyarwanda, ariko bya nyirarureshwa.

Biragaragara ko Kabila yahisemo kwitandukanya bidasubirwaho n'Abanyarwanda. Yongera gutunganya buhorobuhoro imitegekere y'igisirikare, aha imyanya ikomeye n'iy'umutekano ibyegera bye. Gusuzugurana no kwangana bigenda bihabwa intebe hagati ye n'Abanyarwanda. Bamwe mu bantu bashaka gusebya u Rwanda bavuga ko hari igihe abasirikare bakuru b'u Rwanda bari i Kinshasa bashatse kumuhirika no kumusimbura, ariko bahura n'ikibazo gikomeye cyo kubona umusimbura. Ngo byarabagoye mu bushakashatsi bwinshi bakoze, kubona Umunyekongo ushobora kumusimbura. Hagati aho, Kabila na we yahoraga yiteguye, ndetse n'amayeri ye yo kwikiza Abanyarwanda yarushagaho kujya imbere. Yabashije guhura no gukangura abahoze ari abasirikare b'u Rwanda, ahita abaha ahantu ho gukorera imyitozo³⁸.

³⁸ Rutazibwa P., *Les crises des Grands Lacs et la question tutsi*, Edition du CRID, 199.

Kabila ashobora kuba yaribwiraga ko ashigikiye imitwe irwanya u Rwanda kandi ishobora kuzafata ubutegetsu i Kigali, azaba akemuye ikibazo ke cyo kwikiza abo bari bafatanije bari bamaze kuba ikibazo kandi anabashe gushimisha inzozi ze zitagaragaraga zo kuzaba umunsi umwe umuyobozi wo mu karere ukomeye kandi ufite ijamba ku kigero k'igihugu ke kinini.

Kwirukana James Kabarebe mu kazi mu mpera za Nyakanga 1998 no gutahuka kw'abasirikare ba nyuma b'Abanyarwanda baza i Kigali byari gihamya yo gutandukana hagati y'u Rwanda na Kongo. Tariki ya 2 Kanama 1998 hateye intambara ya Kabiri ya Kongo yatangajwe n'ubuyobozi bwa Burigade ya 408 i Goma, maze inyeshyamba zikwira vuba na bwangu mu gice gisigaye k'igihugu. Igitero k'indege i Kitona cyahuye n'ik'ingabo zari zasigaye mu nkengero za Kinshasa. Urugamba rurihuta muri Bas-Congo, Kinshasa igiye gufatwa, Angola na Zimbabwe bifata umwanzuro wo gutabara Kabila. Ubutegetsu bwe bwatabawe ku munota wa nyuma.

James Kabarebe n'abo bari kumwe bagotewe muri Bas-Congo. Bahitamo gusubira inyuma mu majyaruguru y'Angola aho, mu gihe cy'amezi abiri bagenzuraga igice kinini kuruta u Rwanda, batunganya ikibuga mpuzamahanga bagicanira hakoreshejwe moteri ari na cyo bakoresheje mu kuzana ibyo kurya n'ibikoreshe biturutse i Kigali ndetse no gucyura ingabo zabo zose i Kigali, n'inkomere kugera ku musirikare wa nyuma.

Inyeshyamba za RCD zakomeje kurwanira mu burasirazuba, ariko bigenda buhoro. Mu gihe cyo gusinya amaserano y'i Lusaka muri Nyakanga 1999, RCD-Goma yari yarafashe ibirenga kimwe cya kabiri cy'ubutaka bwa Kongo. Abayobozi b'u Rwanda bemeza ko "amaserano ya Lusaka yabaye mu gihe imirwano yari yoroheye u Rwanda na RCD". Ingabo zabo zendaga kwinjira i Kinshasa, nyamara, "ibihugu bikomeye by'inshuti byatugiriye inama yo kudakoza isoni akarere, kuko uko kugakoza isoni bishobora kutugiraho ingaruka mbi"³⁹.

Amaserano ya Lusaka yageze ku bintu bine by'ingenzi: 1) kwerekana Ex-FAR, Interahamwe n'inyeshyamba z'Abahutu z'i Burundi "nk'imitwe y'abagizi ba nabi" ; 2) Guhagarika imirwano; 3) kwigira inyuma k'urugamba (kwigira inyuma ho km15) kuri iyi ngingo, u Rwanda rwemeye ku giti cyarwo kwigira inyuma ho km

³⁹ Muligande C., Déclaration du 23 Mars 2002.

200; 4) gushyiraho komite ishinze gukurikirana ishyirwa mu bikorwa. Kimwe n'ayandi masezerano, amasezerano ya Lusaka yubahirijwe gake. Urupfu rwa L.-D. Kabila n'isimburwa rye na Joseph Kabila, umuhungu we, ntibyatumye yongera kuvugwa.

Amasezerano yasinyiwe i Pretoria tariki ya 30 Nyakanga 2002 hagati ya Kongo n'u Rwanda yavugaga by'umwihariko gutaha kw'ingabo z'u Rwanda ziva muri RDC ndetse no gufata no kohereza mu Rwanda ku ngufu inkozi z'ikibi z'Abanyarwanda zikorera muri RDC. Nubwo ku itariki ya 5 Ukwakira umusirikare wa nyuma w'u Rwanda yavuye muri RDC⁴⁰, uruhande rwa Kongo rugaragara ko rutashyizemo ubushake bwinshi mu kubahiriza ibyo rwemeye. Ni byo koko abasirikare babiri bakuru bashyikirijwe urukiko mpanabyaha mpuzamahanga na bamwe mu basirikare ndetse n'*Interahamwe-Impuzamugambi* bagaruwe mu Rwanda ariko igice kinini k'ingufu z'ikibi zo mu Rwanda zakomeje gukorera muri RDC babifashijwemo na Kinshasa kandi bakomeje kuba ikibazo ku Rwanda. Uhereye ku maserano yasinyiwe i Luanda tariki ya 6 Ukwakira hagati ya RDC n'u Buganda, ingabo z'u Buganda zatangiye, bitinze, kuva muri RDC.

Ubuhuza bwa Afurika y'epfo bwakoresheje inzira ebyiri: imishyikirano hagati y'ibihugu byombi Kongo n'u Rwanda ku ruhande rumwe; n'u Buganda kurundi ruhande. Inzira ya kabiri y'ubuhuza bw'Afurika y'epfo yibanze ku biganiro hagati y'Abanyekongo. Ibyo biganiro byatangiriye i Sun City, hagati y'Abanyekongo, byahatswe kutagira icyo ageraho inshuro nyinshi, byagize ibyiciro byinshi. Byatumye hashyirwaho inzego z'inzigabacyuho.

Amaserano yasinywe na L.-D. Kabila na P. Kagame yabereye i Pretoria tariki ya 30 Nyakanga 2002. U Rwanda rutangira gucyura ingabo zarwo guhera tariki ya 17 Nzeri 2002, rurangiza ibyo rwiyeje bivugwa mu maserano mbere y'igihe cyateganyijwe. Ku ruhande rwa Kongo, uko kwihuta ntakwagaragaye. Izahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda n'*Interahamwe* byakomeje gukorera ku butaka bwa Kongo nubwo habaye igikorwa cyo kubambura intwari (i Kamina) no gucyura bamwe by'urwiyerurutso,

⁴⁰ Kuba iryo taha ry'ingabo zose ryarakomeje guhakanwa, MONUC ntibyemeza cyangwa ngo ihakane ayo makuru. Umuhate wa MONUC na wo ntugaragara mu gushakisha no kohereza mu Rwanda "ingufu z'ikibi", ubutumwa yari yahawe n'amaserano y'i Pretoria.

bagamije kwerekana ko hari icyo bakoze. U Rwanda rwahisemo kugirana imishyikirano mu ibanga, nta ruhare rwa MONUC cyangwa Kinshasa, n'abayobozi b'inyeshyamba z'Abanyarwanda zikorera muri Kongo, imishyikirano yatumye haba gutahuka ku bushake k'umujenerari wo mu zahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda Paul Rwarakabije n'abari bamuherekeje tariki ya 15 Ugushyingo 2004.

➤ **Ibyagezweho n'ibikorwa bibiri bya gisirikare ku ruhande rw' u Rwanda**

Ibikorwa bibiri bya gisirikare muri Kongo byatanze umusaruro ufatika ku ruhande rw'u Rwanda mu rwego rw'umutekano. Amakuru aturuka mu buyobozi bw'u Rwanda yemeza ko igitero cyo mu wa 1996, impunzi zigera kuri 1,500,000 zacyuwe mu Rwanda ziva muri Zayire. Naho zigera ku bihumbi 300,000 zari zahungiyeye muri Tanzaniya zatashye mu Rwanda muri icyo gihe⁴¹. Na none, guhera mu 1998 ibikorwa bya APR muri Kongo byatumye hacyurwa impunzi 15 ku munsu ugereranije. "Iyo tutaza gutera Zayire ikibazo k'impunzi nticyari kuzapfa gikemutse" uko ni ko umugaba mukuru w'ingabo za APR yatangaje. Gucyura impunzi ku ngufu byatumye hakurwaho ibiguri byakurwagamo abarwanyu n'ibikorwa byo guhunganya umutekano by'abajenosideri. Ni byo koko, hari impunzi zasigaye muri Congo-Brazzaville, Afurika yo hagati no muri Zambiya. Ariko ntibari ibiguri bihambaye byavamo abarwanyu. Ndetse gutahuka kwabo mu Rwanda byaratangiye. Kugeza mu 2001 abajenosideri bari bageze aho binjiza mu gisirikare abana b'imyaka 9⁴².

Intambara ebyiri zarwanywe n' u Rwanda muri Zayire no muri RDC zacyemuye ikibazo cy'umutekano. Intambara ya mbere yaziye igihe. Nk'uko umugaba mukuru w'ingabo za APR yabitangaje "kwinjira kwacu muri Zayire mu wa 1996 byakorewe igihe. Twarabatsinze kuko twabatunguye. Ntitwari kubatsinda iyo intambara ibera imbere mu gihugu". Inzego za gisirikare z'ingabo

⁴¹ Ku binyuranye na benewabo bari bahungiyeye muri Kongo, abahungiyeye muri Tanzaniya ntibigeze bateza ikibazo cy'umutekano ku Rwanda kubera imyitwarire n'imigirire by'ubuyobozi bwa Tanzaniya: ibihumbi 7000 by'imbunda n'ibihumbi 50,000 by'imihoro byambuwe impunzi z'Abanyarwanda mbere yo kwambuka umupaka wa Tanzaniya mu wa 1994 kandi nta gikorwa cya gisirikare gifatika cyagaragaye mu nkambi.

⁴² Igikorwa "Oracle du Seigneur" cyakozwe n'ingabo z'abajenosideri muri Gicurasi 2001 mu Majyaruguru y'u Burengerazuba cyagaragaje uko kuri kubabaje. Ku bacengezi 2000 bafashwe, harimo umubare munini w'abana bato.

z'abajenosideri zarahangirikiye. Mu ntangiriro y'umwaka wa 2002, ibigereranyo bituruka mu buyobozi bukuru bw'ingabo za APR byashyiraga kuri 1/50 by'ingufu zari zisigaye ugereranyije n'izari zihari mu 1996. Ariko ubushobozi bwabo bwo kugira nabi ntibwarangiye. Mu mpera za 2002, Umuryango w'Abibumbye watangaga ikigereranyo k'ibihumbi 10 by'abahoze ari ingabo z'u Rwanda n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare y'Abanyarwanda bari bakiri muri RDC, nyamara abayobozi b'u Rwanda batangaga umubare w'ibihumbi 50000.

Bari bafite kandi inzego za poritiki na gisirikare zibitaho. RDR yagize ibihe byiza igihe mu inkambi z'impunzi yanabakuragamo abarwanyi ikanabona uko ibitaho. Nyuma yuko izo nkambi zisenywa RDR isimburwa na PALIR, n'amashami yayo ya gisirikare ALIR I (i Bukavu) na ALIR II (yakoreraga mu nzego z'ubuyobozi bwa gisirikare za RDC). Muri Congo Brazzaville no muri Centrafrique, FDLR ikomoka mu bahoze ari abasirikare barindaga Perezida ni rwo rwego rw'ubuyobozi ruzwi cyane.

Nyuma, FDLR yarongeye irabyutswa bisabwe n'ubuyobozi bw'i Kinshasa kugira ngo hazabeho ibiganiro byo kugabana ubutegetsi n'ubuyobozi bw'i Kigali mu rwego rwa gahunda ya DDRR. Ugereranyije n'indi mitwe, igitandukanya FDLR na yo nuko ihamya ko igizwe n'urubyiruko rutagize uruhare muri jenocide yo mu wa 1994. Ubusugi yigambaga ntawubwemera.

➤ **Imbogamizi nini muri izo ntambara zombi**

Kurwanywa n'u Bufaransa ni yo mbogamizi ya mbere y'ibikorwa bya gisirikare by'ingabo z'u Rwanda muri Zaire/Kongo. Ukuzamuka kwa FPR no gufata ubutegetsi mu wa 1994 mu Rwanda byabaye kidobya y'inyungu z'Abafaransa muri Afurika no mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari by'umwihariko. U Bufaransa bwabashije kurinda ingabo z'abajenosideri zatsinzwe binyuze mu gikorwa cya gisirikare cya Turukwaze. Mu duce twa Cyangugu, Gikongoro na Kibuye aho ingabo z'Abafaransa zari zikambitse, ingabo z'abajenosideri zafashe amezi agera kuri ane yo gutuza no gutegura guhunga no gusenya ibyo zabashaga gusenya.

Ibikorwa bya jenocide byarakomeje mu gace kiswe "agace k'ubutabazi kizewe". Iminsi mike nyuma yuko igikorwa cya Turukwaze gitangira abacitse ku icumu bo ku Kibuye baje kubwira ishami rya APR ryari ribegereye ubugome bakomezaga

gukorerwa. Abakomando ba APR bagiye kubatabara, ariko mu gihe gito, basanze barwana n'ikompanyi y'Abafaransa yo mu gikorwa cya Turukwaze. Abasirikare ba APR babashije kuzenguruka banafata bugwate ikompanyi yose y'abasirikare b'Abafaransa. Hakurikiyeho imishyikirano, irangizwa no kumvikana bya kigabo kwafashije Abafaransa gusubirana abasirikare babo mu ibanga⁴³. Nk'ikiguzi, u Bufaransa bwagombye kubahiriza nta kujenjeka igihe cyo kurangiza Turukwaze nk'uko byateganywaga n'umwanzuro wa ONU wayishyiragaho. U Bufaransa bwatashye ku itariki yateganyijwe.

U Bufaransa bwakomeje gukora diporomasi igamije kurwanya u Rwanda cyanecyane mu Kanama gashinzwe umutekano ndetse no mu miryango mpuzamahanga. Mu gihe k'intambara ya AFDL, u Bufaransa bwagaragaye mu rugamba rwo kurwanya abayishyikira bukoresha amaturufu adatsinda, kugeza AFDL itsinze burundu. Umusesenguzi yavuze ko ari "ugukururwa n'insinzwi" ashaka kwerekana poritiki y'u Bufaransa muri aka karere⁴⁴.

Ibyiciro by'urwo rugamba rw'Abafaransa barwanya u Rwanda mu bikorwa byarwo bya gisirikari muri Zaire/Kongo byaranzwe ku ruhande rumwe n'iturufu Mobutu". Nubwo Mobutu yari yaramaze kuba igicibwa mu maso y'umuryango mpuzamahanga kuva hicwa abanyeshuri i Lubumbashi mu wa 1991, igikorwa cya gisirikare cya Turukwaze cyatumye u Bufaransa bumugarurira ikizere. Intambara ya AFDL itangiye, Perezida Chirac yakomeje kugaragaza Mobutu nk'umuntu usumbye abandi ushobora guhagararira igihugu ke. Mu ntangiriro za Werurwe 1997 Minisitiri we w'ububanyi n'amahanga, Hervé de Charrette, yagaragaje ko bidasubirwaho Mobutu ari we muntu ushoboye guharanira ubutavogerwa bwa Zaire.

U Bufaransa bwakomeje gushakishiriza ku rundi ruhande, ku ngabo za ONU zo guhagarara hagati y'abarwana. Mu gihe cyo gusenya inkambi z'impunzi mu Burasirazuba bwa Zaire, u Bufaransa bwahise busaba ko haba ingabo za ONU zo guhagarara hagati; inyuma y'icyo gitekerezo hari hihishe ikindi cyo kurinda abajenosideri bari batsinzwe nk'uko byagenze mu gikorwa cya gisirikare cya Turukwaze. Imiryango myinshi y'ubutabazi yokeje igitutu na yo ari ho iganisha. Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika

⁴³ Braeckman C., "Interview de Kagame", *Le Soir*, 5 décembre 1994.

⁴⁴ *Grand Lacs Hebdo*, no 356 yo ku itariki ya 15 kugera ku ya 21 Nyakanga 2003.

n'u Bwongereza byarwanyije igihe kirekire icyo gitekerezo cy'Abafaransa, nyamara cyaje gushyigikirwa n'u Butariyani, Esipanye n'u Budage. Igihe Akanama gashinzwe Umutekano katoraga umwanzuro urebana n'izo ngabo mu Gushyingo 1996 byari byatinze, u Rwanda rwari rwarangije kuburyo butangaje gucyura ku bwinshi impunzi zirenga miriyoni. Abanyakanada bari bahawe na ONU ubutumwa bwo kuyobora icyo gikorwa bagaragaje ko kitakiri ngombwa.

Niba izi ngabo z'ubutabazi zasabwe ako kageni n'Abafaransa zarananiwe, nuko Leta Zunze Ubumwe za Amerika zabanje kwanga kuzishyigikira; nuko kandi Turukwaze yatsinzwe kandi ikaba yaranenzwe; nuko by'umwihariko impunzi zari zamaze gutaha mu kivunge. Ku bijyanye n'iryo tahuka mu kivunge ry'impunzi, umunyamakuru w'Umufaransa yabivuze agira ati: "Insinzi y'igikorwa cya poritiki na gisirikare cya Kigali mu Burasirazuba bwa Zayire iratangaje cyane ku buryo bamwe bagifata nka ya "nsinzi ya Isiraheri"⁴⁵.

Kuyoberwa icyo gukora no kuvuguruzanya byaranze umuryango waguye w'ubutabazi mu gihe inkambi z'impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zamaze muri Zayire byakangombye kuba byarateye kwibaza ikibazo nyamukuru kirebana n'amahame shingiro ibikorwa by'ubutabazi byubakiyeho. Iyagezweho n'u Rwanda rucyura impunzi mu kivunge kandi ku ngufu byakagombye kuba byaratanze isomo: "Gutuma igikorwa cyo gucyura impunzi ku ngufu kiba igikorwa mbanziriza cyakwemezwa ku rwego mpuzamahanga nk'ihame rishya ry'ubutabazi bw'ibanze rishoboka mu bihe runaka".

Nyuma y'ugutsindwa kw'igikorwa cy'ubutabazi, u Bufaransa bwagerageje andi mayeri ngo bubangamire u Rwanda: bwazanye igitekerezo cy'uko haba inama yo mu karere k'ibiyaga bigari, bukoresha itangazamakuru ndetse bukanafata ijamba mu Kanama gashinzwe Umutekano inshuro nyinshi buvuga ubwicanyi bwakorewe impunzi z'Abahutu, gushyirishaho komisiyo y'iperereza, kwamagana ku buryo buhoraho ingabo z'u Rwanda zari muri RDC kuva habaho inyeshyamba za RCD, kotsa igitutu mu Kanama gashinzwe Umutekano kugira ngo habeho komisiyo ku busahuzi bw'imitungo ya Kongo, gukoresha icyo komisiyo, n'ibindi.

⁴⁵ Bijard L., *Le nouvel observateur* du 21- 27 septembre 1996.

b. Amakimbirane n’u Buganda na bamwe mu Banyamurenge

Indi mbogamizi irebana n’ibikorwa byombi bya gisirikare by’u Rwanda muri Zayire/Kongo ijyanye n’ibibazo byajejeje ihuriro ry’u Rwanda n’u Buganda n’Abanyamurenge. Ibibazo n’u Buganda byigaragaje ku manywa y’ ihangu mu mirwano yabaye inshuro eshatu zikurikiranya hagati y’ingabo z’u Bugande n’iz’u Rwanda i Kisangani mu wa 1999 na 2000. Ariko kutumvikana byo byatangiye na mbere igihe u Buganda bwashatse gushinga igice k’inyeshyamba kibwumvira mu nyeshyamba nkuru za RCD cyangwa kibangikanye na zo. Ni uko MLC ya Bemba J. Pierre yavutse, RCD-ML n’abayisimbuye bose. Abashinze iyi mitwe, babishishikarijwe n’u Buganda.

Kutumvikana bikomeye byatangiye tariki ya 23 Nzeri 1998 igihe u Bugande bwahitagamo kwifatanya mu rwego rwa gisirikare n’inyeshyamba za RCD zari zimaze amezi abiri. Bakiriwe n’abasirikare bakuru b’u Rwanda i Kisangani bari bayoboye ibikorwa bya gisirikare, abasirikare b’u Bugande bahise basaba ko hashyirwaho inzego nshya zihuje abasirikare b’ u Bugande n’ab’u Rwanda kandi ziyobowe na James Kazini. Abanyarwanda bateye utwatsi icyo gitekerezo, bavuga ko izo ngabo zombi zidahuje ururimi rukoresha mu buyobozi, zitanahuje amayeri yo kurwana. Ahubwo u Rwanda rwatanze igitekerezo cy’uko buri ruhande rwarwanira mu gace karwo, bibaye ngombwa ingabo zikaba zatabarana. Ibitero bya gisirikare mu gace u Bugande bwashinzwe nta cyo byagezeho. Ahubwo aho ingabo z’u Rwanda zarwaniraga higiye imbere, u Rwanda rwanahaye u Buganda uduce twafashwe n’ingabo zarwo.

Nyuma y’ibibazo by’i Kisangani byo ku nshuro ya kabiri, Perezida wa FPR yagaragaje imiterere yabyo mu nama ya Biro poritiki (ya tariki ya 1 Mata 2000). Uko yabitangaje, ibibazo by’i Kisangani si bwo byari bigitangira, ahubwo byari ibibazo bisanzwe biriho byakomezaga. Umuzi wabyo uturuka “mu nzego zimwe na zimwe za Leta y’u Bugande” zumvaga u Rwanda ku buryo bukurikira: “u Rwanda ruto, rugomba gushyira mu bikorwa amabwiriza yabo, rugomba buri gihe kubanza kubabaza ntirukore amasesengura yarwo”⁴⁶. Abo bantu bo muri Guverinoma y’u Bugande babona ko «u Rwanda rudashimira bihagije kubera ibyo rwakorewe ndetse ntirunabigaragaze ». Ku ruhande rw’u Rwanda babona ko “kuba dufite umurongo umwe wa poritiki byakabaye bihagije”.

⁴⁶ FPR, Biro poritiki, 1 Mata 2000, p. 5.

Kuri Museveni (yabibwiraga Nyerere) amakimbirane y'u Rwanda n'u Bugande aterwa n'ibintu bibiri: "Abanyarwanda bateye Kongo batabimenyesheje mbere, ntibumvira inama ze"⁴⁷. Ibibazo bya Kisangani ya mbere (raporo yabigabanyirije ubukana kugira ngo u Bugande budaseba) byagaragajwe mu buryo budakwiye nk'impamvu. Bamwe mu bayobozi b'u Bugande bagiriye inama u Rwanda yo gusaba imbabazi (nk'uko umuco ubisaba) Muzehe Museveni wabarakariye cyanecyane kuva haba ibibazo by'i Kisangani aho abasirikare be bakojejwe isoni n'Abanyarwanda. Museveni ngo yaba yarafashe ikemezo cyo kutazongera kuvugisha Perezida wa FPR. Igihe Abanyarwanda berekaga bagenzi babo b'Abagande ko ubushotoranyi bwaturutse ku ruhande rwabo, Abagande ngo baba barasubije mu mvugo ishushanya: "igihe habaye guterana amagambo, so arakaye akagutera icumu rikaguhusha, ntugomba gushaka kwihorera urimusubiza. Ahubwo wihutira kumusaba imbabazi kugira ngo umugushe neza". Mu myumvire y'Abagande, uwo mubano w'umubyeyi n'umuhungu we usa neza n'umubano w'u Bugande n'u Rwanda kandi isoko y'amakimbirane ni ubushobozi buke bw'abayobozi b'u Rwanda bwo kwitwararika kuri iyo migenzereze.

Amakimbirane hagati y'ibihugu byombi yakunze kurangwa no kurwanira kugira ijambo, aho abayobozi b'u Bugande bahungabanyijwe n'uko u Rwanda rubahiga kandi barashakaga kugumana umwanya w'ikitegererezo mu karere no ku mugabane kubera kumva bari hejuru y'abandi cyangwa guhabwa inda ya bukuru byasobanuwe nabi.

Nubwo habaye umuhate wo kwiyunga no kwifata byakozwe n'u Rwanda, ayo makimbirane yamaze igihe. Yari ateye ubwoba, cyane ko yakazwaga, ku ruhande rw'u Bugande, n'umuco ukarishye: inshingano yo kwihorera. Museveni n'ibyegera bye, abafata ibyemezo bose mu gisirikare, bari barabirahiriye. Nta na rimwe bazagira umutuzo igihe icyasha k'i Kisangani kitarahanagurwa. Ibyo byasabaga ko haba indi mirwano noneho bakazayitsinda, amaraso y'Abanyarwanda akameneka, bakaba birishye ugutsindwa ubugira gatatu kwabereye i Kisangani⁴⁸.

Ayo makimbirane yagumyeheho; igihe icyo ari cyo cyose yashoboraga gusandara. Ikabazo k'i Bunia (Ituri) muri Werurwe 2002 aho ingabo z'u Bugande zirukanye inyeshyamba zaho (UPC- Union

⁴⁷ Idem.

⁴⁸ *Grands Lacs Hebdo*, no spécial, 334, p. 97.

des Patriotes Congolais) cyatumye ingabo za Kinshasa n'imitwe yitwara gisirikare na Ex-FAR bibona inzira, cyari kigiye kuzura ayo makimbirane. icyo gihe, Kigali na yo ivuga ko izohereza ingabo zayo muri Kongo guhagarika uwo muvuduko w'ingabo zugarije ubutaka bwayo. Ubwongereza ni bwo bwumvikanishije Kigali na Kampala babasha guhosha amakimbirane, buba bwongeye kandi gukoresha ububasha bwabwo ngo bubuze ko ayo makimbirane akura.

Kutumvikana n'Abanyamurenge byo biva mu ntambara ya mbere y'inyeshyamba za AFDL. Ibibazo byavutse hagati y'abayobozi ba gisirikare b'Abanyarwanda n'abasirikare b'Abanyamurenge byatewe nokutagira ikinyabupfura ndetse nokutayoboka. Nyuma, hivangamo irari rya poritiki rya bamwe mu Banyamurenge bize baje kugira ibikoresho urubyiruko rwabo. Bagiranye ubufatanye n'indi miryango y'abaturage bo muri ako gace kugira ngo bakore urugamba ruhuriweho n'"Abanyekongo", bahangane n'"igitero cy'abanyamahanga b'Abanyarwanda". Inyeshyamba za Komanda Masunzu ni cyo zari zigamije. Yabashije kubona abamushyigikira mu mafuti ye nka Kibala, Mai-Mai, FDD, EX-FAR, imitwe yitwara gisirikare yakoze jenocide mu Rwanda, tutibagiwe ko yanashyigikiwe mu rwego rwa poritiki n'u Bugande cyangwa imitwe irwanya ubutegetsi bw'i Kigali ikorera hanze.

Bamwe mu basesengura bemeza ko amakimbirane hagati y'u Rwanda na bamwe mu Banyamurenge yaturukaga by'umwihariko ku ipfunwe ryo kutagira ubwenegihugu, bikagora Abanyamulenge kubyakira. Umuco wabo wo guhora bimuka no gukorera mu moko gakondo na byo biri mu byongera irari ry'ubunyeshyamba no kutayoboka.

Umwaka wa 2003 warangiye nyamara ibintu bituje mu karere kose. Mu Rwanda ubuzima bwa poritiki ihamye bwashinze imizi nyuma yuko hategurwa amatora ashingiye ku mashyamba menshi kuva u Rwanda rwabona ubwigenge. Bamwe mu Bayobozi b'inyeshyamba z'Abanyarwanda zikorera muri Kongo batahutse ku bushake, umubano hagati y'u Rwanda n'icyo gihugu usubira kuba mwiza buhoro kuva hajyaho inzego z'inzibacyuho i Kinshasa. Perezida w'u Bugande yitabiriye ibirori byo kwimika Paul Kagame, biba ikimenyetso cy'uko ubukonje bwagaragaye mu mubano hagati y'ibihugu byombi bushobora kuyoyoka.

7.2. Imizamukire y'ubukungu n'imibereho

Ibibazo by'ubukungu n'iby'imibereho byatewe n'intambara na jenocide byabaye indi mbogamizi y'ingutu Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagombaga gukemura. Gukemura icyo kibazo byakozwe mu bihe bibiri bikurikiranye kandi bifitanye isano ya bugufi: ikiciro cy'ubutabazi bwihutirwa n'ikiciro k'iterambere rirambye.

7.2.1. Ikiciro cy'ubutabazi bwihutirwa (1994-1999)

Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yasigiwe igihugu cyashegeshwe n'intambara na jenocide haba mu bijyanye n'ubukungu ndetse n'imibereho rusange. Ibikorwa remezo byari byarangijwe bikabije⁴⁹, umuryango nyarwanda warapfushije abarenga miriyoni, abandi Banyarwanda barenga miriyoni ebyiri bari mu buhungiro; abajya kungana n'abo baragiye mu gace ka Turukwaze no mu tundi duce tw'igihugu. Abenshi mu bari bamaze gucika ku icumu bari barahungabanye, imiryango yari yarazimye cyangwa yaratatanye.

Ibibazo byo mu mwaka wa 1994 byabanjirijwe n'ibyabaye kuva mu myaka ya 1985-1994 byari bishingiye ku bukungu n'imibereho rusange⁵⁰, ariko nyuma biza guhinduka ibya poritiki.

Hagati y'itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1994 n'umwaka w'i 2000 Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagombye gushyira imbaraga nyinshi cyane mu bikorwa bijyanye no gusana igihugu cyari kivuye mu ntambara na jenocide. Yashyizeho kandi za poritiki na porogaramu zigamije kuzahura ubukungu bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza. Izo gahunda zombi zikaba ari zo zayoboye ibikorwa bya Guverinoma kugeza kuriya gihe. Guverinoma ntiyari yonyine muri biriya bikorwa. Yabanje kubona imfashanyo

⁴⁹ Rugumamu S. and Gbla O., *Studies in Reconstruction and Capacity Building in post-conflict countries in Africa, some lessons of experience from Rwanda*, Revised Report, The African Capacity Building Foundation, December, 2003, p. 6; Le Gouvernement local et la réduction de la pauvreté au Rwanda: enseignements tirés de l'expérience acquise, Country Paper Rwanda, Tunis, Tunisie, 21-24 Juin 2005, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Marysses S. et al., *Rwanda. Apauvrissement et ajustement structurel*, Bruxelles, Institut Africain CEDAF, Cahiers Africain, no 12, Paris, L'Harmattan, 1994; Ministère du Plan, Rwanda, Conférences de Table Ronde des Partenaires au développement économique et social de la République rwandaise. La politique socio-économique du Rwanda 1992-1994, Genève, le 2 et 3 Juillet 1992; MIFOTRA, La Politique de l'Emploi, Kigali, 2005, p. 7.

zivuye mu muryango mpuzamahanga. Yabonye kandi ubufasha buvuye ku bafatanyabikorwa b'imbere mu gihugu: mu bigo bya Leta, mu bigo bifashwa na Leta no mu bikorera ku giti cyabo.

Nyuma gato yo gufata ubutegetsi no guhagarika jenocide kugeza ku itariki ya 17 Nyakanga 1994, umuryango wa FPR-Inkotanyi washyizeho Leta y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, yari ifite porogaramu ishingiyeye ku nkingi 8 zirimo gucyura impunzi no kuzisubiza mu buzima busanzwe hamwe n'abakuwe mu byabo, kuzamura imibereho myiza y'abaturage no kuzahura ubukungu. Byari biteganyijwe ko iyo gahunda izarangira mu gihe k'imyaka itanu⁵¹, ariko kuyishyira mu bikorwa byarakomeje.

Mu rwego rwo guhangana n'ibibazo byariho byerekeranye n'ubukungu, Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho porogaramu zayifashije gukusanya inkunga yari ikenewe mu gusana no gutangiza gahunda yo guteza imbere ubukungu n'imibereho. Yabanje gushyiraho porogaramu y'ubwiyunge bw'Abanyarwanda, iyogusana igihugu n'iy'iterambere. Iyo porogaramu yamurikiwe abaterankunga muri Mutarama 1995 mu nama nyunguranabitekerezo yabereye i Genève. Yari igamije "Kongerera gusubizaho urwego rushinzwe ubukungu ku rwego rw'igihugu, kongera kubaka ubushobozi bw'imicungire ya Leta no guhamagarira abanyagihugu kubwibonamo, gucyura no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi n'abandi bose batatanye no gushyiraho uburyo buberanye no gusubira mu buzima busanzwe bw'ibikorwa by'ubukungu n'imibereho"⁵². Muri ako kanama u Rwanda rwabashije kubona inkunga y'ubutabazi bwihuse ijya kungana n'amafaranga miriyoni magana atandatu z'amadorari y'amanyamerika (600.000 USD) yo gukora mu gihe cy'umwaka 1995-1996. Iyo nkunga yafashije mu kubaka no gusana ibikorwa remezo by'ibanze, mu kuzahura ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi kandi yafashije kwishyura imyenda.

Muri Kamena 1996, inama ya kabiri yongeye gutegurwa i Genève, Leta imurika porogaramu ya kabiri yiswe "Porogaramu yo kubaka no kuzahura iterambere (1995-1998)". Muri iyo nama u Rwanda rwabonye inkunga ijya kungana n'amafaranga miriyoni magana atanu y'amadorari y'amanyamerika (500.000 USD) yo gushyira mu bikorwa iyo porogaramu.

⁵¹ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. I.

⁵² République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. 43-45

Ubwa gatatu, Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyikirije Banki y'isi n'ikigega Mpuzamahanga k'Imari ku matariki ya 13 kugeza kuya 22 Mata 1998 Porogaramu yo kuzahura ubukungu yunganiwe no koroshya izahurabukungu ryimbitse (FASR). Iyo porogaramu yari igamije gusubiza kuri gahunda ibijyanye n'ubukungu ku rwego rw'igihugu nk'ibijyanye no kwishyura imyenda, kubuza ko ifaranga rita agaciro, n'ibindi..., hagamijwe guteza imbere ubukungu. Muri Kamena 1998, Ikigega Mpuzamahanga k'Imari kemeye ibyo u Rwanda rwari rwasabye mu izahurabukungu ryimbitse (FASR). Iyo porogaramu y'imyaka itatu, mu 1999 yaje guhindurwamo iyo gufasha mu kugabanya ubukene no kongere ubukungu (FRPC) yatumye u Rwanda ruhabwa amafaranga miriyoni magana ane na cumi n'eshatu n'ibice bitatu by'amadorari y'Amerika (413,3 million USD).

Kugeza mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 1994, igice kinini k'inkunga ziva mu mahanga cyakoreshwaga mu nkambi z'impunzi muri Zaire no muri Tanzaniya. Ariko gahunda twavuze haruguru zatangiranye n'intangiriro z'umwaka wa 1995, Guverinoma yabashije guhindura iyo migenzereze itangira kongera kubaka ubukungu n'imibereho rusange by'igihugu.

a. Ubukungu

Urwego rw'ubuhinzi rwagize igihombo gikabije mu wa 1994. icyo gihombo gishingiye ku musaruro, amatungo, inyongeramusaruro, ibikoresho n'abantu bakoraga mu buhinzi. Mu rwego rwo guhangana n'icyo kibazo, Guverinoma yabanje kubarura no guha agaciro igihombo cyabayeho mu buhinzi n'ubworozi, hanyuma itangiza porogaramu z'ibikorwa birimo gutanga ibikenerwa mu buhinzi (ibikoresho, amafumbire, imbuto, n'ibindi.) no gukangurira abaturage bari mu gihugu kwitabira ubuhinzi bubyara inyungu. Yabashije gukora ibyo bikorwa ibikesha inkunga zavuzwe hejuru no ku mafaranga makeya yavaga ku misoro no mu bindi yasubiranye.

Ku bijyanye n'ubworozi, inka zibarirwa hagati y'ibihumbi magana atanu na magana atandatu (500.000-600.000) zazanywe mu gihugu n'impunzi za kera zari zivuye i Bugande, i Burundi no muri Tanzaniya. Izo nka zazibye icyuho k'izari zarariwe mu ntambara na jenocide. Kongera kugarura amatungo yororerwa mu rugo hamwe no gusana no kongera gukoresha za raboratwari

z'amatungo byagiye byiyongera. Ibyo byagize ingaruka kuko kugeza mu wa 1996, umusaruro uturuka ku buhinzi wagiye wiyongera buhorobuhoro. Ariko hari hakiri imbogamizi nyinshi zijyanye n'imikoreshereze y'imashini yari ikiri hasi, imbaraga nke ku rwego rwa tekini n'umubare munini w'abaturage wari ukiri mu buhungiro n'amafumbire yari akiri make. Ibyo byose byakerereje gutangiza ku buryo buhamye ubuhinzi n'ubworozi⁵³.

Mu rwego rwo gutangiza ubucuruzi bw'ibyoherezwa hanze, Guverinoma yagiye iteza imbere ubuhinzi bwa kawa n'icyayi hamwe n'ibindi bitari bisanzwe bihingwa nk'indabyo n'ibikorwa by'ubukorikori. Yateje imbere kandi ubucukuzi bw'amabuye y'agaciro.

Ku bijyanye n'inganda n'ubukerarugendo, raporo ya Guverinoma yo mu wa 1994-1996 itwerekaga ko guteza imbere inganda byagiye bicumbagira muri icyo myaka yabanje, mu gihe ubukerarugendo bwari bwatangiyeho mu wa 1995 bwabyaye inyungu iturutse ku bikorwa byo gusura za pariki z'igihugu n'ishyamba kimeza rya Nyungwe.

Guhera mu wa 1996, Guverinoma yatangiye gahunda y'ubukungu bwigenga bwaganishaga cyanecyane ku kwegurira abikorera ibigo bya Leta. Kubera icyo mpamvu, itegeko n° 2 ryo ku wa 11 Werurwe 1996 ryashyizeho poritiki ya Leta ku bijyanye no kwegurira abikorera ku giti cyabo ibigo bya Leta, amasosiyete ya Leta, imigabane Leta yari ifite mu masosiyete na bimwe mu bikorwa byayo. Ku rundi ruhande, Iteka rya Perezida n° 8/14 ryo ku wa 3 Gicurasi ryashyizeho Komisiyo y'igihugu ishinzwe kwegurira ibigo bya Leta abikorera ku giti cyabo n'ishoramari rya Leta yari ishinzwe gushyira mu bikorwa porogaramu yo kwegurira ibigo bya Leta abikorera ku giti cyabo n'ishoramari rya Leta.

b. Gucyura no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi n'abandi bose batatanye

Kubera Guverinoma yiyise iy'abatabazi yagiyeho ku ya 9 Mata 1994 yakoze kandi igahagararira jenocide, yari yaratwaye abaturage barenga miriyoni ebyiri mu buhungiro, abandi na bo barenga miriyoni ebyiri bakaba bari baratataniye mu mpande

⁵³ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, pp. 49-52, 60 et 62.

zinyuranye z'igihugu, Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda nta mahitamo yari ifite uretse gucyura izo mpunzi no kugarura mu byabo abo bari barataniye imbere mu gihugu mu rwego rwo gusubiza ku murongo ibijyanye n'ubwiyongere bw'abaturage n'imibereho mu gihugu. Mu rwego rwo gucyura impunzi, ni ukuvuga izo mu wa 1994, Guverinoma yakoresheje cyanecyane inzira za diporomasi n'iz'intambara ku cyahoze kitwa Zayire. Yakoresheje kandi gukangurira abari barahungiyeye mu gice cyagengwaga n'Abafaransa (Turukwaze) kuri ubwo bukangurambaga yongeraho n'imbaraga ku bari barahungiyeye i Kibeho. Ariko icyo gikorwa cyo gukangurira impunzi gutaha ntabwo cyagoranye ku mpunzi zari zarahunze kera. Izi zo, zinanijwe n'imyaka myinshi y'ubuhunzi, ziyemeje kugaruka ku ivuko kuva izari ingabo za FPR zatsinze izakoraga jenocide.

Gutahuka kw'impunzi zo hanze n'iz'imbere mu gihugu byari mu bikorwa byihutirwaga bya Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda mu gihe cy'ubutabazi bw'ibanze. Uretse ibikorwa byo gushyikirana no gushaka ibyangombwa byo kuzitahura, ibindi bikorwa byari birimo gutegura ibigo bizakira impunzi, gutanga imfashanyo z'ibanze, no gusubiza mu buzima busanzwe impunzi n'abavuye mu byabo. Ku bijyanye n'imyiteguro, icyo gikorwa cyagezweho bitewe n'ubushake bwa poritiki bwafataga Umunyarwanda wese nk'ufite uburenganzira bwo gutahuka mu gihugu ke no ku bushobozi buhanitse bw'abayobozi b'u Rwanda bwo gutegura gahunda no kuzishyira mu bikorwa. Kubera iyo mpamvu, gahunda zo gucyura impunzi, kuzituzza no kuzisubiza mu buzima busanzwe zarateguwe kandi zigenda zishyirwa mu bikorwa. Ku birebana n'amafaranga, icyo gikorwa cyagezweho kubera ubugiraneza bw'umuryango mpuzamahanga wateganyije ingengo y'imari yo gukemura ikibazo k'impunzi n'abavuye mu byabo. Uruhare rwa HCR n'indi miryango itegamiye kuri Leta mu gukemura iki kibazo ni urwo kwishimirwa.

Kugeza muri Gicurasi 1996 na mbere yuko impunzi za vuba zitahuka ari nyinshi, hari hakiri impunzi za kera zirenga ibihumbi magana abiri na mirongo itanu (250.000) n'iza vuba zirenga miriyoni imwe n'ibihumbi Magana arindwi (1.700,000) zari zikiri mu buhungiro⁵⁴.

⁵⁴ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 19.

Imbonerahamwe ya 19: Abanyarwanda bari mu buhungiro hagati ya 1993 na 1999

Igihugu cy'ubuhungiro	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
U Burundi	245 500	278 100	153 000	720	2 000	2000	1 300
Congo (Zaire)	53 500	1252800	1100600	423 600	37 000	35 000	33 000
Tanzaniya	51 900	626 200	548 000	20 000	410	4 800	20 100
U Bugande	97 000	97 000	6 500	11 200	12 200	7 500	8 000
Bose hamwe	447 900	2254100	1808100	455 520	51 610	49 300	62 400

Aho byavuye: le génocide rwandais et ses répercussions, <http://www.unhcr.fr/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/publ/opedoc.Pdf?tbl=PUBL&id=41bdb5ca2>, yasomwe ku wa 5 Nzeri 2007, p.250.

Nk'uko bigaragara ku mbonerahamwe, mu wa 1997, mu bihugu duhana imipaka hari hasigaye impunzi zibarirwa mu bihumbi mirongo. Kuri uwo mubare twakongeraho n'ibindi bihumbi by'impunzi byari biri mu bindi bihugu by' Afurika no ku yindi migabane. Igikorwa cyo gucyura impunzi mu kivunge mu Gushyingo 1996 cyakozwe na Guverinoma y'Ubumwe muri rusange ariko cyanecyane Minisiteri yari ishinze gucyura impunzi no kuzisubiza mu buzima busanzwe (MINIREISO), urundi ruhare ni urw'abaterankunga n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta.

Nubwo gutahuka kw'impunzi za kera byabaye ku buryo bwihuse, kubasubiza mu buzima busanzwe byaragoranye. Mu by'ukuri, bagera mu Rwanda mu wa 1994, kuko nta nzu zari zihari zabateganyirijwe, byabaye ngombwa ko batura mu mazu atarimo abantu. Aho impunzi za vuba zitahukiye zigashaka gusubira mu mazu yazo, havutse ikibazo gikomeye cyo kubonera izo mpunzi za kera aho ziba⁵⁵. Mu wa 1999, Leta yashyizeho itegeko ry'uko bamwe mu bari bakiri mu mazu y'abandi bayasubiza. Ariko buhorobuhoro, ikibazo cy'amacumbi cyagiye gikemuka mu migi no mu byaro kubera gahunda yo gutuza abantu hamwe mu midugudu.

⁵⁵ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 16.

Nyuma y'itahuka rusange ry'impunzi, impunzi zakomeje kugenda zitahuka mu Rwanda. Hagati ya Nyakanga 2000 na Nyakanga 2001, abagera ku 23,658 baratahutse banasubizwa mu buzima busanzwe⁵⁶. Mu wa 2003, impunzi 11,240 zaratahutse zivuye mu gihugu cya Tanzaniya⁵⁷. Komisiyo yo gucyura impunzi yakomeje gukora ihuza ibikorwa bijyanye n'iryo tahuka ry'impunzi. Kubera igihe k'inzibacyuho u Rwanda rwacyiyemo, Ibiro bya Minisitiri w'Intebe byasohoye raporo iteye itya: "Mu gihe k'inzibacyuho, impunzi 3,282,128 zaratahutse kandi zihabwa ubufasha bwo gusubira mu buzima busanzwe. Impunzi zose zari zarahunze kera habaruwe 1,208,000 naho mu 1996 habarurwa impunzi 1,362,273 zari zarahunze mu wa 1994. Kuri ubu, habarurwa impunzi z'Abanyarwanda zigera ku bihumbi mirongo inani (80,000) zitaratahuka. Ubu Komisiyo y'igihugu yo gucyura impunzi ikora ibishoboka byose ngo ishishikarize izo mpunzi nkeya zisigaye gutahuka mu rwababyaye»⁵⁸.

c. Gufasha abatishoboye kurusha abandi

Ku birebana n'imibereho, gufasha abatishoboye cyari ikibazo gikomeye cyane Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagombaga gukemura kuva aho ifatiye ubutegetsu. Hafi Abanyarwanda bose bari barokotse jenocide n'intambara bashoboraga gushyirwa mu mubare w'abatishoboye. Hanyuma umubare wabo wagiye ugabanuka uko hagendaga habaho iterambere mu bya poritiki, imibereho n'ubukungu. Mu batishoboye habarirwagamo impunzi z'Abanyarwanda n'abakuwe mu byabo babaga bacyuwe mbere yo gusubizwa mu buzima busanzwe, abacitse ku icumu, abana batanye n'imiryango yabo n'ab'imfubyi, abapfakazi, abamugaye, abakene, ababana n'ubwandu bwa VIH/SIDA n'abagororwa⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 13.

⁵⁷ MINALOC, Raporo y'ibikorwa bya Minisitiri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Imibereho myiza y'Abaturage mu mwaka wa 2003, Kigali, Werurwe 2004, p.27

⁵⁸ République du Rwanda, Services du Premier Ministre, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994- 19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p.13

⁵⁹ Mbonyinkebe Sebahire, " L'intégration des groupes vulnérables comme stratégie de construction de la paix", in Anastase Shyaka et Faustin Rutemebesa (dir.), in *Afrique des Grands Lacs. Sécurité et paix durable*, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 2004, pp. 224-236, p.225

➤ **Abacitse ku icumu**

Abacitse ku icumu rya jenocide babarirwa mu kiciro cy'abatishoboye b'igihugu Guverinoma yashyize mu ba mbere bihutirwa gufasha, bigaragarira cyane mu madisikuru. Mu wa 1998, Guverinoma yashyizeho ikigo cyo gutera inkunga abacitse ku icumu rya jenocide (FARG) maze buri mwaka ikakigenera 5% by'ingengo y'imari ya Leta. Iyo ngengo y'imari yafashije cyane FARG mu gukemura ibibazo by'abana bacitse ku icumu rya jenocide batishoboye bigaga mu mashuri abanza, ayisumbuye na Kaminuza. Yakoreshejwe kandi mu bijyanye n'ubuvuzi aho abacitse ku icumu batishoboye bahawe ubwisungane mu kwivuzza bwabavuzaga 100%. FARG kandi yafashije abacitse ku icumu batishoboye ibubakira amazu mu midugudu n'ahandi cyangwa ikabasanira ayo bari basanganywe mbere ya 1994⁶⁰.

FARG kandi yateye inkunga imishinga iciriritse y'abacitse ku icumu mu rwego rwo kugabanya ubukene. Ariko abagenerwabikorwa bemeza ko iyo nkunga idahagije, abacitse ku icumu binubiraga ibibazo by'amacumbi, kuko bamwe bari barubakiwe amazu atazamara igihe, abandi bataratewe inkunga. Ikindi kandi, abana benshi bacitse ku icumu barangije amashuri yisumbuye ntibabona buruse zo kwiga amashuri makuru.

➤ **Imfubyi n'abana birera**

Intambara na jenocide ntibyangije gusa ibikorwa remezo bifatika, byanashwanyaguje umuryango nyarwanda. Uretse abayiguyemo babarirwa muri miriyoni irenga, hiyongeraho n'ababyeyi babarirwa mu 100.000 batandukanye n'abana babo, abandi bana bari barahungabanyijwe n'ibikorwa by'ubugizi bwa nabi byabakorewe cyangwa babonye bikorerwa abandi. Mu wa 2003, hafi ingo ibihumbi mirongo ine na bitanu (45.000) zari ziyobowe n'abana naho mu wa 1994 zari ibihumbi mirongo inani na bitanu (85.000)⁶¹.

⁶⁰ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 18; République rwandaise, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. vii; MINALOC, *Raporo y'ibikorwa bya Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Imibereho myiza y'Abaturage mu mwaka wa 2003*, Kigali, Gashyantare 2001, pp. 50-51; Primature, *Rapport annuel du gouvernement pour l'année 2006*, Kigali, 2007, pp.179-180.

⁶¹ Obura A., *op. cit.*, p.51; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *National Poverty Reduction Programme. The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy*

Abana bakoreshejwe ku mpande zombi zari zihanganye. Bamwe bakoreshejwe na Guverinoma yakoze jenocide mu mitwe yitwara gisirikare, abandi bakoreshwa na FPR mu gihe cyo kubohora igihugu. Nk'urugero, mu wa 1998 abana bagera kuri 200 bakekwagaho kugira uruhare muri jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi barererwaga mu kigo ngororamuco cya Gitagata. Ku rundi ruhande, ishuri rya ba Kadogo ryigagamo abana bahoze mu gisirikare cya FPR bagera ku 25,000. Izo mpande zombi zabonye inkunga ya UNICEF⁶².

Guhera mu wa 1994, imfubyi n'abana birera bagiye babona inkunga zinyuranye. Bamwe bubakiwe amazu, abandi barakirwa, bitabwaho kandi bahabwa ibibatunga mu bigo byari byarateganyijwe. Ibyo byatumye bitabwaho kumubiri no guhumurizwa, barigishwa kandi basubizwa mu mibereho isanzwe. Bamwe muri bo bongeye guhuzwa n'imiryango yabo. Ku birebana n'inzego, minisiteri nyinshi zo muri Guverinoma y'ubumwe zihaye inshingano yo kwita kuri abo bana batagira kivurira (ENA). Kubera iyo mpamvu, hashyizweho imishinga yo gushyigikira abo bana, umushinga w'itegeko ugenga ibigo birererwamo abo bana na porogaramu yo ku rwego rw'igihugu y'abana batagira kivurira byashyizweho⁶³.

Ibigo birera imfubyi byagiye bigabanuka, uko imiryango y'abo bana cyangwa abandi bagiraneza bagendaga babakira mu miryango⁶⁴. Inkunga ya UNICEF kuri porogaramu yo gufasha abana birera n'imfubyi yagize akamaro kandi ifasha ingengo y'imari ya Leta yari yaragenewe gufasha abatishoboye⁶⁵.

MINALOC na yo yakoze ibikorwa bigamije gukemura ikibazo cy'abana bo mu muhanda. Ibyo yabifashijwemo n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta⁶⁶. Nyuma gato ya 1994, umubare w'abo bana wari munini cyane mu migi yo mu Rwanda, nyuma ugenda ugabanuka ariko ikibabaje nuko n'ubu mu migi y'igihugu

Paper, Kigali, June 2002, p.8.

⁶² Obura A., *op.cit.* p.51; République rwandaise, réalisations du gouvernement d'union nationale, 19 juillet 1994-19 juillet 1996, Kigali, juillet 1996, p. 23.

⁶³ République rwandaise, Réalisations du gouvernement d'union nationale, 19 juillet 1994-19 juillet 1996, Kigali, juillet 1996, pp. 21-22.

⁶⁴ MINALOC, Raporo y'ibikorwa bya minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage mu mwaka wa 2000, Kigali, Gashyantare 2001, pp.42-43

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 43.

⁶⁶ MINALOC, Raporo y'ibikorwa bya minisiteri y'ubutegetsi bw'igihugu n'imibereho myiza y'abaturage mu mwaka wa 2001, Kigali, Gashyantare 2002, pp. 17.

ugenda ubabonamo. Mu mwaka wa 2003, MINALOC yashyizeho poritiki ku rwego rw'igihugu igenga imfubyi n'abandi bana bari mu bibazo⁶⁷. Iyo poritiki yabashije kugaragaza ibibazo byinshi bijyanye n'imikorere, imari n'imibereho hanyuma ishyiraho ingamba zigamije kunoza imitangirwe y'inkunga ku bana bari mu bibazo.

➤ **Abapfakazi n'abagore batishoboye**

Duhereye ku bigereranyo byagiye bikorwa, abagore babarirwa hagati y'ibihumbi magana abiri na magana atanu (200.000-500.000) bakorewe ihohoterwa rishingiye ku gitsina mu mwaka wa 1994. Gufata ku ngufu byakoreshejwe nk'intwari ku bakoze jenocide yo mu wa 1994, aho bibasiraga abagore b'Abatustikazi kandi bakabakorera iyicarubozo. Umubare munini w'abacitse ku icumu, bari barafashwe ku ngufu, abandi banduzwa agakoko gatera SIDA⁶⁸. Kubera ko umubare w'abapfakazi wari munini, wasangaga ingo nyinshi ziyobowe n'abagore. Ariko uwo mubare wagiye ugabanuka.

Minisiteri zari zifite imibereho myiza mu nshingano zazo zakoze ibikorwa bikurikira: gushyiraho porogaramu yo gufasha abapfakazi, kubaha ibikoresho, gukora ibarura ry'abagore batwite bafashwe ku ngufu⁶⁹. Ku rundi ruhande, abagore bahuye n'ingaruka z'intambara na jenocide bagiyeye bibumbira mu mashyirahamwe kugira ngo babashe gufashanya. Ibyo bikorwa byagiye bitanga umusaruro mwiza kandi ku buryo bugaragara. Ariko abenshi muri bo baracyahanganye n'ibikomere bagiyeye baterwa n'intambara na jenocide.

⁶⁷ Ministry of Local Government, *Information and Social Affaires, National Policy for Orphans and Other Vulnerable Children*, Rwanda, 2003.

⁶⁸ Newbury C. and Baldwin H., "Aftermath: Women in Post Genocide Rwanda", Center for Development Information and Evaluation U.S Agency for International Development Washington, Working Paper, No. 303, July 2000, p. 4; CNUR, *Le rôle de la femme dans le processus de réconciliation et de consolidation de la paix au Rwanda: Dix ans après le génocide 1994-2004. Contributions, défis, perspectives d'avenir*, mars 2005, pp. 12-13; Selley Whitman, "The Plight of Women and Girls during the Genocide", in Thomson S.-M., and Wilson J.-Z. (eds), *Rwanda and the Great Lakes Region, Special Issue of International Insights*, Halifax, Canada, June 2005, pp. 93-110, p. 96; Anna, Obura, op. cit., p. 52.

⁶⁹ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 23.

➤ **Abamugajwe n'intambara**

Mu rwego rwo gufasha abamugajwe n'intambara, Guverinoma yatangije porogaramu zikurikira: gushyiraho ibigo by'abamugaye, kubafasha mu bijyanye n'imibereho, kubigishaimyuga. Umushinga ugamije gufasha abamugajwe n'intambara warakozwe⁷⁰.

Guverinoma, ibinyujije muri MINALOC, yateye inkunga y'amafaranga amashyirahamwe y'abamugaye nka Murindi Japan One Love, ishuri ry'abatumva ntibanavuge ry'i Ngoma i Butare n'andi menshi⁷¹.

d. Abagezweho n'ibiza

Leta, ibinyujije muri MINALOC n'izindi minisiteri, yageneye ubufasha abantu cyangwa udutsiko tw'abantu bagezweho n'ibiza. Aha dusangamo abagezweho n'amapfa, kurumbya, akanda, inzara n'ibyorezo by'amatungo mu duce dutandukanye tw'igihugu. Harimo kandi abagezweho n'ibiza batabasha guhagarika nk'imyuzure itewe n'imvura, gutenguka kw'imisozi, impanuka, n'ibindi. Bitewe n'uko ibibazo byabo byihutirwa, abo bantu bagiye bahabwa imfashanyo zirimo ibyo kurya by'ubuntu cyangwa inkunga y'ibyo kurya babanje guhabwa ibyo gukora. Babonye kandi inkunga zijyanye n'ubuvuzi cyangwa kububakira. Ku nkunga ya Guverinoma hiyongereyeho izavuye mu miryango itegamiye kuri Leta.

Iyo nkunga yagenerwaga abatishoboye iri muri bimwe mu bikorwa Leta yashyizemo ingufu bikaba byarafashije umuryango nyarwanda kongera kwiyubaka, gukira ibikomere no kongera gusubirana nyuma y'akaga k'intambara na jenocide. Izo nkunga ariko ntizigeze zihaza kugera ku bagenerwabikorwa bose ku buryo ibibazo bijyanye n'abatishoboye bikigaragara. Ibibazo bijyanye n'imirungire mibi y'inkunga zabaga zigenewe abatishoboye yagiye ivugwa hamwe na hamwe⁷².

e. Impunzi z'abanyamahanga ziba mu Rwanda

U Rwanda kandi rwahaye ubuhungiro impunzi zaturutse mu bihugu bihana imbibi n'u Rwanda. Urugero, hagati y'Ugushyirahamwe 1995 na Gashyantare 1996, impunzi zigera ku bihumbi 37.000

⁷⁰ Idem.

⁷¹ MINALOC, *Raporo y'ibikorwa bya Minisiteri y'Ubutegetsi bw'Igihugu n'Imibereho myiza y'Abaturage mu mwaka wa 2000*, Kigali, Gashyantare 2001, pp. 45-47.

⁷² CNUR, *Rapport des consultations nationales: initiatives d'unité et de réconciliation au Rwanda*, Kigali, s.d., p. 13.

– igice kimwe cyabo kigizwe n’impunzi za kera z’Abarundi ikindi kikagirwa n’impunzi z’Abanyekongo zivuga Ikinyarwanda – zageze mu Rwanda. Ubwo Guverinoma y’ubumwe bw’Abanyarwanda yasabaga HCR gutunganya inkambi y’impunzi z’Abanyekongo, HCR yo yahisemo kubakura mu Rwanda nka bagenzi babo b’Abanyarwanda. Mu mwaka wa 2000, MINALOC yarimo gukora ibikorwa byo gutabara no guhuza ibikorwa by’ubutabazi mu nkambi z’impunzi za Kiziba, Kigeme, Gihembe, Nkamira, Nyagatare, n’impunzi ziba mu migi. Ibikorwa MINALOC ikorera impunzi habamo n’ibyo kuzorohereza gusubira iwabo⁷³. Kugeza mu mwaka wa 2003, impunzi zirenga ibihumbi magana atatu zari zimaze guhabwa ubuhungiro mu Rwanda. Ariko mu mwaka wa 2003, mu Rwanda hari hasigaye gusa abagera ku bihumbi 35.000 mu nkambi zitandukanye⁷⁴.

7.2.2. Ibyiciro by’iterambere (guhera mu wa 1999)

Mu mwaka wa 1998 u Rwanda rwabonaga ko ibyinshi mu bibazo byihutirwaga byari bimaze gukemurwa hasigaye kwinjira mu bikorwa biganisha ku iterambere. Nubwo Porogaramu zimwe na zimwe z’igenamigambi, poritiki zimwe na zimwe n’izindi porogaramu zagiye zishyirwaho, guhera mu mwaka wa 2000 ni bwo Leta y’ubumwe bw’Abanyarwanda yashyizeho poritiki zo mu gihe kirambye. Aho twavugaga nk’ikerekezo 2020 cyarangiyeye kwandikwa muri Nyakanga 2000 na gahunda yo kugabanya ubukene yashyizwe ahagaragara muri Kamena 2002. Izo gahunda zombi ni iz’ikitegererezo kuko ni zo izindi poritiki zo mu nzego zose zagiye zishingiraho.

a. Ikerekezo 2020

Ikerekezo 2020 ni inyandiko y’amapaji 30 yakozwe na Minisitiri y’Imari n’Igenamigambi. Muri icyo kerekezo, Leta y’u Rwanda yihaye intego zikurikira zizagerwaho mu mwaka wa 2020⁷⁵: Gusana igihugu, Leta ikora neza, yunze ubumwe kandi y’intangarugero; imiyoborere myiza, guteza imbere abantu nk’umutungo w’igihugu, guteza imbere guhanga imirimo no kwikorera, gufata no gukoresha neza ubutaka n’ibikorwa remezo by’ibanze, kuvugurura urwego rw’abikorera.

⁷³ MINALOC, *Raporo y’ibikorwa bya Minisitiri y’Ubutegetsi bw’Igihugu n’Imibereho myiza y’Abaturage mu mwaka wa 2000*, Kigali, Gashyantare 2001, pp. 45-47.

⁷⁴ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d’Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 15.

⁷⁵ République du Rwanda, *Vision 2020 document*, p. 13.

Kuri izo ntego ziswe inkingi z'ikerekezo 2020 hiyongeraho ibibazo rusange bigomba kugaragara muri za poritiki zose zitegurwa kandi bikitabwaho ari byo: gushyiramo ibijyanye no guteza imbere uburinganire, guteza imbere ubushakashatsi, ikoranabuhanga, za TIC, kubungabunga ibidukikije, kwinjira mu miryango ihuza akarere no mu miryango mpuzamahanga. Iki kerekezo 2020 kiri mu nyandiko zakozwe mu rwego rwo gushyira mu bikorwa imyanzuro yavuye mu nama zagiye zibera muri *Village Urugwiro* hagati y'umwaka wa 1998 n'uwa 1999.

Imbonerahamwe ya 20: Imirongo migari y'ikerekezo 2020

Ingingo	Uko byari bimeze mu 2000	Intego mu 2010	Intego mu 2020	Urwego mpuzamahanga
1. Abaturage b'u Rwanda	7,700,000	10,200,000	13,000,000	
2. Urwego rwo kumenya gusoma	48	80	100	100
3. Ikizere cyo kurama (mu myaka)	49	50	55	
4. Uburumbuke bw'abagore (%)	6,5	5,5	45	
5. Imfu z'abana (ku gihumbi)	107	80	50	
6. Ababyeyi bapfa babyara (ku nda 100.000 by'abana bavutse ari bazima)	1070	600	200	
7. Indyo mbi y'abana (indyo idahagije %)	30	20	10	
8. Ukwiyongera kw'abaturage (%)	2,9	2,3	22	
9. Kujya mu mashuri abanza ku gihe (%)	72	100	100	100
10. Abari mu mashuri abanza bose (%)		100	100	
11. Kwimukira mu mashuri yisumbuye (%)	42	60	80	
12. Abiyandikisha mu mashuri yisumbuye (%)	7	40	60	

13. Umubare w'abarimu babyigiye (%)	20	100	100	100
14. Ibigo byigisha imyuga n'ubumenyi ngiro		50	106	
15. Umubare w'abemerwa kujya mu mashuri makuru (0/00)	1	4	06	
16. Uburinganire mu mashuri makuru (% y'abagore)	30	40	50	50
17. Uburinganire mu nzego zifata ibyemezo (% gore)	10	30	40	
18. Umubare w'abanduye agakoko gatera SIDA (%)	13	11	8	0
19. Umubare w'abicwa na marariya (%)	51	30	25	
20. Abaganga ku baturage 100.000	1,5	5	10	10
21. Abaturage baba ahantu hari isuku (%)	20	40	60	
22. Abaforomokazi ku baturage 100.000	16	18	20	20
23. Abakozi bo muri raboratwari ku baturage 100.000	2	5	5	
24. Igipimo cy'ubukene (% < idorari 1 ry'Amerika ku munsu)	64	40	30	
25. Impuzandengo y'ubwiyongere bw'umusaruro w'imbere mu gihugu (GDP) (%)	6,2	8	8	
26. Kwiyongera k'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi (%)	9	8	6	
27. Kwiyongera k'umusaruro uva mu nganda (%)	7	9	12	
28. Kwiyongera k'umusaruro uva muri serivisi (%)	7	9	11	
29. Ubusumbane ku mutungo (Iqipimo cya Gini (%)	0,454	0,400	0,350	
30. Ukwiye kw'igihugu k'ukuzigama kw'igihugu (% ya GDP)	1	4	6	

31. Ukwiyongera kw'ishoramari ry'igihugu (% ya GDP)	18	23	30	30
32. Umusaruro ku muturage mu madorari y'Amerika	220	400	900	
33. Abatuye mu migi (%)	10	20	30	
34. Abaturage bakora mu buhinzi (%)	90	75	50	
35. Ubutaka buhinzweho bya kiyambere (%)	3	20	50	
36. Gukoresha Inyongeramusaruro (Kg/ha/ku mwaka)	0,5	8	15	
37. Inguzanyo zijya mu buhinzi n'ubworozi (%)	1	15	20	
38. Abaturage bagerwaho n'amazi meza (%)	52	80	100	100
39. Umusaruro mu buhinzi (kcal/umunsi/umuntu) (% y'ibikenewe)	1612	2000	2200	
40. Poroteyine/umuntu/umunsi (% y'ibikenewe)	35	55	65	70
41. Imihanda (km/km ²)	0,54	0,56	0,60	
42. Amashanyarazi akoreshwa ku mwaka (KWh/umuturage)	30	60	100	
43. Abaturage bagerwaho n'amashanyarazi (% ry'abaturage)	2	25	35	
44. Kurwanya isuri (% y'ubuso)	20	80	90	
45. ikigero cyo kongera gutera amashyamba (ha)				
46. Inkwi zikoreshwa mu kubyara ingufu (%)	94	50	50	
47. Imirimo itari iy'ubuhinzi	200,00	500,000	1,400,000	

Aho byavuye: Ikerekezo 2020, pp. 27-28.

Iki kerekezo kerekana uburyo inzego zimwe na zimwe zifite akamaro cyane: ubuhinzi, ikoranabuhanga, imyigishirize n'ubuzima.

b. Gahunda yo kugabanya ubukene

Iyo nyandiko, ifite akamaro ntagereranywa, yerekana aho ibijyanye n'imibereho n'ubukungu bw'igihugu muri rusange n'urwego ubukene bwari bugezeho kugeza igihe iyi gahunda yashyiriweho. Hanyuma ikagaragaza ibizagerwaho hagati y'umwaka wa 2002 n'uwa 2015. Iyo nyandiko yakozwe na porogaramu y'igihugu ishinze kugabanya ubukene yashyizweho mu mwaka wa 2000. Kugira ngo iyi nyandiko iboneke hagiye haba inama ku rwego rw'igihugu. Yavuye mu bushakashatsi bwinshi bwagiye bukorwa mu gihugu ku bijyanye n'ubukene⁷⁶.

Imbonerahamwe ya 21: Ijanisha ry'ingo zibarirwa muni y'umurongo w'ubukene kuva mu mwaka wa 1985 kugeza mu wa 1999

Umwaka	Ijanisha ry'ingo ziri muni y'umurongo w'ubukene		
	Mu cyaro	Mu migi	Zose hamwe
1985	48.4	16.1	45.7
1990	50.3	16.8	47.5
1994	82.4	27.5	77.8
1995	76.6	25.5	72.4
1996	75.3	25.1	71.1
1997	74.1	24.7	70.0
1998	70.7	23.6	66.8
1999	69.3	23.1	65.4

Aho byavuye: Minisiteri y'Imari n'Igenamigambi, Porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene, *The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Kigali, June 2002, p.14.

Inyandiko ikubiyemo ibya porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene ikora isesengura ikiciro ku kiciro⁷⁷; yerekana ahari

⁷⁶ Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *National Poverty Reduction Programme, The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Kigali, June 2002, pp.10-13.

⁷⁷ Muri ibyo byiciro, ibijyanye n'imibereho n'ubukungu ni: ibitanga ingufu n'amavuta y'imodoka, ubucuruzi n'inganda, ubuhinzi, kurengera ibidukikije, ubutaka, amacumbi n'imyidagaduro, amazi n'isuku, urubyiruko, umuco na siporo, ubuzima, uburezi no kwita ku mibereho myiza (PRSP, p.83). Isuzuma rya PRSP ryakozwe mu wa 2006 ku gihe kiva mu wa 2002 kugeza mu wa 2005 ryashyize ahagaragara urutonde rurerure

intege za buri wese, hanyuma bahereye ku byashyizwe imbere ku murongo w'ibigomba gukorwa bigaragara mu kerekezo 2020, ikerekana ibyo bigomba gukorwa kugeza mu wa 2015 mu rwego rwo kurwanya ubukene.

Inyandiko ikubiyemo ibya porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene igaruka kandi ku bibazo rusange, bigomba kwitabwaho muri buri kiciro: guteza imbere ubushakashatsi n'ikoranabuhanga, guteza imbere umunyarwandakazi, kubungabunga ibidukikije, gushishikariza abantu gutura mu midugudu, kurwanya ubwandu bwa VIH/SIDA, guteza imbere umurimo, kubaka ubushobozi no kurwanya ubusumbane⁷⁸.

Porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene yihaye intego izageraho mu wa 2015 yo kongera umusaruro no kongerera abaturage ubushobozi bwo kwihaza. Kubera iyo mpamvu, iyo porogaramu iteganya kugabanya ubukene bukava ku kigero cya 60% bukazagera kuri 30% mu wa 2015, kugera ku kigero cy'ubwiyongere bw'umusaruro w'imbere mu gihugu (PIB) kiri hagati ya 7-8% kugeza mu wa 2020. Yihaye kandi intego yo gucunga ubwiyongere bw'abaturage, kongera umubare w'abazi gusoma no kwandika ukagera ku 100% mu mwaka wa 2015. Irifuzwa kandi kuzageza ku 100% by'ababasha kugera kuri serivisi z'ubuvuzi mu mwaka wa 2010. Mu buhinzi, porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene ifite intego yo kongera ikoreshwa ry'ifumbire n'imbutu z'indobanure. Igamije kandi kongera ikwirakwizwa ry'amazi meza ku rugero rwa 57% (mu gihe iyo porogaramu yategurwaga) no ku rugero rwa 72% mu wa 2015⁷⁹.

Buri mwaka, hagiye habaho gusuzuma ibikorwa bya porogaramu yo kurwanya ubukene hagamijwe kureba niba intego yahawe zarubahirijwe kandi zikagerwaho⁸⁰. icyagaragaye nuko hari ibyagezweho bigaragara mu bijyanye n'uburezi, ubuzima no gufasha abatishoboye. Ibigo by'imari byagiye byiyongera mu byaro, ibikorwa remezo nabyo byariyongereye, ibigo by'ikoranabuhanga byakwirakwijwe mu turere twinshi

rw'ibibazo bifata impande zose.

⁷⁸ Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *National Poverty Reduction Programme, The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Kigali, June 2002, pp.69-73.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, pp. 88-89, Tableaux 6.3 et 6.4

⁸⁰ RSSP, *Stratégie de Réduction de la Pauvreté du Rwanda, rapport d'évaluation (2000-2005)*, 18 août 2006, <http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Rwanda/RSSP/Rwanda%20Evaluation%20Rapport%20FR.pdf>, yasomwe ku ya 8 Nzeri 2007

tw'igihugu, umusaruro uturuka ku buhinzi wariyongereye ariko ntiwagera ku rugero rwari rugambiriwe muri Porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya ubukene, n'ibindi. Iryo suzuma kandi ryerekanye ko hari ibibazo mu kugaragaza imibare ifatika y'ibyagezweho n'ibyiciro binyuranye mu rwego rwo kugira ibibazo rusange ibyabo.

7.2.3. Ibyiciro by'ubukungu n'imibereho

a. Ubuhinzi, ubworozi n'aho bukorerwa

Kuva Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yatangira imirimo muri Nyakanga 1994, yitaye cyane kongera umusaruro uturuka ku buhinzi. Imaze kugarura umutekano wizewe, yashishikarije abaturage kongera gutangira ubuhinzi. Yigishije abaturage, itanga imbuto, ibikoresho by'ibanze, imiti yica udukoko, n'ibindi, hagamijwe kuzahura ubuhinzi.

Ubuhinzi ni cyo kiciro cy'ubukungu bw'u Rwanda gikomeye, kuko bukorwa na 90% by'abaturage⁸¹. Nyamara umusaruro ubuturukamo uracyari muke kuko hagikoreshwa uburyo gakondo mu guhinga, isuka igakoreshwa nk'igikoresho k'ibanze, ifumbire ntikoreshwe cyangwa hagakoreshwa nkeya, abahinzi batabifitiye ubumenyi n'ubutaka bwakayutse kubera gukoreshwa cyane bitewe nuko abaturage bakora ubuhinzi ari benshi cyane.

Mu rwego rwo guca inzara no kwihaza mu biribwa, guhera mu mwaka wa 2000 Guverinoma yateje imbere ibihingwa bikurikira: ibigori, umuceri, amasaka, ibishyimbo n'ibirayi⁸².

Ubukungu bw'u Rwanda bushingiye cyane ku ikawa n'icyayi byoherezwa mu mahanga. Hagati y'umwaka wa 1994 n'uwa 2003 habaye ubwiyongere buke cyane bw'igipimo k'ikawa yera mu gihugu⁸³. Ibihingwa bishya byoherezwa mu mahanga guverinoma yashyizemo imbaraga birimo indabyo zatangiye kwinjiza amadovize mu Rwanda⁸⁴. Muri rusange, umusaruro

⁸¹ National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, *Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and Unit of Planning, Policy and Capacity Building at the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, Rwanda Agricultural Survey*, 2006, Kigali, June 2007, p. 1.

⁸² République rwandaïse, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p.52

⁸³ Ibid., p.53

⁸⁴ Minega Rwigema B., *An analysis of the non-traditional agricultural export potential for*

w'ibikomoka ku matungo wariyongereye guhera mu mwaka wa 1994. Hanyuma hagati y'umwaka wa 1995 n'uwa 2005 wikuba hafi kabiri⁸⁵.

Mu rwego rwo korohereza abahinziborozi guhabwa inguzanyo mu mabanki, Guverinoma yashyizeho uburyo bwo kuborohereza kubona ingwate. Guhera mu mwaka wa 2001, hashyizweho ikigega kitwa “*Rural infrastructure Financing Facility (RIF)*” cyagiye giha inguzanyo abahinziborozi⁸⁶.

Mu mwaka wa 2003, umusaruro uturuka ku buhinzi wabaye muke, kubera imvura yaguye ari nke cyane, nyuma yaho wongera kwiyongera⁸⁷. Ubuhinzi bwo mu Rwanda buracyagorwa n'ikibazo k'imiterere y'ibihe. Urugero, ubutaka bw'u Rwanda bwuhirwa gusa n'imvura kuko 1,64% ni ho havomerwa naho 1,2% hakamuwe. Ibi byerekana ko ubuhinzi bwo mu Rwanda bugengwa cyane n'imihindagurikire y'ikirere. Ikirenzeho kandi, isuri itwara ubutaka bw'u Rwanda bugera kuri 20%⁸⁸. Hari igice cy'Abanyarwanda kigihura n'ibibazo byo kubura ibyo kurya n'imirire mibi. Ihindagurika ry'ibicio by'ibyoherezwa mu mahanga na byo bitera ibibazo iyo byagabanutse⁸⁹. Nubwo umusaruro w'ibituruka ku buhinzi wagiye wiyongera guhera mu mwaka wa 1994, kubona ibyo kurya kuri buri muntu buri mwaka byagiye bigabanuka⁹⁰.

Mu kiciro cy'ubworozi, guhera mu mwaka wa 1994, ibikorwa bya Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda byibanze cyane ku kongera gukwirakwiza amatungo mu turere twose

Rwanda. A case of Flowers, Mini-thesis, Master of Commerce, trade and Investment, in the department of Economics, University of the West Cape, November 2004, pp. 21-22

⁸⁵ Institut national de la Statistique du Rwanda, Indicateurs de développement du Rwanda en 2005, p. 18

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 143

⁸⁷ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. vii; Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual progress Report*, October 2004, pp9, 39; INSR (Institut National de la Statistique du Rwanda), *Indicateurs de développement du Rwanda en 2005*, pp 15-16.

⁸⁸ National institute of Statistics of Rwanda, *Policy and Capacity Building at the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, Rwanda Agricultural Survey*, 2006, Kigali, June 2007, pp. 17-18.

⁸⁹ National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, *Policy and Capacity Building at the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, Rwanda Agricultural Survey*, 2006, Kigali, June 2007, p. 36.

⁹⁰ National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda and world food programme. *Vulnerability Analysis and Mapping Branch (ODAV) RWANDA Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis*, Kigali December 2006, p. 4.

tw'igihugu, kongera gufungura raboratwari z'amatungo n'ibigo by'ubushakashatsi ku matungo, kugura imiti y'amatungo no gushishikariza abantu kongera umusaruro uturuka ku matungo. Hagati y'umwaka wa 1994 n'uwa 2003, umubare w'amatungo yororerwa mu rugo wikubye inshuro zigera kuri eshanu⁹¹. Ubworozi bwagiye butera imbere no mu bwiza, urugero nko matungu manini, umubare w'inka za kijyambere wariyongereye nubwo muri rusange uwo mubare ukiri mutoya⁹².

Ibikorwa by'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi bikenera ahantu hisanzuye ho kubikorera. Kandi ubutaka bw'u Rwanda buhura n'ibibazo by'ubwiyongere bukabije bw'abaturage no gutakaza ubryohe. Burakoreshwa cyane kuko umubare w'abaturage udahwema kwiyongera. Uburyo bwo guhererekanya ubutaka mu muryango nk'umurage butuma ubutaka bucagagurwamo uduce duto cyane. Ugereranyije, buri rugo rugira ubutaka buhingwa bungana na hegitari 0,72 nubwo hari aho bigenda bihinduka. Ibyo bigira ingaruka kuko uburumbuke bugenda bugabanuka buhorobuhoro. Isuri na yo itwara igice kinini cy'ubutaka kandi uburyo bwo kurwanya isuri ntiburakwirakwira mu gihugu hose. Hari n'indi migenzereze ituma ubutaka burushaho guta agaciro nko kuburagiraho amatungo menshi, gutwika mu gasozi, gutema ibiti mu kajagari, gukoresha ibishanga mu buryo butemewe batwika amatafari n'abacukura imicanga.⁹³

Mu rwego rwo gukemura ibyo bibazo bishingiye ku micungire y'ubutaka no kuburinda, mu mwaka wa 2004, Leta y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizeho poritiki y'ubutaka, mu mwaka wa 2005 ishyiraho itegeko ry'ubutaka, ishyiraho na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubutaka. Mu ngingo yaryo ya 20, ku gika cya 3, itegeko ry'ubutaka ryo mu wa 2005 rivuga: "Birabujijwe gucagagura ubutaka bugenewe guhingwa cyangwa kororerwaho mo ibice bingana cyangwa biri hasi ya hegitari imwe. Kimwe n'uko, ubutaka buri hasi cyangwa bungana na hegitari eshanu butemerewe kugabanywa na nyirabwo keretse abihereye uruhushya na Komisiyo y'Igihugu y'Ubutaka ikorera aho buri". Kwandikisha umutungo w'ubutaka bivugwa mu ngingo ya 30.

⁹¹ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. ix.

⁹² National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, *Policy and Capacity Building at the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources, Rwanda Agricultural Survey*, 2006, Kigali, June 2007, p. 36.

⁹³ MINAGRI, Plan stratégique, pp. 1, 5, 7.

Mbere yaho mu mwaka wa 1997, hari harashyizweho amategeko ajyanye n'iby'ubutaka. Mu cyahoze ari perefegitura ya Kibungo, perefefe waho yakanguriye abaturage kugabana amasambu kandi byakozwe nta bibazo byinshi bivutse⁹⁴. Habayeho kutumvikana neza, bamwe mu bari bafite amasambu bagashaka ko bagabana abatahutse bari bafite, ariko ikibazo cyaje gukemuka isaranganya riza gukorwa.

Abanditsi bamwe banenze iyo poritiki n'itegeko ry'ubutaka. Bakemanze ubushobozi iryo tegeko rifite bwo gukemura ubusumbane bushingiye ku bitsina mu igabana ry'ubutaka, gushyira mu bikorwa iyandikisha ry'ubutaka, akamaro ko guhinga igihingwa kimwe mu gace kamwe hanyuma bafata umwanzuro ko iryo tegeko ryo mu wa 2005 rishobora gusiga bamwe nta butaka bafite cyangwa rigateza amakimbirane⁹⁵. Ariko ubushakashatsi bwakozwe na Komisiyo y'igihugu y'Ubumwe n'Ubwiye (CNUR) muri Nyakanga 2004, bwagaragaje ko abarenga 60% bakiriye neza igitekerezo cyo guhuza ubutaka cyaje gushyirwa mu itegeko ry'ubutaka mu mwaka wa 2005. Abagera kuri 80% bakiriye neza uburyo bwo gutanga ibyangombwa b'uburenganzira by'ubutaka bwazanywe na Leta, ariko 60% ntibihutiye kwandikisha ubutaka bwabo⁹⁶.

b) Ubucuruzi n'inganda

Nk'uko byagaragajwe haruguru, intambara na jenocide byageze no ku bucuruzi n'inganda. Umubare munini w'ibiribwa n'ibindi bintu bicuruzwa (haba mu maduka mu masoko n'ahandi hantu hacururizwa) byarasahuwe. Ku birebana n'inganda, umubare munini wazo warashenywe, cyangwa ziranasahurwa. Nyamara, biturutse ku mbaraga z'ubutegetsi n'abikorera ku giti cyabo, umubare munini w'izo nganda zasenyutse warongeye urasanwa havuka n'izindi zitunganya ibiribwa n'iz'ubwubatsi⁹⁷.

Birakwiye kwibutsa ko mu ntangiriro z'umwaka wa 1994 guverinoma yemeje amahame yo kwigenga bisesuye mu bucuruzi.

⁹⁴ Van Hoyweghen S., "The Urgency of Land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda", in *African affairs*, pp. 353-372, p. 363; Interview, "Kibungo na yo twarayisuye", in *Interactions*, no 10, 2e trimestre, 1997, pp. 9-12

⁹⁵ Potier J., "Land reform for peace? Rwanda's 2005 Land law in context", in *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 6, No 4, October 2006, pp.509-537, p.517

⁹⁶ CNUR, Propriété de la terre et réconciliation, Kigali, 2005, p. 24-26

⁹⁷ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 10.

Bityo, yemeje poritiki yo kwegurira ibigo bya Leta abikorera ku giti cyabo. Izo ngamba zafashwe mu rwego rwo kurengera ibigo byagaragayeho imicungire mibi mu bihe byashize. Leta yizera kuzabona inyungu kuri ibyo bigo mu gihe kirekire no kungukira mu misoro n'amahoro abikorera bazatanga. Ku rundi ruhande, Leta yashakaga kongera umubare w'abikorera bari inkingi ya mwamba mu rwego rwo kuzamura ubukungu bushingiye ku masoko.

Bityo, mu mwaka wa 2003, ibigo bigera kuri 37 n'amashami 11 ya OPROVIA byabashije kwegurirwa abikorera ku giti cyabo ku bigo 77 byari byaremejwe na Leta, harimo 7 byagombaga guseswa⁹⁸. Ariko icyo gikorwa cyagize ingaruka zitari nziza kuko hari abakozi bamwe babuze akazi. Abeguriwe ibyo bigo, bagiye baha akazi abakozi bashya akenshi babakuye mubo bafitanye isano, ibintu byakunze kuvugwa ko byabayemo ikandamizwa⁹⁹. Byongeye kandi, imicungire myiza yari yitezwe ku bikorera ntabwo wayisanga mu bigo byose byeguriwe abikorera.

Mu rwego rwo kuzamura ubucuruzi bw'imbere mu gihugu, Guverinoma yashyizeho amategeko yo kurengera umuguzi no kuzamura ibikorwa by'ubucuruzi. Ni muri urwo rwego itegeko nimeru 15/2001 ryo ku wa 28/01/2001 rigenga ubucuruzi bw'imbere mu gihugu ryemejwe. Ritegeka abacuruzi bo mu gihugu gushyira ibiciro ku bicuruzwa byabo¹⁰⁰. Ariko iryo tegeko ntiryubahirijwe ku hacururizwa hose. Muri Kamena 2000, hashinzwe Ikigo k'igihugu cy'ubuziranenge kugira ngo kigenzure inkomoko n'ubwiza bw'ibicuruzwa¹⁰¹.

Guverinoma kandi yitaye ku buryo bw'umwihariko ku bucuruzi bwo hanze y'igihugu. Guteza imbere ishoramari byashinzwe Ikigo k'igihugu k'ishoramari (RIPA) cyashyizweho mu mwaka wa 2000¹⁰². Mu rwego rwo kwagura ubukungu no gukemura ibibazo bijyanye n'uko u Rwanda rudakora ku Nyanja, u Rwanda rwagiye rwinjira mu miryango minini ihuza ibihugu byo mu karere. Ni muri urwo rwego rwinjiye muri COMESA

⁹⁸ Ibid., p.48

⁹⁹ Institut de recherche et de dialogue pour la paix, *Reconstruire une paix durable au Rwanda: la parole au peuple*, Kigali, 2003, p.93.

¹⁰⁰ Institut de recherche et de dialogue pour la paix, *Reconstruire une paix durable au Rwanda: la parole au peuple*, Kigali, 2003, p.25

¹⁰¹ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001*, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 39.

¹⁰² République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 49.

no mu muryango w'ibihugu bw'Afurika y'iburasirazuba. Ikindi mu mwaka wa 2000, u Rwanda rwasinyanye amasezerano na Leta Zunze Ubumwe z'Amerika yemera ko ibicuruzwa u Rwanda rwohereza ku masoko yo muri Amerika byajya bicuruzwa nta kibazo, ayo masezerano yiswe 'African Growth and Opportunity Act' (AGOA).

Umusaruro w'izo mbaraga mu kuzamura ubucuruzi n'inganda wabaye mwiza cyane. Ibicuruzwa u Rwanda rwohereza mu mahanga bigeze ku rugero rufatika¹⁰³, byibanda cyanecyane ku ikawa, icyayi n'amabuye y'agaciro. Ubwiza bw'ikawa bwagiye bwiyongera n'ubwinshi bw'umusaruro burazamuka. Inganda zikora ibikoresho by'ubwubatsi n'iz'ubucukuzi bw'amabuye y'agaciro na zo zariyongereye. Ibicuruzwa byoherezwa mu mahanga na byo byarongerewe, hiyongereyemo ibikorwa by'ubukorikori nk'uduseke twoherejwe cyane mu bihugu by'Amerika n'u Burayi.

Guverinoma yitaye cyane ku bucuruzi bwo mu gihugu n'ubwo hanze, nubwo yari ifite ubushobozi buke, ifatanyije n'abikorera, guhera mu mwaka wa 1995, yagiye itegura amamurikagurisha n'amamurikabikorwa manini mu gihugu cyangwa mpuzamahanga kandi na rwo rukitabira andi yabereye mu mahanga. Ibi byatumye ruhabwa ibihembo byinshi mu mamurikagurisha mpuzamahanga. Ariko, nubwo ibyo byose byagezweho, igipimo cy'ubucuruzi bwo mu Rwanda kiracyafite icyuho¹⁰⁴.

Mu rwego rwo koroshya ibijyanye n'ubucuruzi, Amabanki yo mu Rwanda yahise afungura mu mwaka wa 1994 nyuma y'intambara na jenocide. Na yo yari yarasahuwe. Nyuma yo kongera kwiyubaka no gutangira ibikorwa, hashinzwe izindi banki. Kugeza ubu amabanki y'ubucuruzi ageze kuri atandatu: BK, BCR, BANCOR, BCDI yabaye ECOBANK, BACAR na COGEBANQ. Ibijyanye no gutanga inguzanyo ntibiratera imbere cyane muri izi Banki kuko batinya ko batazabasha kugaruza izo nguzanyo batanga. Ni cyo cyatumye basaba ingwate iri hejuru cyane ku buryo umukiriya mutoya atabasha kuyibona¹⁰⁵. Kuri izo banki hiyongeraho Banki nyarwanda y'iterambere (BRD) na Banki Nkuru y'Igihugu (BNR).

¹⁰³ Institut national de la statistique du Rwanda, *Indicateurs de développement du Rwanda en 2005*, p. 16

¹⁰⁴ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 49.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p 13.

Ayo mabanki yakomeje kugenda anozza serivisi aha abakiriya bayagana akoresheje ikoranabuhanga, yubaka amazu meza yo gukoreramo, anashinga amashami hirya no hino mu gihugu.

Kuri ayo mabanki hiyongereyeho ibigo by'imari iciriritse. Ibigo by'imari iciriritse bitangiye vuba mu Rwanda ariko kuva byashingwa byagiye bitera imbere ku buryo butangaje. Uretse Banki z'Abaturage zabayeho kuva mu mwaka wa 1975, muri iyi myaka havutse ibigo by'imari iciriritse byinshi. Byagiye bishingwa na Leta n'imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta. Ibyinshi muri byo ntibifite ubushobozi buhagije mu by'imicungire¹⁰⁶.

Ibigo by'ubwishingizi byo, byakomeje umurimo wa byo wo kwishingira ibikorwa by'abakiriya babyo. Bitewe n'akamaro kabyo mu bukungu muri rusange no mu bucuruzi by'umwihariko, Guverinoma yashyizeho amategeko ane n'iteka rya Perezida ku bijyanye n'ubwishingizi kandi ishyiraho Komisiyo y'Igihugu yo gukurikirana iby'ubwishingizi¹⁰⁷, ubu ikora. Ku makompanyi asanzwe nka SONARWA, SORAS, hiyongereyeho CORAR na COGEAR. Amabanki, ibigo by'imari iciriritse n'ibigo by'ubwishingizi bikora ibikorwa by'ubucuruzi bibazana inyungu kandi bigatanga akazi.

Kuri izo serivisi, hiyongeraho ubukerarugendo. Guhera mu mwaka wa 1994, ubukerarugendo bw'u Rwanda bwateye imbere¹⁰⁸. Tuvuze bimwe mu byagezweho, hubatswe amahoteri mashya mu mpande zinyuranye z'igihugu, asanzwe aravugururwa andi aragurwa. Kandi mu mwaka wa 2000, ishyamba kimeza rya Nyungwe na ryo ryahinduwemo Pariki y'igihugu¹⁰⁹. Inzu ndangamurage zatunganyijwe n'ikigo k'inzu ndangamurage k'igihugu ziza ziyongera ku nzu ndangamurage ya Butare. Ikigo k'igihugu gishinzwe ubukerarugendo (ORTPN) na cyo cyagiranye ubufatanye n'abaturage baturaye za pariki z'igihugu gitanga amwe mu mafaranga ava mu bukerarugendo mu guteza imbere imibereho y'iyi miryango.

¹⁰⁶ Enterprising Solutions Global Consulting, *Rwanda Microfinance Sector Assessment 2005*, 2005, p. 8-9

¹⁰⁷ République rwandaise, *Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 60.

¹⁰⁸ Institut national de la statistique du Rwanda, *Indicateurs de développement du Rwanda en 2005*, p.23.

¹⁰⁹ République rwandaise, *Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 42.

Nk'uko bigaragazwa na raporo y'ikigo k'ibarurishamibare (NISR),” gutanga imirimo ntibyahwemye kwiyongera uhereye mu mwaka wa 2002 ku rugero ruri hagati ya 5% na 9% ku mwaka.”¹¹⁰

Hanyuma, mu kurwanya ruswa Leta yashyizeho ibigo byinshi bishinzwe gucunga umutungo w'igihugu. Twavuga cyanecyane Ikigo k'Igihugu cyo gutanga amasoko ya Leta (*National tender board*), Urwego rw'Umuvunyi, Ikigo cy'ubugenzuzi bukuru bw'imari ya Leta, byose bifite inshingano yo kugenzura imicungire y'umutungo wa Leta. Ibyo bigo byageze ku musaruro ushimishije nubwo inzira ikiri ndende mu kurandura ruswa burundu mu nzego za Leta.

c) Ibikorwa remezo

Mu kiciro cyo gutwara abantu n'ibintu, umubare wa bisi za ONATRACOM wariyongereye hanahangwa inzira nshya zo mu cyaro. Aha twavuga nk'i Huye, Musanze, Rubavu na Ngoma. Ibigo byigenga byo gutwara abantu n'ibintu byarashinzwe n'imikorere yabyo yibanda ku kubahiriza igihe. Ariko gutwara abantu n'ibintu mu cyaro ntabwo bihagije nubwo byiyongereye. Ku birebana n'imihanda, hubatswe imihanda mishya yashyizwemo kaburimbo, indi irasanwa, indi irahangwa. Amateme na yo yarubatswe mu mpande nyinshi z'igihugu. Imihanda irimo kaburimbo mu Rwanda, mu mwaka wa 2000 yabarirwaga muri km 930 kugeza kuri km 1100; hagati ya km 4250 na km 4436 by'imihanda minini ariko itarimo kaburimbo, imihanda idatunganyijwe yo yabarirwaga muri km 1750¹¹¹. Mu Rwanda, kwita ku mihanda biracyari ku rwego rwo hasi¹¹² nubwo iba yaratwaye Leta amafaranga menshi cyane. Ibikorwa by'ingenzi byakozwe harimo kurangiza iyubakwa ry'umuhanda wa kaburimbo uhuza Gitarama na Kibuye, Kubaka umuhanda wa kaburimo ANT-Kinyinya¹¹³, hamwe no kurangiza umuhanda Kigali-Gitarama ku nkunga y'Umuryango w'Ibihugu by'Ubumwe

¹¹⁰ Institut national de la statistique du Rwanda, Indicateurs de développement du Rwanda en 2005, pp. 16-17.

¹¹¹ The International bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank, *Private Solutions for Infrastructure in Rwanda. A country Framework report*, 2005, p.18

¹¹² The International Bank for Reconstruction and Dvelopment and the World Bank, *Private Solutions for Infrastructure in Rwanda. A country Framework report*, 2005, pp.21-22, Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix, *Reconstruire une paix durable au Rwanda; la parole au peuple*, p. 89.

¹¹³ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 53.

bw'u Burayi¹¹⁴. Uyu muhanda Kigali-Gitarama iyubakwa ryawo ryarakomeje kugera ku Kanyaru, ku mupaka w'u Rwanda n'u Burundi.

Inyubako za Leta zarasanwe, hubakwa n'izindi nyinshi. Kuri uru ruhande hagaragayemo ubwiyongere mu bwiza no mu bwinshi bw'inyubako.

Mu bijyanye n'itumanaho, Minisiteri zahawe ikoranabuhanga, umushinga wiswe *E-Government* waratangijwe, ikoranabuhanga ryageze kandi mu Nteko Ishinga amategeko n'ibindi bigo bya Leta. Inteko Ishinga Amategeko, yitabiriye gukoresha ikoranabuhanga mu gusakaza amakuru no mu gutumanaho. Ifite ibikoresho n'ubushobozi bwo gukora mu buryo bw'ikoranabuhanga¹¹⁵.

Kimwe mu bikorwa by'ingenzi byagezweho mu bijyanye n'ikoranabuhanga, ni ikorehwa rya interineti mu Rwanda. Mu by'ukuri, kugera ku murongo wa Interineti byarihuse cyane, ku buryo inzu zicuruza serivisi z'iby'itumanaho kuri interineti ziyongereye, umubare wo gukoresha umurongo wa interineti wariyongereye haba mu nzego za Leta no mu bikorera, ibi byatumye igiciro cyo gukoresha umurongo wa interineti kigenda kigabanuka. Gukoresha terefoni na byo byarasakaye. Umubare w'abakoresha terefoni zigendanwa wariyongereye cyane. Igiciro cya za terefoni zigendanwa na cyo cyaragabanutse cyane, ariko guhamagara byo biracyahenze, iyo ugereranyije n'ibihugu duturanye. Kuri Sosiyete icuruza ibya terefoni ya MTN Rwanda Cell hiyongereyeho Terracom yaje kunanirwa igasimburwa na Rwandatel hanyuma muri 2010 isimburwa na TIGO. Poritiki yo guteza imbere ikoranabuhanga mu isakazamakuru no mu itumanaho (TIC) yaremejwe; maze ikigo k'Igihugu k'isakazamakuru n'ikoranabuhanga (RITA) kirashingwa¹¹⁶.

Ku bijyanye n'amazi n'isukura, imiryango itegamiye kuri Leta yagiye ifasha Leta gusana imiyoboro yari yarangiritse mu gihe cya jenocide n'intambara. Biva kuri 36% mu wa 1995, igipimo cyo kugera ku mazi meza cyageze kuri 54% mu mwaka wa 2003¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 10

¹¹⁵ Government of Rwanda, *ICT Policy Statement and Action Plan 2006-2010*, Parliament, September 2006

¹¹⁶ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. ix-x.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.64

d. Poritiki y'imari

Imari ya Leta ituruka cyanecyane mu mahoro, imisoro ku musaruro uboneka mu gihugu, inkunga, amadeni yaba ayo mu gihugu cyangwa hanze. Ikigo k'Igihugu k'imisoro n'amahoro cyashyizweho mu wa 1996. Kuva icyo gihe, nticyahwemye kunoza uburyo bwo kwaka imisoro n'amahoro, n'ibyinjira biva ku misoro cyangwa ahandi, kandi ibyinjira mu isanduku ya Leta byagiye byiyongera ku buryo bushimishije. Icyo kigo ni cyo Banki y'Isi yahereyeho ivuga ko Leta y'u Rwanda ifite imiyoborere myiza¹¹⁸. Mu mwaka wa 2001 cyatangije umusoro ku nyongeragaciro¹¹⁹. Ibyinjijwe mu isanduku ya Leta n'icyo kigo byatumye Leta y'u Rwanda igenda igabanya imfashanyo zavaga hanze ngo zunganire ingengo y'imari.

Imbonerahamwe ya 22: Imisoro yinjijwe mu Rwanda mu wa 1996-2001 mu gihembwe cya 1 miliyoni ya Frw.

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	Igi-hembwe cya 1 mu 2001
Igiteranyo cy'imisoro yinjijwe	39 225,5	54 266,9	62 634,0	62 299,3	65 324,7	37 533,0

Aho byavuye: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, National Poverty Reduction Programme, *The Government of Rwanda Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, Kigali, June 2002, p. 117.

Amavugurura mu by'ubukungu yagiye akorwa kuva Guverinoma y'Ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yajyaho zatanze umusaruro mwiza mu mwaka wa 2003. Umusaruro w'imbere mu gihugu (PIB) wari wagabanutseho 50% mu mwaka wa 1994, wazamutseho 34% mu wa 1995, mu wa 1996 uzamukaho 16%, hanyuma ukomeza kwiyongera aho mu wa 1997 hiyongereyeho 13%, mu wa 1994 ikazamukaho 10%. Kuva icyo gihe ntiyongeye kuzamuka cyane kuko mu wa 1999 no mu wa 2000 hiyongereyeho 5, 9%. Hanyuma

¹¹⁸ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. viii.

¹¹⁹ République rwandaise, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 31.

muri 2002 igipimo cy'ubwiyongere cyageze ku 9,5%¹²⁰. Ayo mavugururwa yatumye habaho igabanuka riyongera rirebana no gutakaza agaciro k'ifaranga ry'u Rwanda. icyo gipimo cyari 48,2% mu wa 1995, kiza kugabanuka kigera kuri 13,3% mu wa 1996, mu wa 1998 kigera kuri 6,8%. Mu mwaka wa 2001 cyageze kuri 3,4%¹²¹.

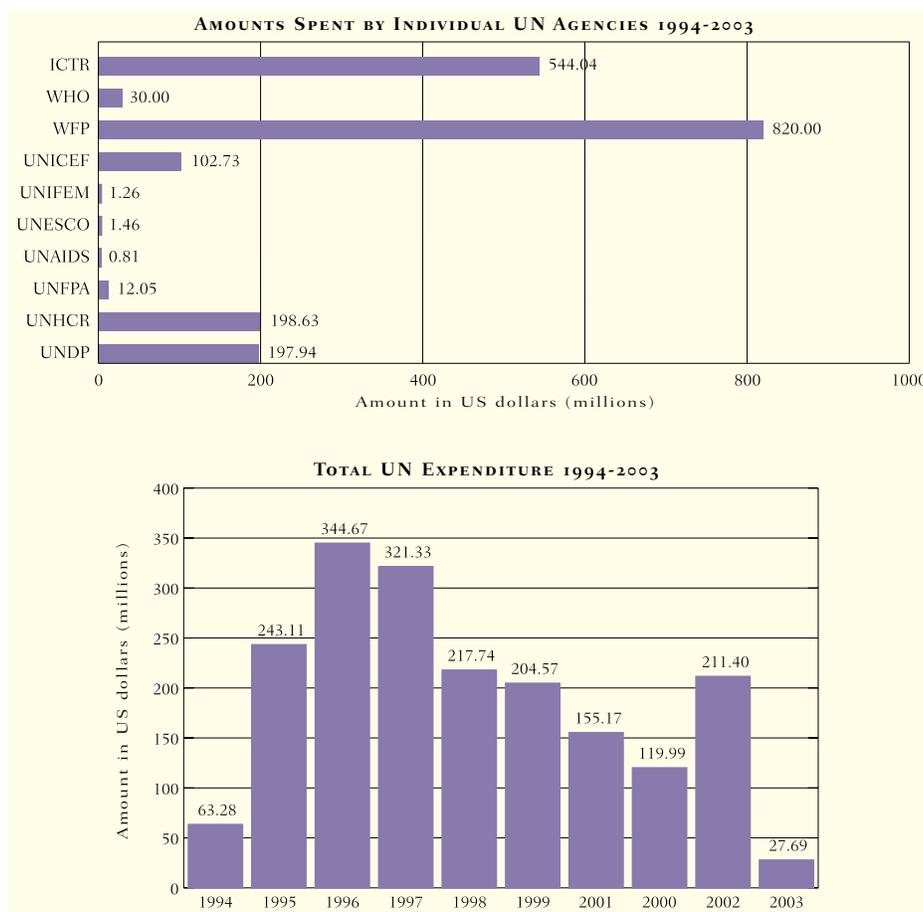
Ku bijyanye n'inkunga, u Rwanda rwagiye rubona inkunga zituruka mu bafatanyabikorwa b'ibihugu byishyize hamwe n'ibihugu ku giti cyabyo no mu miryango itegamiye kuri Leta. Izo nkunga zafashije cyane mu kongera kubaka u Rwanda mu gihe cy'ubutabazi bwihutirwa kandi yunganira umusaruro wavaga mu gihugu mu cyiciro cy'iterambere. Ariko zimwe muri izo nkunga zabaga ziherekejwe n'amabwiriza atoroshye kuyakurikiza kandi rimwe na rimwe anyuranye n'ibyo u Rwanda rwashyize imbere. Ikindi rimwe na rimwe yatangwaga bitinze cyane, ibyo bikabangamira itegurwa ry'igenamigambi rya Leta¹²². Izindi nkunga ntizinjiraga mu mirongo y'ingengo y'imari ya Leta, ibyo bigatuma Leta itagira ikemezo yafata ku bijyanye n'inkunga nk'izi. Dutanze nk'urugero, imbonerahamwe ebyiri zikurikira zirerekana inkunga zagiye zihabwa u Rwanda ziturutse muri ONU.

¹²⁰ République du Rwanda, Services du Premier Ministre: Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. 65-66.

¹²¹ Republic of Rwanda, *Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Rwanda vision 2020*, Kigali, July 2000, p.8.

¹²² P. Musoni, "Challenges and Opportunity of Foreign Aid in a post-conflict Situation: the case of Rwanda", Expert group meeting on Aid delivery and Aid Management, Mexico City, 2-3 November 2003, pp.14-15

Imbonerahamwe ya 23 n'ya 24: Inkunga zavuye muri ONU guhera mu mwaka wa 1994 kugeza mu wa 2003.



Aho byavuye: *United Nations, Ten Years On : Helping Rebuild a Nation the United Nation in Rwanda, New York, April 2004, p.1.*

e. Imirimo

Nk’uko bimeze mu bindi bihugu biri mu nzira y’amajyambere, urwego rutanga imirimo idahoraho ni ingirakamaro mu Rwanda, kuko usanga hakora hafi ya 2/3 by’abaturage bageze mu gihe cyo gukora. Mu mirimo isanzwe, Leta ikomeza kuza k’umwanya wa mbere mu gutanga akazi. Muri 2001, Leta yakoresheye abantu bagera ku bihumbi mirongo ine (40.000)¹²³. Mu wa 2001 abagera kuri 295742 ni bo bari barahawe akazi gasanzwe haba

¹²³ Institut de Recherche et de Dialogue pour la Paix, *Reconstruire une paix durable au Rwanda; la parole au peuple*, pP. 93-94.

muri Leta cyangwa mu bikorera. Uwo mubare waragabanutse kuva icyo gihe bitewe n'amavugurura y'imirimo ya Leta no kwegurira ibigo bya Leta abikorera ku giti cyabo¹²⁴. Mu wa 2003, Leta yakoresheye abantu barenga ibihumbi mirongo itandatu (60.000) nk'uko bigaragara mu mbonerahamwe ikurikira.

Imbonerahamwe ya 25: Umurimo mu byiciro bitandukanye mu mwaka wa 2003

Ikiciro	% rya bose	Umubare w'abahawe akazi	% ry'abagabo	% ry'abagore
Leta	1,98%	67 461	62,8%	37,2%
Ibishamikiye kuri Leta	0,47%	15 865	70,3%	29,7%
Imirimo itegamiye kuri Leta	0,35%	11 829	71,3%	28,7%
Amakoperative	0,30%	10 315	71,5%	28,5%
Abandi bikorera	94,77%	3 225 071	44,0%	56,0%

Aho byavuye: Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Minisiteri y'Imari n'Igenamigambi, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual progress report*, October 2004, p. 63

Mu mwaka wa 2003, imibare y'abakozi ukurikije icyo bakora yari iteye itya:

Imbonerahamwe ya 26: Umubare w'abahawe akazi n'icyo bakoraga mu 2003

Imirimo	% rya bose	Umubare w'abahawe akazi	% ry'abagabo	% ry'abagore
Ubuhinzi	86.67%	2949592	41.3%	58.7%
Uburobyi	0.10%	3468	97.3%	2.7%
Akazi mu nganda	0.16%	5328	69.3%	30.7%

¹²⁴ MIFOTRA, *La politique de l'emploi*, Kigali, 2005, p. 13.

Kubyaza umusaruro	1.28%	43643	75.6%	24.4%
Amashanyarazi, amzi no ku bikirakwiza	0.08%	2667	89.6%	10.4%
Ubwubatsi	1.26%	42885	97.1%	2.9%
Ubucuruzi	2.64%	89699	63.4%	36.6%
Amahoteri n'uburiro	0.20%	6836	66.2%	33.8%
Ubwikorezi n'itumanaho	0.93%	31562	93.7%	6.2%
Iby'imari	0.07%	2400	65.0%	35.0%
Ubuyobozi n'ubwirinzi	0.27%	28064	80.1%	19.9%
Uburezi	0.82%	39734	57.1%	42.9%
Ubuzima n'imibereho	0.17%	14575	51.6%	48.4%
Imirimo rusange	0.43%	18487	76.9%	23.1%
Abakozi bo mu ngo	0.54%	86295	47.5%	52.5%
Amashyirahamwe yo mu gihugu	2.54%	3718	66.5%	33.5%

Aho byavuye: Repubulika y'u Rwanda, Minisiteri y'Imari n'Igenamigambi ry'Ubukungu, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual progress Report*, October 2004, p. 6.

Kuva mu mwaka wa 1994, Leta yahisemo gushyiraho imicungire inoze y'abakozi bayo¹²⁵. Mu rwego rwo kuzahura ubukungu, Leta yagiye isubiramo urwego rw'umurimo igabanya abakozi. Guhera mu mwaka wa 2000, imyanya myinshi y'umurimo yagiye ikurwaho, naho mu wa 1995 abasirikare benshi basubijwe mu buzima busanzwe¹²⁶. Ibi byagize ingaruka kuko abakozi basanzwe batakaje imirimo, bagiyeye kongera umubare w'abakozi bo mu nzego zidahoraho ziganjemo ubukorikori n'ubucuruzi buciriritse¹²⁷. Abakozi birukanywe biturutse ku ivugururwa ry'umurimo wa Leta bagiyeye bahabwa inkunga zitandukanye.

¹²⁵ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996*, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 90.

¹²⁶ MIFOTRA, *La politique de l'Emploi*, Kigali, 2005, p. 11.

¹²⁷ MIFOTRA, *La politique de l'Emploi*, Kigali, 2005, pp. 11-12; Primature, *Rapport du Gouvernement pour l'année 2005*, Kigali, 2006, pp. 97-100.

Bamwe bahawe inguzanyo za banki kugira ngo bakore imishinga mito ibyara inyungu. Abandi bahuguwe mu myuga. Hari n'abarihiwe kwiga muri kaminuza.

Mu rwego rwo kugabanya ubushomeri mu byaro no mu migi, Leta yashyizeho poritiki y'igihugu y'umurimo. Ku buryo bufatika, yatangije gahunda nyinshi ndetse n'ibikorwa birimo porogaramu y'ibikorwa by'imirimo y'amaboko (HIMO), no guteza imbere amakoperative.

Icyo Leta itegereje kuri HIMO ni ukugabanya ibibazo bijyanye n'ibura ry'akazi ari na ko igira uruhare mu iterambere ry'ibikorwa remezo n'amajyambere y'icyaro¹²⁸. Porogaramu yiswe HIMO itanga akazi ku bakozi bo mu cyaro cyanecyane urubyiruko kandi batize amashuri ahagije. Icyo kiciro kirimo amasosiyete y'ubwubatsi, ubuhinzi n'ubwikorezi¹²⁹ butanga akazi kenshi mu byaro no mu migi. Raporo za Guverinoma ku bikorwa bya HIMO mu buhinzi, gusana no gutunganya ibikorwa remezo zerekana ko iyo porogaramu yahaye akazi abantu ibihumbi n'ibihumbi. Ibyiza bya HIMO ni uko iha abantu benshi akazi. Ikagira ikibazo cy'uko itanga utuzi tw'igihe gito.

Ahandi hantu Leta yashyize imbaraga ni mu kiciro cy'amakoperative, kuko byagaragaye ko na yo atanga akazi kuko hagenda havuka amashyirahamwe menshi atanga imirimo idahoraho¹³⁰. Mu mwaka wa 1992 mu Rwanda hari amashyirahamwe ibihumbi umunani (8000), uwo mubare waje kugabanuka mu wa 1996 ugera kuri 4700. Gushishikariza abantu kwibumbira mu makoperative no mu mashyirahamwe byageze ku rugero rushimishije; abaturage bo mu byaro no mu migi bamaze kumva ibyiza byo kwishyira hamwe haba mu makoperative cyangwa mu *Budehe* ariko ikibazo cyo kubona inguzanyo mu mabanki ahantu henshi kiracyari ingorabahizi. Ubutumwa bwa Guverinoma ku baturage burasobanutse neza: Abanyarwanda bagomba kwihangira imirimo aho gutegereza guhabwa akazi na Leta. Amakoperative n'amashyirahamwe aboneka nka bumwe mu buryo bwo kwihangira imirimo.

¹²⁸ Country Paper-Rwanda, Local Government and Poverty Reduction in Rwanda: lessons from Experience, Tunis, Tunisia, 21-24 June 2005, p.8

¹²⁹ MIFOTRA, La politique de l'Emploi, Kigali, 2005, pp. 15-16.

¹³⁰ Ministry of commerce, Industry, Investment promotion, Tourism and Cooperatives, Sector Strategies Document: Cooperatives Sector, Kigali, February 2006.

f. Uburezi

Uburezi buri muri zimwe mu nzego z'igihugu z'ingenzi kubera impamvu nyinshi zinyuranye. icya mbere nuko ari urwego leta y'u Rwanda izashingiraho mu gukemura ikibazo k'imiterere y'ubukungu bw'u Rwanda. Ibi bikazakorwa higishwa Abanyarwanda benshi kugira ngo habeho urubumbambaga rusobanukiwe, ruzatuma habaho Abanyarwanda benshi bo mu kiciro giciriritse gifite imbaraga kandi kizatuma ubukungu bw'igihugu bushingira ku bintu bitandukanye kandi buyobowe n'abantu b'abanyabwenge (*Knowledge based economy*). Mu yandi magambo, ubukungu bw'u Rwanda buzaba butagishingiye ahanini ku buhinzi no ku mabuye y'agaciro nk'uko bimeze ubu, ahubwo buzaba bushingiye cyanecyane ku Banyarwanda ubwabo.

Ikindi kubera ko Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yashyizweho muri Nyakanga 1994, yagombaga guhangana n'ibibazo bikaze, kuko abantu benshi bari barishwe muri jenocide, mu bwicanyi naho abandi barahunze. Uburezi bwari uburyo bwa nyuma bwo guhura mu gihe gito abakozi bagombaga kuziba icyaho cyasizwe n'abishwe, abafunzwe, cyangwa abahunze. Ibi bishatse kuvuga ko kuva mu kiciro cy'ubutabazi bwihutirwa, uburezi bwitaweho by'umwihariko.

Guhera mu ntangiriro z'iki kinyejana umuryango mpuzamahanga witaye ku burezi ku buryo bw'umwihariko. Ibi bigaragazwa n'imwe mu ntego z'ikinyagihumbi ivuga ko, ahagana mu mwaka wa 2010 abana b'abahungu n'ab'abakobwa bagomba kuba biga mu mashuri abanza bagomba kugera ku 100% kandi ko abana b'abakobwa batazongera guhezwa mu bijyanye n'uburezi¹³¹.

➤ Itangizwa ry'amashuri

Jenoside n'intambara byashenye igice kimwe k'ibikorwa remezo, ibikoresho byo mu mashuri. Kandi byateye igihombo kinini mu bijyanye n'abakozi bakoraga umwuga w'ubwarimu¹³². Mu rwego rwo gusana igihugu, Guverinoma y'ubumwe yafashe ikemezo cyo gutangiza hakiri kare ibikorwa bijyanye n'uburezi. Bityo,

¹³¹ Kabanda C., "Gestion d'autres défis actuels", in Faustin Rutembesa at al. (éds.), Rwanda, *Identité et citoyenneté*, Butare, Editions Universitaires du Rwanda, 2003, pp. 220-238, p.227; The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank, *Education in Rwanda. Rebalancing Resources to accelerate post-Conflict development and Poverty Reduction*, Washington D.C., October 2003, p.1.

¹³² République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 34.

itangizwa ryihuse ry'amashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye byazanye ikizere cy'uko abantu basubiye mu buzima busanzwe. Ku birebana n'itangizwa rya za Kaminuza ryatumye mu myaka yakurikiyeho haboneka abakozi babifitiye ubushobozi baje kuziba icyuho mu bijyanye n'abakozi cyari mu gihugu.

Gutangiza amashuri abanza bigaragara nk'igikorwa k'indashyikirwa. Mu by'ukuri, ku wa 19 Nzeri 1994, hashize gusa amezi abiri Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho itangiye imirimo, yahise itangiza amashuri abanza. Iryo tangira ryafashwe nk' "amateka"¹³³ kubera ko byakozwe mu bihe bikomeye bidasanzwe. Ababyeyi n'abafatanyabikorwa b'u Rwanda ntibiyumvishaga ko icyo gikorwa gishoboka, ariko Guverinoma yarayatangiye mu bushobozi bucyeye yari ifite.

Igihembwe cya gatatu cy'umwaka w'amashuri wa 1993-1994 cyatangiye kuwa 19 Nzeri 1994 gisozwa mu kwezi k'Ukuboza wa 1994. Ibigo bigera kuri 68,2% ni byo byabashije gutangiza ibikorwa byabyo kuri ariya matariki. Umwaka w'amashuri wa 1994-1995 watangiye ku wa 16 Mutarama 1995 urangira ku wa 29 Ukwakira 1995¹³⁴. Ikizamini cya Leta cy'umwaka w'amashuri 1993-1994 cy'amashuri abanza na cyo cyarateguwe.

Ku bijyanye n'itangizwa ry'amashuri yisumbuye, igihembwe cya gatatu cy'umwaka w'amashuri wa 1993-1994 cyatangiye ku wa 20 Ukwakira 1994. Amasomo yarakomeje aratangwa kugeza muri Gashyantare 1995 amara gusa iminsi 60. Ku banyeshuri 3077 bize muri iyo porogaramu bagakora n'ikizamini cya Leta 81,7% babashije kubona impamyabushobozi z'amashuri yisumbuye. Bamwe muri abo barangije amashuri yisumbuye bagiye kuziba icyuho cy'abarimu mu mashuri abanza. Kuko uwo mubare w'ababonye impamyabushobozi wari munini, icyo kizami cyabatijwe "merci Kagame".

Guverinoma kandi yashyize ku murongo w'ibyahutirwa kongera gutangiza amashuri makuru, ibyo bikaba byaraje gushoboka Tariki ya 2 Mata 1995 muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda. Uwo mwaka w'amashuri wa 1994-1995 warangiye tariki ya 3 Werurwe 1996. Guhera icyo gihe, Guverinoma yafashe uburezi nk'ikiciro cy'ibanze bityo ikigenera igice kinini k'ingengo y'imari¹³⁵.

¹³³ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. 32-34; Anna, Obura, *op. cit.* pp. 56-57..

¹³⁴ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, pp. 34-35.

¹³⁵ Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Poverty Reduc-*

➤ **Kwiyongera kw'abajya mu mashuri**

Mbere y'umwaka wa 1994, hakoreshwaga gahunda y'iringaniza mu itangwa ry'akazi n'amashuri. Ni ukuvuga ko uburezi na bwo bwagize uruhare mu gusenya no gucamo ibice umuryango nyarwanda¹³⁶. Guhera muri Nyakanga 1994, Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yakuyeho iyo poritiki yo kuringaniza amoko n'uturere, amashuri ndetse n'akazi bigahabwa ababikwiye. Guverinoma yahisemo ubumwe n'ubwiyunge nk'umurongo ngenderwaho mu kongera kubaka igihugu.

Iyo poritiki y'uburinganire yagize ingaruka nziza, ibarurishamibare rigaragaza ko guhera mu wa 1994 kugeza muri 2003, umubare w'abinjira mu byiciro byose by'amashuri wiyongereye mu gihugu hose.

Ku birebana n'amashuri abanza, ikigero cy'abajyaga mu mashuri mbere y'intambara cyabashije kugerwaho mu mwaka wa 1997 naho mu wa 2002/2003 umubare w'abanyeshuri biga mu mashuri abanza wari umaze gukuba hafi kabiri uwari uhari mu wa 1993/1994, icyo kikaba ari igikorwa cy'agahebuzo¹³⁷.

Mu mwaka wa 2001, igipimo cy'abinjiraga mu mashuri ku rwego rw'igihugu cyari 72,6% hadatandukanyijwe ibitsina. Ariko mu mugi no mu byaro hari harimo itandukaniro kuko mu mugi icyo kigereranyo cyari 80,8 % na 71,8% mu cyaro. Mu mashuri yisumbuye icyo kigereranyo cyari hasi cyane kuko cyari 7,6% ku rwego rw'igihugu na 22,5% mu mugi naho mu cyaro kikaba 5,8% gusa¹³⁸. Mu mwaka wa 2001, igipimo cy'abinjira mu mashuri abanza cyari kiri hejuru y'ik'ibindi bihugu byo muni y'ubutayu bwa Sahara. Ariko ku kigereranyo cy'abinjira mu mashuri yisumbuye cyari 13% cyazaga muni y'ik'ibihugu by'Afrurika bindi cyari kigeze kuri 20%. Ikigereranyo cy'abari mu mashuri makuru na cyo cyari gitangaje, aho cyavuye ku banyeshuri 3400 mu 1990/1991 kikagera ku 17000 mu wa 2001/2002¹³⁹.

tion Strategy Annual progress report, October 2004, p. 54. Urugero, Uburezi bwatwaye 30% by'umutungo w'igihugu muri 2000-2001, muri 2002-2003 butwara 27%.

¹³⁶ Obura A., *Never Again: Education Reconstruction in Rwanda*, Paris, UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 2003, p.17

¹³⁷ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. 34-35.

¹³⁸ MINECOFIN, *Aprofile of Poverty in Rwanda. An analysis Based on the results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, p. 15

¹³⁹ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank,

Nyuma y'amatora ya Perezida n'abadepite ni ukuvuga nyuma y'igihe k'inzibacyuho yo mu wa 2003, ikemezo cya Guverinoma cyo gukuraho amafaranga 300 y'ishuri mu mashuri abanza cyatumye abajyamo biyongera. Leta yiyemeje kwishyura ayo mafaranga bigo by'amashuri. Leta yongereye kandi buhorobuhoro umubare w'amashuri n'ibyumba byo kwigiramo, ibi na byo biri mu byatumye umubare w'abiga wiyongera; ibi kandi byatumye umubare w'abava mu mashuri abanza bajya mu yisumbuye wiyongera. Abemererwaga kujya mu mashuri yisumbuye bariyongereye hagati y'imyaka y'amashuri ya 1994/1995 na 2002/2003

Hagati y'umwaka wa 1994 n'uwa 2003, amashuri makuru yagize iterambere rigaragara. Umubare w'abinjiraga mu mashuri wariyongereye cyane, kimwe n'umubare wa za Kaminuza n'amashuri makuru. Ibi byagize ingaruka nziza kuko n'umubare w'abarangizaga muri ayo mashuri wiyongereye cyane. Bikaba byaraturutse mu mbaraga za Leta no mu mbaraga z'abikorera ku giti cyabo.

Ibigo by'amashuri makuru mbere y'umwaka wa 1994 byari ibi bikurikira: Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda (UNR), Ishuri rikuru ry'ubuhinzi n'ubworozi (ISAE), Ishuri rikuru ry'imari ya Leta (ISFP), Kaminuza y'abarayiki y'Abadivantisiti (UNILAC), Kaminuza y'Abadivantisiti yo muri Afurika yo hagati (UAAC), Ishuri Rikuru Nderabarezi ry'i Gitwe (ISPG), Seminari Nkuru ya Nyakibanda n'Ishuri Rikuru rya Teworojiya ry'i Butare. Ibigo bishya byashinzwe nyuma ya 1994 ni ibi bikurikira: Ishuri Rikuru ry'Ubuvuzi (KHI) ryashinzwe mu 1995, Ishuri rikuru rya Siyansi, Ikoranabuhanga n'Icungamutungo (KIST) ryashinzwe mu 1997, n'Ishuri rikuru ry'Uburezi (KIE) ryashinzwe mu 1999. Kuri ayo mashuri hiyongereyeho andi yagiye ashingwa n'abikorera ari yo: Kaminuza yigenga ya Kigali (ULK) yashinzwe mu 1995, Kaminuza Gatorika y'i Kabwayi (UCK) mu wa 2003 na Kaminuza y'Ubuhinzi, Ikoranabuhanga n'Uburezi ya Kibungo (UNATEK) yashinzwe mu wa 2003¹⁴⁰.

Kimwe n'umubare wa za Kaminuza n'Amashuri makuru, umubare w'abayinjiramo na wo wariyongereye cyane haba mu

Education in Rwanda. Rebalancing Ressources to accelerate post-Conflict development and Poverty Reduction, Washington D.C., October 2003, p.3.

¹⁴⁰ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 36.

mashuri ya Leta n'ayigenga. Imbonerahamwe ebyiri zikurikira ziratwerekana ubwo bwiyongere kuva mu wa 1994 kugeza mu wa 2002.

Imbonerahamwe ya 27: Abinjiye mu mashuri makuru ya Leta kuva mu mwaka w'amashuri 1994/1995 kugeza mu mwaka w'amashuri wa 2001/2002

	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
NUR	3261 (24)	3948 (26)	4178 (27)	4548 (26)	-	4535 (23)	4840 (24)	5922 (?)
KIST	-	-	-	20 (13)	561 (25)	1149 (31)	1512 (29)	1445(?)
KIE	-	-	-	-	299 (35)	597 (31)	959 (28)	1269 (27)
KHI	-	-	-	29	279	383	690	784
ISAE	-	20	92	113	164	314	526	860
ISFP	-	-	67	161	110	98	121	?
Totals	3261	3968	4387	5065	1413	7076	8648	10280

Aho byavuye: Obura Anna, *op.cit.*, p. 116

Imbonerahamwe ya 28: Abinjiye mu mashuri makuru yigenga kuva mu mwaka w'amashuri 1994/1995 kugeza mu mwaka w'amashuri wa 2001/2002

	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00	00/01	01/02
UAAC	-	-	92 (42)	149 (22)	216 (47)	351 (53)	445 (56)	495 (51)
ULK	-	-	20 (21)	406 (34)	1406 (46)	2312 (49)	3250 (49)	4188 (50)
ISPG/ GITWE	-	-	-	-	-	81	54	69
UNILAC	-	-	-	-	-	-	280	321
Totals	-	-	112	555	1622	2744	4029	5073

Aho byavuye: Obura Anna, *op. cit.*, p. 117. **Ikitonderwa:** Kuri izi imbonerahamwe ebyiri, imibare iri mu dukubo irerekana ijanisha ry'igitsinagore

Nyuma y'ishingwa ry'amashuri makuru atatu yigenga mu mwaka wa 2003 (INATEK, UCK, UNIR yo mu Ruhengeri), umubare w'abinjira mu mashuri warenze gato abanyeshuri 20.000 mu wa 2003¹⁴¹.

Ukwiyongera kw'abinjira mu mashuri kwatumye n'umubare w'abarangiza muri ayo mashuri wiyongera. Dufashe nk'urugero

¹⁴¹ République rwandaise, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003*, p. 37.

rwa Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda umubare w'abayirangijemo mu mwaka w'amashuri wa 1992/1993 wari 457, mu mwaka w'amashuri wa 2001/2002 ugera kuri 2785¹⁴², hiyongereyeho abagera kuri 600% mu myaka 9. Kuva mu wa 1963 kugeza mu wa 1993 ni ukuvuga mu myaka 30, abarangije muri kaminuza bageraga ku 1962¹⁴³.

Uko kwiyongera kw'imibare y'abajya mu mashuri kwatewe na poritiki y'igihugu y'uburezi kuri bose, uburezi butarimo ivangura iryo ari ryo ryose. Poritiki y'uburezi yatangajwe ku mugaragaro muri Nyakanga 2003¹⁴⁴.

Iyo uvisomye, usanga yarashingiye cyane ku nyandiko ebyiri za poritiki zindi zavuzwe haruguru, ari zo ikerekezo 2020 na porogaramu inoze yo kurwanya ubukene. Mu mwaka wa 2000-2001, Inama y'igihugu y'ibizami yahawe abakozi, ibikoresho n'ubuzima gatozi¹⁴⁵.

➤ **Ireme ry'uburezi**

Ku bijyanye n'ireme ry'uburezi, integanyanyigisho zo mu mashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye zasubiwemo mu mwaka wa 1996. Zibanda cyane ku kwigisha abanyeshuri gutekereza basesengura ndetse banajora guhera mu mashuri abanza. Ni inyigisho zirema mu mwana kuva akiri muto umuco wo kwifatira icyemezo no kugihagararaho¹⁴⁶. Irindi vugurura rishingiye ku kwigisha indimi z'amahanga Igifaransa cyangwa icyongereza (bitewe n'ikigo) guhera mu mwaka wa mbere w'amashuri abanza¹⁴⁷. Ivugurura kandi ryazanye isomo rishya "Siyansi n'ikorabuhanga by'ibanze" ku rutonde rw'inyigisho¹⁴⁸. Inama y'igihugu yo gushyiraho za porogaramu (CNDP) ni yo yashyizeho gahunda z'inyigisho n'amavugurura mu mashuri.

¹⁴² Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual progress report*, October 2004, p. 54.

¹⁴³ National University of Rwanda, *Graduation Ceremony, 28.03.2008, fact and figures*,

¹⁴⁴ Republic of Rwanda, *Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Scientific research, Education Sector Policy*, July 2003.

¹⁴⁵ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001*, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 21.

¹⁴⁶ Obura A., *op.cit.* P.87

¹⁴⁷ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996*, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 35.

¹⁴⁸ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 2003*, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 34.

Mu rwego rwo gusakaza izo nteganyanyigisho, Leta yagiye itanga ibitabo by'amasomo n'ibindi bikoresho byo kwigishirizaho mu mashuri yo mu gihugu. Poritiki yiswe *Text book* yashyizweho mu wa 2002 hanyuma guhera muri 2003, ibitabo by'indimi, ibya siyansi n'iby'ikoranabuhanga ry'ibanze biratangwa. Ariko abenshi mu banyeshuri ntibagira ibitabo bakoresha mu ishuri¹⁴⁹. Kugeza mu wa 2003, amateka ntiyigishwaga mu mashuri abanza n'ayisumbuye¹⁵⁰.

Mu rwego kongera ireme ry'uburezi, Leta yagenzuye niba abarimu bose bafite ikiciro cy'amashuri asabwa, niba abarimu bitabwaho mu bijyanye n'amahugurwa n'igenamigambi ry'umubare wabo. Hanyuma porogaramu zinyuranye z'ivugurura ry'abakozi zageze no ku barimu batari bujuje ibyangombwa, umubare wabo wagiye ugabanuka. icyavuyemo nuko kuva mu mwaka wa 1994, igipimo cyo hagati ku bumenyi bw'abarimu bo mu mashuri abanza cyakomeje kwiyongera. Kiva kuri 39% mu wa 1994-1995 kiza kugera kuri 85,2% mu wa 2002/2003. Twakwibutsa ko mbere y'intambara icyo gipimo cyari 60%. icyo gipimo cyariyongereye no ku barimu bo mu mashuri yisumbuye. Cyavuye kuri 33,3% mu wa 1994-1995 kigera kuri 52,1% mu wa 2002-2003. Ariko amashuri yigenga yarafite abarimu benshi babifitiye ubushobozi kurusha abo mu mashuri ya Leta n'ayigenga afashwa na Leta¹⁵¹. Mu mashuri makuru, umubare w'abarimu babifitiye ubushobozi nawo wariyongereye kuva mu mwaka wa 1994 kugeza mu wa 2003, bitewe n'ukuntu bagiye bigishwa.

¹⁴⁹ Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual progress report*, October 2004, p. 49.

¹⁵⁰ République du Rwanda, Leta yabonye ko byaba byiza habanje kwigwa ku nyigisho zizatangwa nyuma zikemezwa n'abanyamateka. Kubera ko inyigisho yari ihari yari ikirimo ibitekerezo bica abantu mo ibice ari na byo byatumye habaho jenocide yakorewe Abatutsi mu wa 1994. Bahujwe n'umushinga witwa "Facing History and Ourselves", mu nyubako za IRDP habereye inama yahuje abanyamateka bo mu Rwanda n'abo muri USA bakorera hamwe inyandiko yagombaga guherwaho hategurwa isomo ry'amateka ryajya ryigishwa mu mashuri yisumbuye. (Sarah Warshauer Freedman, *Education for Reconciliation, Creating a History Curriculum After Genocide in Rwanda*., Winter 2006, pp.16-17). Iyo nyandiko ni : Sarah W. Freedman et al., *L'enseignement de l'histoire du Rwanda. Approche participative. Pour les écoles secondaires du Rwanda, ouvrage de référence pour l'enseignant*, The regents of the University of California, 2006.

¹⁵¹ République rwandaise, Ministère de l'éducation, de la science, de la technologie et de la recherche scientifique, Unité d'Etudes et de la Plannification de l'éducation, Enseignement secondaire, Année scolaire 2003-2004, recensement scientifique, Kigali, 2005; République rwandaise, Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 36; Republic of Rwanda, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, *Poverty Reduction Strategy Annual Progress Report*, October 2004, p.54.

➤ **Imbogamizi**

Nyamara, uretse uko kwiyongera mu mibare no mu bwiza, uburezi bwagiye buhura n'imbogamizi nyinshi zijyana n'imiterere y'ubukungu bw'u Rwanda. icya mbere, nk'uko tumaze kubibona, igipimo cyo hagati cy'ubushobozi bw'abarimu bo mu mashuri yisumbuye kiracyari hasi. Hakenewe ko kizamurwa, cyanecyane abanyeshuri abarangije muri KIE na UNR bashishikarizwa kujya kwigisha mu mashuri yisumbuye. Ikindi ni uko imishahara y'abarimu bo mu mashuri abanza, ayisumbuye n'amakuru itari yaba myiza. Ibyo bigatuma abafite ubushobozi bashobora kwibonera akazi ahandi bahitamo kureka umwuga w'ubwarimu. Ibi bikaba bidindiza cyane uburezi.

g) Ubuzima

Urwego rw'ubuzima narwo rwagezweho n'ingaruka z'intambara na jenocide, kuko rwatakaje ibikorwa remezo byinshi, ibikoreho n'abakozi. Ariko ibikorwa bya Leta byazahuye urwo rwego cyane aho mu byiciro bimwe rwageze ku rugero rwa mbere y'intambara mu bindi rukarenza urwo rugero.

➤ **Indwara**

Indwara ziganje mu Rwanda ni marariya, VIH/SIDA, indwara zifata imyanya y'ubuhumekero n'izindi nyinshi. Muri 2003, 80% by'abarwayi bisuzumishaga mu bigo nderabuzima babaga barwaye marariya, inzoka zo mu nda, n'indwara z'ubuhumekero. Nubwo abana n'ababyeyi bafatwa nk'urwego rw'abantu bakwiye kwitabwaho mu bijyanye n'ubuzima, abana bafite munsu y'imyaka itanu ni bo bibasirwa n'imfu¹⁵².

Mu rwego rwo kurwanya izo ndwara, Minisiteri y'ubuzima n'ibindi bigo byigenga byashyizemo ingufu nyinshi. Ariko ikibazo cy'abakozi badahagije, kubura ibikorwa remezo n'ibikoreho by'ubuvuzi, kubura imiti yagenewe kuvura indwara zimwe na zimwe, ubushobozi bucyeye bw'abarwayi batabasha kugura imiti imwe n'imwe, hamwe n'agace dutuyemo gakennye ku bijyanye n'isuku bituma ubuzima bw'abaturage bukomeza kugira ibibazo¹⁵³. Nk'uko byagaragaye mu bushakashatsi bwakozwe: "akenshi, imfu mu Rwanda ziterwa n'indwara zandura zishobora

¹⁵² MINISANTE, Rapport annuel 2003, p.5.

¹⁵³ MINISANTE, Rapport annuel 2003, p.3.

kuba zakwirindwa isuku yubahirijwe, abantu bagatura neza kandi bagahindura n'imico¹⁵⁴.

➤ **Ibikorwa remezo by'ubuzima**

Ibikorwa remezo by'ubuzima byitaweho cyane kubera akamaro kabyo mu guteza imbere ubuzima. Ibitaro bimwe na bimwe byarubatswe, ibisanzwe na byo birasanwa ibindi birongerwa. Ibigo nderabuzima byinshi nabyo byarubatswe, ibisanzwe na byo bikagenda bisanwa.

Mu wa 1996, serivisi nyinshi zifasha mu bijyanye n'ubuzima zaratangwaga haba mu kuvura cyangwa mu kwirinda indwara. Ibitaro by'igihugu by'ikitegererezo nk'ibitaro byitiriwe Umwami Faysal, ibitaro bya Kigali n'ibitaro bya Kaminuza i Butare byarasanwe, bishyiramo ibikoresho kandi bitangira gukoreshwa. Ibitaro 25 by'uturere kuri 30 byari mu gihugu hose hamwe n'ibigo nderabuzima n'amavuriro 257 kuri 279 byari mu gihugu hose na byo byakinguye imiryango nyuma yo gusanwa no gushyirwamo ibikoresho. Mu wa 1996, 100% by'abakora ubuvuzi baravuraga, 93% bagakingira, 73% babasha gutanga ibitaro, naho 43% bakora ibijyanye na raboratwari¹⁵⁵. Uko imyaka yagendaga ihita, izo serivisi zariyongereye mu mubare kandi zikwira no mu gihugu.

Mu mwaka wa 2000, ibitaro bya Nyanza, n'ikigo nderabuzima cya Kimironko byaratangijwe¹⁵⁶. Mu wa 2001, hari ibitaro by'uturere 33, naho ibigo nderabuzima by'uturere byo byabarirwaga muri 40. Ibyo bitaro by'uturere byagengwaga n'uturere tw'ubuzima 11. Ku rwego rw'igihugu hari ibitaro 4 by'ikitegererezo ni ukuvuga ko ku bitaro 3 by'ikitegererezo hiyongereyeho ikigo kivura indwara zo mu mutwe k'i Ndera¹⁵⁷. Mu wa 2003, ibitaro bya Kaminuza by'i Butare, n'ibitaro bya Kigali byarahujwe byitwa ibitaro bya Kaminuza (CHU)¹⁵⁸. Ibitaro byitiriwe umwami Faysal byongerewe ubushobozi mu bijyanye n'imari, n'amategeko bihinduka ibitaro

¹⁵⁴ MINECOFIN, *A Profile of Poverty in Rwanda, An Analysis Based on the results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, p.10

¹⁵⁵ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996*, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 24.

¹⁵⁶ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisation du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001*, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 19.

¹⁵⁷ MINECOFIN, *A Profile of Poverty in Rwanda, An Analysis Based on the results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, p.11

¹⁵⁸ MINISANTE, *Rapport annuel 2003*, p.101

bijyanye n'igihe. Mu wa 2003, ibitaro by'uturere byari 34, ibigo nderabuzima ari 385. Ibyo bitaro n'ibigo nderabuzima 60% byari ibya Leta naho 40% ari ibitaro byumvikanyweho ko "byemewe"¹⁵⁹.

➤ **Abakozi n'ibigo by'ubuzima**

Imibare yerekana ko abakozi bo mu nzego z'ubuzima biyongereye mu bwinshi no mu kugira ubushobozi. Ishami ryigisha iby'ubuvuzi rya Kaminuza y'u Rwanda (UNR), ryatangiyeye gutanga abaganga bo mu cyiriro rusange guhera mu mwaka wa 1999. Iryo shami ryaravuguruwe hatangizwa porogaramu zigisha icyiciro cya gatatu ku byiciro by'ubuzima bimwe na bimwe. Ariko Guverinoma yitabaje abaganga bo hanze baturuka mu bihugu duturanye cyangwa ibya kure mu rwego rwo kuziba icyuho cyagaragaraga mu buvuzi bw'u Rwanda.

Ishuri ry'ubuzima rya Kigali (KHI) naryo ryigishije abafasha b'abaganga benshi ku kiciro cya mbere (A1). Amashuri yisumbuye yigisha iby'ubuganga na yo yatanze abafaromo bari ku rwego rwa A2 na ho amashuri y'imbenezamubano atanga abafasha mu by'imbenezamubano.

Igabanya ry'ibyatangwaga na Leta ibinyuze mu mavugurura ryakoze no ku rwego rw'ubuvuzi. Aha, ingaruka yabaye kwiyongera kw'igipimo cy'abakozi babifitiye ubushobozi cyageze kuri 64% mu mwaka wa 2002¹⁶⁰. Biturutse kuri poritiki yo kwemerera ibigo nderabuzima kwishakira abakozi, umubare w'abafaromo wariyongereye.

Kugeza mu mwaka wa 1996, ibigo bikurikira byashyizweho kugira ngo bitange ubufasha mu kuvura no kwirinda indwara: Porogaramu y'igihuguyokurwanya VIH/SIDA (PNLS), Porogaramu yaguye yo gukingira na porogaramu y'igihugu yo kurwanya malariya (PNLP)¹⁶¹. Hagati y'umwaka 2000 nuwa 2001, PNLS yaravuguruwe ihindurwa TRAC (Ikigo gikora ubushakashatsi ku buvuzi)¹⁶². Ikoranabuhanga ryagiye rikoresheya mu bigo by'ubuzima nka TRAC, ibitaro by'ikitegererezo n'ahandi.

¹⁵⁹ MINISANTE, *Rapport annuel 2003*, pp. 97-98 *Ku bijyanye n'ibigo nderabuzima, imibare myinshi yagiye itangwa na Leta y'u Rwanda, Politique du Secteur Santé*, Février 2005, p.8

¹⁶⁰ Gouvernement du Rwanda, *Politique du secteur de Santé*, Février 2005, p. 8.

¹⁶¹ République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 1994-19 Juillet 1996*, Kigali, Juillet 1996, p. 19.

¹⁶² République rwandaise, *Service du Premier Ministre, Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union nationale, 19 Juillet 2000-19 Juillet 2001*, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 19.

Poritiki ya Leta ituma abaturage bagira uruhare mu bikorwa by'ubuzima bireabana n'imari yagize akamaro. Ikigo cy'ubwishingizi mu by'ubuvuzi (RAMA) cyashyizweho ngo giteganyirize abakozi ba Leta. Cyatangiye ibikorwa byacyo mu wa 2001¹⁶³. Ku bandi baturage basigaye, hashyizweho ubwisungane bunyuranye mu kwivuza. Gukwirakwiza ubwisungane mu kwivuza byarihuse. Mu wa 2003, hariho amatsinda 88 y'ubwisungane ni ukuvuga 23%¹⁶⁴. Kwitabira ubwisungane mu kwivuza kw'abaturage na ko kwarihuse. Mu wa 2003 bwari bugeze kuri 7% by'abaturage¹⁶⁵. Bumwe mu buryo bwatumye kwisungana mu kwivuza bikwira mu gihugu cyose ni igikorwa cyo kwegereza ubuyobozi abaturage. Mu by'ukuri, poritiki yo gushyiraho ubwisungane mu kwivuza yavugaga ko: "Akarere gafite inshingano zo korohereza iterambere ry'ubwisungane mu kwivuza, akarere kashyigikiraga ibikorwa by'ubukangurambaga, gutangiza no gukurikirana ubwishingane mu kwivuza (...) ku rwego rwa serire na segiteri, hariho komite zishinzwe ubwisungane (CIM) abagize iyo komite batorwa n'abaturage kandi na bo bakaba baritabiriye ubwisungane mu kwivuza"¹⁶⁶.

Serivisi z'ubwishingizi mu kwivuza zashoboye gukoresha inzego zashyizweho ku nyungu zazo. Amafaranga atangwa ku mwaka ku bwisungane mu kwivuza k'umuturage ku kigo nderabuzima abarirwa ku mafaranga 891, waburungushura akagera ku mafaranga 1000¹⁶⁷. Ariko kugira ngo iyo gahunda ikore neza, Leta yagombye kongera imigabane yari yaratanzwe n'abaturage.

Hanyuma, kubijyanye n'ibikorwa birebana na farumasi, hari ibikorwa byinshi byagezweho. Nk'urugero, urutonde rw'imiti ikoresha mu gihugu rwagiye rusubirwamo n'abashinzwe za farumasi mu turere bashyirirwaho porogaramu z'amahugurwa. Byongeye kandi, farumasi z'uturere tw'ubuzima zarasanwe. Aho baranguza imiti naho hariyeho hagenzurwa, aho bacururiza imiti naho haragenzurwa, umwuga wo gucuruza imiti wongera guhabwa agaciro, ibyo abacuruza imiti bakora biragenzurwa mu mpande zose z'igihugu. Ikigo kigurisha imiti y'ibanze (CAMERWA) cyahawe inshingano zo gutanga imiti y'ibanze ku rwego rw'igihugu na laboratwari y'imiti (LABOPHAR) yagiye ikora imiti imwe n'imwe.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p.2.

¹⁶⁴ MINISANTE, Rapport annuel 2006, p.18

¹⁶⁵ MINISANTE, Rapport annuel 2006, p.19

¹⁶⁶ République du Rwanda, *Ministère de la Santé, Politique de développement des Mutuelles de Santé au Rwanda*, Kigali, s.d., pp. 13-14

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 15

Ariko, umubare w'abaganga ugereranyije n'abaturage baturage babakeneye uracyari hasi. Uwo mubare wari umuganga umwe ku barwayi 37000 mu wa 2003, muri uwo mwaka, igipimo cy'abaforomo cyari umuforomo umwe wabyigiye ku bantu 4500¹⁶⁸.

➤ **Kwirinda indwara no kuzivura**

Kwiyongera kw'ibitaro n'ibigo nderabuzima, kwagura bimwe muri byo, kongera umubare n'ubushobozi bw'abakozi bo kwa muganga no gutanga imiti ya ngombwa byatumye habaho kunoza ibyatangwaga mu kwirinda no kwivuza.

Imibare ihari igaragaza ko kwitabira serivisi z'ubuvuzi byagiye bigabanuka hagati ya 1997 na 2003¹⁶⁹, naho muri 2002 ikoreshwa ry'izo serivisi ryageze ku gipimo cya 1988, bisobanuye ko bijya kugera kuri 30%, kandi ko guhera muri 2002 ryagiye rizamuka¹⁷⁰.

MINISANTE yakanguriye abaturage kwita ku isuku. Kubera iyo mpamvu, yakoresheje inzego z'ibanze ahari abashinzwe imibereho myiza n'ubuzima. Yakoresheje kandi radiyo n'ubutumwa bwanditse ku bitaro n'ibigo nderabuzima.

Hitaweho by'umwihariko gushishikariza baturage kurwanya agakoko gatera SIDA. Ubushakashatsi bwakozwe mu mwaka wa 2005 bwagaragaje ko igipimo cy'ubwandu bwa VIH/SIDA cyageze kuri 3% mu kiciro cy'abantu bari hagati y'imyaka 15 na 49, ariko abagore ni bo bari bafite ubwandu cyane kurusha abagabo¹⁷¹. icyo gipimo cyari 13% mu wa 1997 hanyuma mu wa 2001 kiragabanuka kigera kuri 11,2%¹⁷². Igabanuka ry'icyo gipimo ryatewe n'imbaraga leta yashyizemo ibinyujije muri MINISANTE, CNLS na TRAC, ubufatanye n'ibindi bihugu,

¹⁶⁸ MINISANTE, Rapport annuel 2003, p.98

¹⁶⁹ Gouvernement du Rwanda, *Politique du secteur de Santé*, février 2005, p. 7.

¹⁷⁰ Institut National de la Statistique du Rwanda, *Indicateurs développement du Rwanda en 2005*, p. 83.

¹⁷¹ Republic of Rwanda, *Institut national de la Statistique, Ministère de la planification économique, Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey 2005*, Kigali, July 2006 p.xxix; PRIMATURE, *Rapport du Gouvernement pour l'année 2005*, Kigali, 2006, p. 105

¹⁷² IDA, Rwanda: *Redressement, rehabilitation et espoir Mai 2007*, <http://www.banquemondiale.org/ida>; MINECOFIN, *A Profile of Poverty in Rwanda. An analysis Based on the Results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, p. 10.

➤ **Amafaranga agenerwa urwego rw'ubuzima**

Imbonerahamwe ya 29: Amafaranga agenerwa urwego rw'ubuzima n'aho aturuka kuva mu 1997 kugeza mu 2003.

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Hanze	13,875	17,258	11,784	3,828	1,881	9,337	2,985
Mu Rwanda	1,887	2,275	3,720	4,383	4,147	4,118	7,743
Igiteranyo	15,582	19,533	15,504	8,211	8,028	13,453	10,728

Aho byaturutse: Minisiteri Y'Ubuzima. Raporo y'umwaka 2004, p.66.

Iyi mbonerahamwe igaragaza ko amafaranga agenerwa urwego rw'ubuzima yagiye yiyonera anaganuka hagati ya 1997 na 2003. Ku mafaranga aturuka ku ngengo y'imari y'igihugu, yariyongera kuva mu wa 1997 kugera mu wa 2003, yagabanutseho gato mu wa 2001 no mu wa 2002 ugereranyije no mu 2000. Urwego rw'ubuzima rwahungabanyijwe no gushingira ku nkunga zo hanze.

Hagaragara buri gihe ikibazo cy'abakozi bake kandi badafite ubushobozi buhagije ahantu hose, cyanecyane mu duce tw'icyaro. Imiti ihenze ntigera ku bantu bakennye kandi barwaye, n'ubwo ubwisungane mu kwivuza bugamije gukemura icyo kibazo. Imyitwarire y'abaturage mu birebana n'indwara zandura ntiratera imbere. Byongeye kandi, kwita ku isuku n'imiturire ikwiye biracyari hasi mu rwego rwo kunoza imitere rusange y'ubuzima bw'abaturage.

➤ **Imiturire n'isuku**

Mu wa 1994, imiturire yangijwe n'intambara na jenocide. Abenshi mu barokotse jenocide basanze amazu yabo yarasenywe n'abakoze jenocide, kuko jenocide ntiyari igamije gusa gusenya ubuzima bw'Abatutsi, ahubwo no guhanagura ibimenyetso byabo bifatika mu gihugu. Amazu yangijwe kubera bikorwa by'ubusahuzi n'imirwano yabaye hagati y'ingabo za Guverinoma n'iza FPR. Byongeye kandi, igihe impunzi za kera batahukaga mu Rwanda, nta nzu bari bafite zo kubamo byabaye ngombwa ko bajya mu mazu y'impunzi za vuba. Ahagana mu wa 1999 bategetswe gusubiza izo nzu ba nyirazo bari bamaze gutahuka mu kivunge mu Rwanda.

Imwe mu mbogamiza nkuru Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda yagomabaga gukemura kwari kubonera amacumbi ibyiciro binyuranye by'abaturage batari bafite aho bikinga. Imbogamizi zirebana n'amacumbi zakajijwe n'iyimukacyaro ryarushijeho kwiyongera mu 1996. Abaturage babaga mu mugi bageraga kuri 391.194 mu wa 1991(5, 5% byabaturage bose b'u Rwanda) bagera kuri 1.362.312 mu wa 2002(16,7%)¹⁷⁷.

Mu gihe abari bafite ubushobozi bwihariye biyubakiraga uko bari babishoboye amacumbi, Leta yafashije abatishoboye gutunganya ayabo. Poritiki ya mbere y'igihugu y'imiturire yakozwe mu wa 1996, yasobanuye igenamigambi ry'imyubakire yo mugi, "kuvugurura" uduce twatwemo bitateguwe no gutuza abaturage begeranye mu byaro. Iyo politiki yageze ku musaruro ushimishije kuko kuva 1995 kugera 2001, inzu zirenga 265.000 zubatswe mu *midugudu*¹⁷⁸. Ibi byabashije kugerwaho kubera ko Guverinoma yashyizemo ingufu ishoramo imari ndetse n'imfashanyo z'umuryango mpuzamahanga. Nk'urugero, muri Gashyantare 1996, umuryango mpuzamahanga (Imfashanyo z'ibihugu binyuranye, Ibyishyize hamwe, ONG) wahaye u Rwanda amadorari arenga miriyari 1,4 y'Abanyamerika yifashishijwe mu gucyura no gutuza impunzi n'abavuye mu byabo¹⁷⁹.

Ku birebana n'imidugudu, birakwiye kwibutsa ko gukuraho imiturire itatanye no kwemeza imiturire yo mu midugudu byari bigamije ku ruhande rumwe gukoresha neza ubutaka hagaragazwa ubutaka bwo guturaho n'ubutaka bwo guhingaho n'ibindi bikorwa. Byari bigamije ku rundi ruhande korohereza ishyirwaho ry'ibikorwa remezo by'ubukungu n'imibereho bizafasha abaturage bo mu byaro kugera ku mibereho myiza n'iterambere mu by'ubukungu¹⁸⁰.

Poritiki yo gutura mu midugudu yakwirakwiriye hakiri kare mu zahoze ari perefegitura za Kibungo na Byumba, nyamara yagiye

¹⁷⁷ République du Rwanda, Ministère de l'Infrastructure: Politique nationale l'habitat au Rwanda, Kigali juillet 2004, p. 8.

¹⁷⁸ République du Rwanda, Ministère de l'Infrastructure: Politique nationale l'habitat au Rwanda, Kigali juillet 2004, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ République du Rwanda, Service du premier Ministre, Réalisations du gouvernement d'Union Nationale, 19 juillet 1994- 19 juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p. 18.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 15.

ikorwa buhoro mu zindi perefegitura. Nk'urugero, muri komini ya Mukarange ya perefegitura ya Byumba mu wa 1997 havugwaga ko 80% by'abaturage bo byaro babaga mu midugudu, babonye amazu. Mu wa 1999, i Kibungo, 78% by'abaturage babaga mu midugudu.¹⁸¹ Indi midugudu myinshi yarubatswe mu duce twinshi tw'igihugu ariko ku ijanisha rinyuranye n'iryo tumaze kubona, ariko umuhate wo gushishikariza abaturage bo mu byaro kujya mu midugudu warakomeje.

Ibishushanyo mbonera by'umugi wa Kigali n'indi migi yo mu gihugu byarakozwe. Kubaka mu utundi duce two guturamo n'utwo gucururizamo muri Kigali byarakozwe hagendewe kuri cya gishushanyo mbonera. Amazu mashya yo guturamo aciriritse yarubatswe ameze nk'imidugudu i Gacuriro, i Kibagabaga, Gisozi, Nyarutarama na Kimironko n'ahandi; andi mazu yiyongereye k'uduce twari dusanzweho twa Kacyiru, Remera, Gikondo, n'ahandi. Izo nyubako yagezweho ahanini biturutse ku ruhare rw'abikorera ku giti cyabo, banki y'imiturire y'u Rwanda (yasimbuye icyahoze ari *Caisse hypothécaire du Rwanda*), ndetse n'isanduku y'ubwiteganyirize bw'abakozi n'amabanki y'ubucuruzi yo mu Rwanda. Abagenerwabikorwa (akozi ba Leta n'abandi bakozi) babonye amazu ku nguzanyo, bazishyura mu bihe binyuranye.

Kubaka amazu yo guturamo muri utwo duce, byajyanye no kuzamura izindi nyubako za Leta n'iz'ubucuruzi mu mug, ntagushidikanya ko byahaye umugi isura y'ubwiza yo hejuru. Ibyo byose ni bimwe mu byagezweho na Guverinoma y'u Rwanda nyuma ya 1994. Kubera ayo mavugurura mu myubakire, umugi wa Kigali uherutse kwemezwa nk'imwe mu migi mike ifite isuku muri Afurika.

Nyamara, abanyamugi bakomeje kubaka amazu mu duce tutateganyijwe. Nubwo binyuranyije n'amategeko, hari hatuyemo abarenga 50% by'abaturage b'umugi mu wa 2003¹⁸². Umuntu ashobora kwemeza ko utwo duce dufite akamaro ugendeye k'ubwinshi bw'abadutuye kuko dufasha abanyamugi kubona macumbi abakwiriye, arinako umuntu yagaya ubwiza bw'ayo macumbi.

¹⁸¹ Vanhoyweghen S., "The urgency of land and Agrarian Reform in Rwanda", in *African Affairs*, pp. 353-372, p. 363.

¹⁸² République du Rwanda, *Ministère de l'Infrastructure: Politique nationale de l'habitat au Rwanda*, Kigali juillet 2004, p. 21.

Ariko ikibazo cy'amacumbi ku rwego rw'igihugu kiracyahura n'imbogamizi z'ubwiza n'ubwinshi bwayo. Iperereza ryakozwe mu wa 2001 rigaragaza ko hari hakiri imiryango 192.000 itifashije yari ikiba muri 'burende'¹⁸³. Ku birebana n'ubwiza, ibikoresho byubakishwa biteye ishozi, nk'urugero mu wa 2001, inkuta zigera kuri 80% z'amazu yo mu gihugu zari zubakishije amatafari ya rukarakara n'ibyondo¹⁸⁴. Imyubakire yo ku butaka hasi na yo ntiyari isamaje¹⁸⁵

Indi mibare ijyana n'ubwiza bw'amacumbi ni irebena n'ukuboneka kw'amazi n'amashanyarazi. Kugeza mu wa 2001 imiryango 2,4% yonyine ni yo yari abafatabuguzi b'amazi muri ELETROGAZ, na ho imiryango 81,1% yavomaga mu ku mavomero yubakwa mu tubande, abakene bo bavomaga mu migezi. Impuzandego k'urwego rw'igihugu y'urugendo rwakorwaga n'abantu bajya kuvoma yari km 703 mu wa 2001¹⁸⁶.

Ku bijyana n'umuriro, guhera mu wa 1994, umubare w'abafatabuguzi wariyongereye kuko wavuye ku 2% by'abaturage mu wa 1994 ugera kuri 6% mu wa 2002¹⁸⁷. Ariko guhera icyo gihe, uzamuka buhoro, byongeye kandi ikinyuranyo hagati y'umugi n'icyaro kirakabije¹⁸⁸.

Mu kwanzura, raka tuvuge ko Guverinoma n'abanyemari bikorera ku giti cyabo bageze ku bintu yinshi ku bijyanye n'imyubakire muri rusange n'imiturire by'umwihariko. Ariko haracyakenewe byinshi byo gukorwa muri icyo kicio haba ku bwinshi no mu bwiza. Hagendewe kuri porogaramu zo kugabanya ubukene umuntu yakwizera ko hazongerwa umubare w'amazu meza mu myaka iri imbere.

¹⁸³ MINECOFIN, *A profile of Poverty r in Rwanda. An analysis bsd on the Results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, p. 18.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹⁸⁵ Institut Nationale de la Statistique du Rwanda, *Indicateur de développement du Rwanda en 2005*, p. 60.

¹⁸⁶ MINECOFIN, *A profile of Poverty r in Rwanda. An analysis bsd on the Results of the Household Living Condition Survey 1999-2001*, February 2002, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸⁷ République du Rwanda, Service du Premier Ministre, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 juillet 1994- 19 juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, p.x. *Ibid*, p. 15.

¹⁸⁸ Institut Nationale de la Statistique du Rwanda, *Indicateur de développement du Rwanda en 2005*, p. 62.

7.2.4. Guteza imbere abagore n'urubyiruko

Kubera ko abagore n'urubyiruko bagize igice kinini cy'abaturage b'u Rwanda Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho yasanze bikwiye kubinjiza muri gahuda z'iterambere ry'igihugu. Ibyo byari bigamije gukosora akarengane bagiye bahura na ko mu bihe byashize.

Nk'uko twabigaragaje haruguru, mu wa 1994 abagore ntibari bishoboye mu rwego rw'ubukungu n'imibereho¹⁸⁹. Ibikorwa bya Leta n'amashyirahamwe atabogamiye kuri Leta n'abagore ubwabo byongereye ubushobozi bw'abagore mu ngeri zose.

Guverinoma yagize iterambere ry'umugore n'umuryango kimwe mu byihutirwa. Nk'uko abagore bari barasubijwe inyuma n'amategeko yo hambere ndetse n'umuco, akazi ka mbere ka Guverinoma kabaye ako gukosora amategeko y'u Rwanda kugira ngo abagore bahabwe amahirwe angana n'abagabo. Kubera iyo mpamvu Guverinoma yatangiye umushinga wo gusubiramo amategeko y'u Rwanda hitabwa ku burenganzira bw'abagore n'abana. Yashyizeho kandi komisiyo y'igihugu y'uburenganzira bw'umugore. Iyo komisiyo yagize uruhare runini mu gusubiramo amategeko y' u Rwanda n'umuco nyarwanda kugira ngo havanwemo ingingo zisubiza inyuma umugore. Amashyirahamwe y'abagore na yo yabaye impirimbanyi muri icyo gikorwa. Bityo, PROFEMME yahuguriye abagore kugira uruhare mu nzego zifata ibyemezo, mu butabera no gushyiraho amategeko akena n'izungura. Ibiganiro k'urwego rw'igihugu bivuga k'uburenganzira bw'umugore byarakozwe¹⁹⁰. Uko gusubiramo amategeko byakozwe neza. Cyanecyane muri poritiki z'igihugu zigamije iterambere ry'igihe kirekire, uburinganire bwashobanutse.

Kubirebana no kugira uruhare muri poritiki, Leta yashishikariye abagore kujya mu myanya ifatirwamo ibyemezo. Ibyo byatangiriye

¹⁸⁹ Newbury C., and Baldwin H., "Aftermath: women in Post genocide Rwanda". Cnter for development information and Evaluation U.S. Agency for international Development Washington, Working Paper No 303, July 2000, pp. 3-4.

¹⁹⁰ République du Rwanda, Service du Premier Ministre, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 juillet 1994- 19 juillet 2003, Kigali, Juillet 2003, pp. 27-28; Kimonyo, J. P., et al., Supporting the Post –Genocide Transition in Rwanda. The role of International Community, Working, Working Paper, The Hague, Netherlands Institute of international relations, Dec. 2004, pp.53.

mu matora ya mbere yo mu wa 1999, mu wa 2001 no mu wa 2003. Nk'urugero mu matora ya komite z'uturere na segiteri yo 2001 abagore batowemo ku kigereranyo cya 25%¹⁹¹.

Ibyiciro byose by'Abanyarwanda byagize uruhare mu gikorwa cyo gushyiraho Itegeko nshinga ry'u Rwanda ryo mu wa 2003. Ibi byatumye mu Itegeko nshinga hinjizwamo ku buryo bwaguye ibintu birebana n'uburingare ¹⁹².

Itegeko nshinga ry'u Rwanda ryo mu wa 2003 rivuga ko abagore bagira byibuza 30% by'imyanya ifatirwamo ibyemezo mu gihugu. Uko guteza imbere uburinganire byatumye u Rwanda ruba igihugu cya mbere ku isi gifite umubare mwinshi w'abagore mu nteko ishingira amategeko nyuma y'amatora yo mu wa 2003. Hari 48, 8% by'abagore mu mutwe w'abadepite¹⁹³. Abagore kandi bari 30% mu mutwe wa Sena, 37% mu rwego nyubahirizategeko, na 41% mu rukiko rw'ikirenga.

Uwo musaruro mwiza mu rwego rwo guteza imbere abagore muri poritiki ni insinzi ya porogaramu ya FPR yihaye kuva igishingwa¹⁹⁴. Kubere uyu muhate utagira uko usa, ibihembo byinshi by'imiyoborere myiza no kubahiriza uburinganire byahawe Perezida wa Repubulika y'u Rwanda, wakundaga gusubiramo mu magambo ye ko ibyo bihembo ari iby'abanyarwanda bose. Abagore b'Abanyarwanda na bo bishimira uko bateye imbere.

Abagore ntibitabiriye ibikorwa bya Guverinoma basaba gusa uburenganzira bwabo, ahubwo bagize uruhare no mu kongera kubaka ibihugu. Bagaragaye mu bikorwa binyuranye byaba iby'ubuyobozi no gukora indi mirimo yaba iy'ubwenge cyangwa iy'amaboko.

Babayabozi, bakuriye amashyirahamwe, bakuriye ingo, n'ibindi. Imwe mu migenzereze yari ishaje yavuyeho kuko

¹⁹¹ République du Rwanda, Service du Premier Ministre, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 juillet 2000- 19 juillet 2001, Kigali, Juillet 2001, p. 17.

¹⁹² Union Interparlementaire, *Le processus d'intégration du genre dans la nouvelle constitution du Rwanda*, 20-22 juin 2001, Kigali, (Rwanda), Genève.

¹⁹³ Inter-Parliamentary union, "Women in Parliament", in *Economist*, 1st April, 2004; Inter-Parliamentary union, *Women Elected in 2003: the year in perspective*, Geneva, January 2004

¹⁹⁴ Powley E., Rwanda: the impact of Women Legislator on policy Outcomes Affecting children and families, UNICEF, December 2006, pp. 4-5

abagore bagaragaye bubaka inzu, bakora imirimo ikomeye n'ibindi. Bagize kandi uruhare runini mu guharanira amahoro n'ubwiyunge¹⁹⁵.

Uyu muni, dushobora kwemeza ko abagore b'Abanyarwanda bafite uburenganzira busesuye mu mategeko no muri politiki. Ariko mu rwego rw'ubukungu n'imibereho myiza, haracyari byinshi byo gukora. Nk'urugero, mu burezi, uburinganire bw'ibitsina bwagezweho mu mashuri abanza, burenda kugerwaho mu mashuri yisumbuye, ariko buracyari hasi mu mashuri makuru ya Leta. Mu rwego rw'umurimo, ubwo bururinganire ntiburagerwaho, buri hasi cyane mu gice cy'abikorera ku giti cyabo.

Kimwe n'abagore, urubyiruko na rwo rwinjijwe mu nzego zifatirwamo ibyemezo kandi na rwo rugira uruhare mu kongera kubaka igihugu guhera mu wa 1994. Inama y'igihugu y'urubyiruko yashyizweho kandi ifasha urubyiruko kugira inzego ziruhagarariye kuva hasi kugera hejuru mu nzego z'ubuyobozi. Kuva mu wa 2003, iyo nama yahawe uburenganzira bwo kugira abayiharagariye mu nteko ishingira amategeko kandi bahagarariye urubyiruko.

Byongeye kandi, mu rwego rwo kubategurira kugira uruhare ruhagije kandi rufatika muri poritiki, urubyiruko rwasobanuriwe ibibazo biriho mu ngando zarugenewe ndetse rutegurirwa na gahunda yo kurwigisha uburere mboneragihugu kuva mu wa 1994. Kwitabira ibikorwa bya poritiki ntibyarangiriye mu gihugu gusa. Baguye ubufatanye mu rwego rw'akarere n'umugabane, bahura n'urundi rubyiruko rwo mukarere k'ibiyaga bigari n'ubumwe bw'Afurika

Mu rwego rw'umurimo, ibigo bihugura urubyiruko (CFJ) byashyizweho kugira ngo byite ku rubyiruko, bibategurire kwiga no gukora umurimo¹⁹⁶.

Imishinga y'urubyiruko yarashyigikiwe ku buryo bunyuranye. Uwiswe "Jeune chambre économique" washyizweho kugira ngo

¹⁹⁵ CNUR, *Le rôle de la femme dans le processus de réconciliation et de consolidation de la paix au Rwanda: Dix ans après le génocide 1994-2004*. Contributions, défis, perspectives d'avenir, Mars 2005, pp. 8-9, 17, 28-30.

¹⁹⁶ République du Rwanda, Service du Premier Ministre, *Réalisations du Gouvernement d'Union Nationale*, 19 juillet 1994- 19 juillet 1996, Kigali, Juillet 1996, pp. 44.

hajyeho urwego rufasha urubwiruko kugerageza kwihangira imirimo.

Mu rwego rw'imibereho myiza, twavugaga ko habayeho gushishikariza urubwiruko kurwanya icyorezo cya SIDA, byatangiyeho guhera mu wa 1994. Amashyirahamwe yo kurwanya SIDA yarashinzwe mu gihugu hose. Byongeye kandi, hashyizweho kandi hanakorwa gahunda yo kwita ku bana bo mu muhanda nubwo ikibazo kitakemutse burundu. Nyamara urubwiruko, kimwe n'abandi Banyarwanda, bakunze guhura n'ikibazo cy'ubukene.

Biragaragara ko u Rwanda mu gihe k'inzibacyuho rwari rukiri kugerageza kongera kubaka poritiki, ubukungu, n'imibereho myiza. Igihe cya myuma ya 1994, ni igihe cyagoye Guverinoma y'inzibacyuho n'umuryango nyarwanda. Igice kinini k'igihugu cyari cyari cyarashyirahamwe na jenoside n'intambara. Imbere y'ibibazo bya poritiki, ubukungu n'imibereho myiza byatewe n'ubuyobozi bwa mbere ya 1994, Leta y'u Rwanda ya nyuma ya jenoside irangajwe imbere na FPR, yari ifite umuzigo kugarura amahoro ku butaka bw'igihugu, kurarura umutekano, gutuma igihugu cyongera guturwa, gucyura impunzi, ndetse n'abavuye mu byabo no gushyiraho urwego rwa poritiki n'ubuyobozi ruzakosora amakosa yo mu gihe cyahise. Ayo makosa yo mu gihe cyashize harimo uruhare poritiki y'ubukoroni yagize mu gusenya umuryango nyarwanda, igitugu cya nyuma y'ubukoroni no guhangana hagati y'abayobozi b'amashyamba ya politiki mu gihe k'inzibacyuho yo kuva mu wa 1991 kugeza mu wa 1994.

Buhorobuhoro Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda, yagaruye umutekano, igarura Abanyarwanda ku ivuko n'abavuye mu byabo, itangira gahunda nyinshi zirimo gushyiraho demokarasi, kwegeraza ubuyobozi abaturage, kubaka igihugu kigendera ku mategeko, ubutabera na poritiki y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda. Izo gahunda zinyuranye zahinduye ibintu byinshi mu buzima bwa poritiki y'igihugu. Ubunyarwanda bwashyirahamwe poritiki yo kuvangura amoko, uturere, imyaka, igitsina byari byarahawe ikicaro mu bihe byashize.

Amahoro n'umutuzo wa poritiki byatumye kongera kubaka ubukungu bw'igihugu byoroha, habaho iterambere ry'ubukungu

n'imibereho myiza. Mu wa 2003, ibyagezweho bigaragaza kwiyongera k'ubukungu mu bice byose: ubuhinzi, inganda, ubucuruzi, gutanga serivisi, n'ibikorwa remezo. Ibyiciro by'imibereho myiza : umurimo, uburezi, ubuzima n'imiturire na byo byagaragayemo iterambere rifatika. Iryo terambare rituruka ku bushake bwa poritiki bw'abayobozi b'igihugu n'Abanyarwanda muri rusange bitabiriye umurimo nta kujenjeka.

Igihe k'inzibacyuho ya nyuma ya jenocide cyarangiranye n'amatora ya Perezida wa Repubulika n'Inteko ishingama amategeko yabaye mu wa 2003. Kuva icyo gihe u Rwanda rufite abayobozi batowe kandi rukomeje kurwanya ubukene. Kubera ko iterambere ryagezweho ritabashije gukemura ibibazo byose by'ubukungu, imibanire na poritiki tutibagiwe n'umuco. Inzira iracyari ndende kugira ngo imibereho myiza igerweho n'abaturage bose.

UMWANZURO RUSANGE

Muri ubu bushakashatsi twagerageje guhina amateka y'u Rwanda kuva rwabaho kugeza mu wa 2003. Hifashishijwe amakuru yose nta kurobanura, ariko ntitwabura kwinubira ukutaboneka kw'amwe mu makuru abitse kure hanze y'igihugu cyangwa yaburiwe irengero kubera kwitahira kwa bamwe mu bantu bari abahanga mu kumenya ibya kera.

Gucukumbura ku buryo bwa gihanga kandi nta kujenjeka amakuru anyuranye bifasha kugaragaza bimwe mu bitekerezo n'ingabitekerezo byatumye amateka y'u Rwanda aba amateka y'ingengabitekerezo, yuzuye impaka z'ingeri zose ziganisha nkana mu guhimba no gukoreshwa nabi.

Ubushakashatsi buherutse gukorwa ku mateka ya kera n'imiturire by'u Rwanda, bugaragaza icyumvikanweho kwitwa kuvuguruza ku mugaragaro igitekerezo k'irondabwoko rishingiye ku bitekerezo bya Hamite na Bantu byari bigamije gucamo ibice abaturage bakoronizwaga kugira ngo babashe kubacunga. Mu kinyagihumbi cya mbere ya Yezu Kirisitu aho ubwami bw'u Rwanda bwari bugiye kuvukira hari hatuwe n'abahinzi, aborozi, ababeshwaho no gusarura imbuto n'abahigi; ugendeye ku bikoreho bagiye bahasiga nta kintu na kimwe kigagaza ko abo baturage bari ubwoko bunyuranye ndetse ko n'imiturire yabo, itandukanywa n'ibinyejana ugereranyije n'ibihe bahagereye.

Kubaho k’u Rwanda, kwaguka kwarwo n’imitunganyirize yarwo kuva rwabaho kugeza mu kinyejana cya XXe byarakomeje nta gusubira inyuma uko byifuzwaga n’abami b’Abanyiginya birangira ku ngoma ya Kigeri wa IV Rwabugiri hari imitunganyirize ya poritiki, ubukungu, imibanire n’umuco bigoye kumeneramo: byose bishingiye ku buyobozi bukuru, hakaba n’uduce twigenga, igisirikare, intambara, ubuhinzibworozi n’idini. Kubera iyo mitunganyirize y’ubutegets, ibitero by’abarabu bacuruzaga abacakara byasubijwe inyuma uko byakabaye, nubwo buhorobuhoro, ubuyobozi butabashije guhangana n’ukwinjira kw’abanyaburayi bari bafite intwari zihambaye.

Abanyaburayi binjira mu gihugu mu mpera z’ikinyejana cya XX, bashyizeho ubutegets bwa gikoroni mu Rwanda, busesa inzego z’ubuyobozi bwasanzeho, nyamara zitari zakozweho n’Abadage bari bararagijwe u Rwanda. Binyuze muri manda n’indagizo z’Ababirigi, amategeko ya gikoroni yakoreshwaga muri Kongo yazanywe mu Rwanda. Ivugurura ryitiriwe irya “Mortehan” ryabaye mu wa 1926-1931 ryahinduye imiterere y’inzeho z’ubuyobozi ndetse n’imyumvire, rishyiraho imirimo y’inyungu rusange igamije guteza imbere ubukungu bw’abakoroni, rishyira ibirebana n’imyigire n’uburezi mu maboko y’abamisiyoneri b’Ababirigi.

Icyavuye muri icyo poritiki nta kindi uretse gutuma abayobozi ba gakondo bakorera mu kwaha kw’abakoroni nk’abungirije ubuyobozi, ku buryo butaziguye, kwinjiza iby’amoko *tutsi-hutu* mu micungire y’ubutegets, gufungura ubukungu no kubwinjizamo ifaranga buhorobuhoro, guhatira abantu ishuri n’indangagaciro za kiyahudi na gikirisitu z’Abanyaburayi.

Umuntu wavuye muri iryo terambere yiswe *involuwe*: ni umuntu uzi gusoma no kwandika, umukirisitu, byibuze ujya kwitwara nk’abanyaburayi, aha, bavugaga ko “yasirimutse”. Guhera mu myaka ya 1950, uwo *musirimu* yagiye gusaba ubwigenge. Nta gutindiganya, umukoroni w’Umubirigi amukubita ihame ryitwa “gucamo ibice kugira ngo ubashe kuyobora”; yakoresheje ku mugaragaro guhanganyisha amoko hagati y’intyoza z’Abatutsi n’intyoza z’Abahutu, batari bagihisha ihangana ryabo guhera mu wa 1950.

Uko guhangana kw’amoko byarangiyeye gusandaye mu wa 1959; bishyigikiwe n’ubutetsi bw’abakoroni, kwari kugamije

kuburizamo igihiriri cy'abanyagihugu b'Abanyarwanda baharaniraga ubwigenge. Ubwo bwigenge bwabonetse ku itari ya 1 Nyakanga 1962, ntibwahawe abahoze babungirije bari baramaze kwivumbura, bwahawe ahubwo abashya bari basigaye babungirije banumvira ubutegetsi bwa gikoroni. Ni muri ayo macakuri n'intambara y'amoko hagati y'intyozza z'Abanyarwanda (b'Abahutu n'Abatutsi bize) havutse Repubulika ya mbere.

Repubulika ya mbere (1962- 1973) yifashishije Itegeko nshinga ryo ku itariki ya 24 Ugushyingo 1962 rishyira Parmehutu ku butegetsi, ishyaka ryazanye guheza ubwoko bw'Abatutsi riniga amashyaka ya poritiki ataravugaga rumwe na ryo kugeza igihe riyakuriyeho, rikimika igitugu k'ishyaka rukumbi ryigizwe n'ubwoko bumwe.

Parmehutu ntiyabashije gukora amavugura y'ubukungu afatika nubwo yabonaga imfanyo zo haze kandi n'ubutaka bwo guhinga bwiyongereye. Kudatera imbere byaturutse ku kutitabwaho no kudashora imari mu buhinzi, bityo bishegesha icyo kiciro, ndetse u Rwanda ntirwagejeje ku bipimo by'ikawa rwari rwemerewe ku rwego mpuzamahanga.

Ishyaka ryari ku butegetsi ntawashoboraga kuritandukanya n'ubutegetsi ndetse na Kiriziya gatorika. Ariko Leta na Kiriziya gatorika ntibyabujije ubutegetsi bwa Grégoire Kayibanda kurohama bidasubirwaho mu gitugu gishingiye ku irondamoko n'akarere.

Repubulika ya mbere yahise isimburwa na Repubulika ya Kabiri yakajije imidugararo n'amavangura ikoresheje poritiki yo kuringaniza amoko n'uturere byakorwaga na MRND, ishyaka rukumbi ari na ryo Leta. Manifesite na sitati byayo byari urutirigongo rw'Itegeko nshinga ryo mu wa 1978, ishingiro ryemewe n'amategeko rya Repubulika ya Kabiri.

Mu rwego rw'imibereho n'ubukungu, poritiki yo kuringaniza amoko n'uturere yazanye kintu kitwa *akazu*, agatsiko kagizwe n'ibyegera bya Perezida kikubiye ubukungu n'imirimo ibyara inyungu.

Mu rwego rw'imibereho n'umuco, iyo poritiki yaranzwe no kwigizayo Abatutsi n'Abahutu bo mu gihugu hagati no mu

Magapfo. Poritiki yo kuringaniza ubwoko n'uturere, yari yaranyuze MRND n'ubwayishinze, yatumye Repubulika ya kabiri ivaho mu wa 1994 biturutse ku kwiharira ubutegetsi, guseniyuka k'ubukungu, intambara no kurwanywa n'ingabo za FPR.

Jenoside yakorewe Abatutsi (Mata-Nyakanga 1994) yabayeye igikorwa kinini kigamije gukubura poritiki n'ubwoko, cyateguwe mu myaka myinshi, hagaragazwa abazicwa, hategurwa uburyo bwo kubica, hanatanzwe *Interahamwe* za MRND n'*Impuzamugambi* za CDR. Gushyiraho Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda y'inziyacyuho muri Nyakanga 1994 byarangije icyo gihe cy'akaga cyaranze Repubulika ya Kabiri, aho imiyoborere mibi yari yoretse igihugu mu cyuho k'inze kubera ikibi rudasumbwa cya jenoside.

Kuva Guverinoma y'ubumwe bw'Abanyarwanda y'inziyacyuho yajyaho kugeza mu kwezi k'Ukwakira 2003, yatumye hagaruka ikizere cyo gukomeza kubaho nubwo hari harabayeho kutubahiriza uburenganzira bwa muntu mu rwego rwo gukemura ibyihutirwaga by'icyo gihe hategurwa ejo hazaza. Kuko ibyihutirwaga byagombaga kubisa iterambere rirambye. Igihugu kigendera ku mategeko ni rwo rwego rwonyine rwashoboraga gukuraho umuvumo wo kutubahiriza amategeko byaranze imiyoborere mibi yo mu gihe cyahise.



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Ububiko bw'inyandiko Nyafurika (Minisiteri y'ububanyi n'amahanga, Ubucuruzi n'ubutwererane mu majyambere i Buruseli)

Dossier AE/II n° 1859 (3290)

Originaux des déclarations des principaux chefs indigènes - de l'Urundi et du Ruanda désireux de rester soumis au protectorat du Ruanda (sic!)

Dossier AE/II n° 1939 (3301)

Ruanda-Urundi: Travail forcé.-

Dossier AE/II n° 1884 (3839)

Portage-Emigration-Maladie du sommeil-

Dossier AE/II n° 1940 (3301)

Recrutement de la main-d'oeuvre au Ruanda-Urundi.-

Dossier AE/II n° 1942 (3301)

Emigration des indigènes du Ruanda-Urundi-

Dossier AE/II n° 1848 (3288)

Le mandat de gestion à exercer dans le Ruanda et - l'Urundi.

Dossier AE/II n° 1875 (3292)

Projet de loi sur le gouvernement du Ruanda-Urundi.-

Organisation des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi.-

Dossier AE/II n° 1905 bis (3842)

La mise en valeur des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi.-

Dossier AE/II n° 1875 (3292)

L'organisation judiciaire des territoires sous-mandat.-

Dossier AE/II n° 1849 (3288)

Politique à suivre dans le Ruanda-Urundi (mémoire - du Ministre L. Fanck), 1920

Dossier AE/II n° 1847 (3288)

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Dossier A40/ n° (61) 7- (62) 1 ; (63) 12 ; (61) 12

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Dossier A40/ n° (64) 1- (105) 31
Rapport annuels des territoires du Ruanda-Urundi, 1921-- 1957
(RABRU 1926, 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, 1955 notamment)
Dossier A 40/n° (156)-(156)9
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Services centraux, 1959-
Dossiers AI/n° (1385), II, A, 13
Les missions religieuses et politique 1918, 1923, 1926-
Dossiers AI/n° (4370), bis 6-79
Administration indigène, surtout, 6 bis – 19, - Généralités ;
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liasse ;
Questions d'ordre économique, 1922- 1932, 5 liasses ;-
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Statuts des habitants non européens du Ruanda-Urundi - non
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• ***Papiers Harroy (Musée royal de l'Afrique Centrale-Pavillon Stanley à Tervuren)***

• ***Archives d'Etat (Fonds Harroy) à Namur.***

Dossier B1/C2-

Dossier B1/C4-

Dossier B3/C9-

Dossier BC/C3-

• ***Archives de la Maison généralice des Pères Blancs à Rome***

Dossier 526 : (1-2-3-4-5-6-7)-

Dossier 540 : (2-3-4-5-6)-

Dossier 541 : (1-2-3-4)-

Dossier 543 : (1-2)- 736

II. URUTONDE RW'AMAJWI N'AMASHUSHO

Senema, Amakinamico n'amafoto

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- Les mines du roi Salomon (Réalisateur Compton Bennett, - 1 heure 38', 1950).

- Films documentaires sur l'histoire et le génocide contre les Tutsi en 1994:

a. Une république devenue folle: Rwanda 1894 – 1994 », (Réalisateur Luc de Heusch, 73 min., 1996).

b. Gacaca, revivre ensemble au Rwanda» (Réalisateur: Anne Aghion, 55 min., 2002)

c. Rwanda, un cri d'un silence inouï » (Réalisateur : Anne Lainé, 52 min., 2003)

d. 100 days (Réalisateur: Eric Kabera)

- Films documentaires sur la transmission de la mémoire du génocide

e. Les gardiens de la mémoire» (Réalisateur : Eric Kabera, 54 min, 2004).

- Film pseudo-documentaire-

f. Hôtel Rwanda» (Réalisateur: Terry George.)

g. Théâtre-Rwanda 1994, du Groupov (Metteur en scène Jacques Delcuvellerie, 5 Heures, Liège, 1999).

- Photos (photothèque Tervuren)

III. ABATANZE AMAKURU

Urutonde rw'abatangabuhamya

No	Amazina	Imyaka	Akarere	Amashuri yize	Umwuga
1	ANONYME	74	Gicumbi	Ayisumbuye	Umucuruzi
2	AYINKAMIYE E.	53	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umwurimu kazi
3	BAGIRA S.	69	Burera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
4	BAKUNDAKWITA	69	Nyanza	Abanza	Umuhinzi kazi
5	BARIYANGA F.	72	Burera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
6	BASANGIRA C.	79	Nyabihu	Ayisumbuye	-
7	BAVAKURE F.	60	Bugesera	Abanza	Uwatowe muzibanze
8	BAZIGIRA E.	57	Karongi	Abanza	Umuhinzi
9	BAZIMENYERA P.	68	Nyabihu	Ayisumbuye	-
10	BISETSA P.	69	Burera	Ayisumbuye	-
11	BITABWAHE Ch.	76	Musanze	Abanza	-
12	BUDARAMANI G.	71	Gicumbi	Ayisumbuye	-
13	BUHONGO A.	72	Rusizi	Abanza	-
14	BUHURA P. C.	76	Nyamasheke	Ayisumbuye	-
15	BURARIYO A.	77	Gicumbi	-	-
16	BUTSIRIKA E.	72	Musanze	Ayisumbuye	Pasitori
17	BYOSE J.	72	Rubavu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
18	DUSABIMANA O.	34	Rutsiro	Kaminuza	Umwurimu
19	GACINYA F.	68	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	-
20	GAFUTERI M.	77	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
21	GASHAGAZA Ph.	69	Nyaruguru	Ayisumbuye	-
22	GASHIRAMANGA I.	52	Kicukiro	Ayisumbuye	-
23	GASHUMBA J.	78	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
24	HABIMANA C.	56	Rusizi	Kaminuza	Umwurimu
25	HABIYAMBERE N.	48	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umwurimu
26	HAKIZIMANA T.	68	Burera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
27	HANGARI F.	79	Rusizi	Abanza	-
28	HARERIMANA V.	68	Muhanga	Ayisumbuye	-
29	HATEGEKA A.	57	Muhanga	Kaminuza	-
30	HATEGEKUMUKIZA G.	40	Nyamagabe	Ayisumbuye	-
31	HITIMANA A.	78	Nyamasheke	Ayisumbuye	-
32	HITIMANA G.	62	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	Umunyamabanga
33	KABAKESHA B.	72	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Umuhinzi
34	KABANDA A.	49	Bugesera	Abanza	-
35	KABURAME I.	47	Gatsibo	Abanza	Umuhinzi
36	KABURAME M.	44	Nyarugenge	Abanza	Umucuruzi
37	KAGERUKA A.	52	Nyanza	Abanza	Umucuruzi
38	KALISA J.M.V.	51	Rwamagana	Abanza	Umufundi
39	KAMANA A.	62	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	Uwatowe muzibanze
40	KAMANZI F.	70	Rusizi	Abanza	Umwurimu
41	KAMARENZI M.	68	Kicukiro	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
42	KAMASHARA A.	70	Kicukiro	Primaire	Umuhinzi

43	KANAMUGIRE F.	73	Rusizi	Ayisumbuye	Umwarimu
44	KANYARWANDA A.	68	Musanze	Ayisumbuye	-
45	KANYARWOYA J. P.	76	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
46	KANYEMERA A.	77	Bugesera	Abanza	Uwatowe muzibanze
47	KAREKEZI A.	57	Rwamagana	Ayisumbuye	-
48	KAREKEZI F.	79	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
49	KAYARASHI S.	54	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
50	KAYIHURA T.	82	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Umuhinzi
51	KWIZERA V.	43	Nyamagabe	Ayisumbuye	-
52	MBAYIHA M.	71	Rwamagana	Ayisumbuye	-
53	MFUMUGORE C.	69	Musanze	Ayisumbuye	Umufundi
54	MPIRIKANYI Z.	70	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	-
55	MUGABO W. G.	47	Nyarugenge	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
56	MUGANGA A.	76	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
57	MUJAWAMARIYA D.	49	Bugesera	-	-
58	MUKAGAGA V.	69	Gasabo	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
59	MUKAKABERA D.	43	Karongi	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
60	MUKAKAGERUKA E.	33	Karongi	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
61	MUKAMURENZI A.	49	Rutsiro	-	-
62	MUKAMWEZI L.	26	Bugesera	Kaminuza	-
63	MUKANDERA B.	54	Nyanza	Ayisumbuye	Umwarimukazi
64	MUKANSURU J.	40	Karongi	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
65	MUKANTWARI M.	30	Bugesera	Abanza	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
66	MUKARUHUNGA Th.	49	Rutsiro	Abanza	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
67	MUKARWEGO L.	77	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
68	MUKASEKURU M.	68	Ngoma	Abanza	Umucuruzi
69	MUKASHEMA B.	36	Rutsiro	Abanza	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
70	MUNDANIKURE C.	98	Rubavu	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
71	MUNYANKORE J. B.	70	Bugesera	Abanza	Umucuruzi
72	MUNYEKAWA J.	71	Rwamagana	Abanza	Umucuruzi
73	MUREKATETE A.	33	Nyanza	Abanza	Umuhinzi
74	MURWANASHYAKA G.	44	Rwamagana	Abanza	Umubaji
75	MUSHALI F.	63	Musanze	Kaminuza	Umwarimu
76	MUSHIMIRE C.	27	Kicukiro	Abanza	Umuhinzi
77	MUSONI Antoine	73	Nyamasheke	Abanza	Umuhinzi
78	MWENEMARIYA I.	56	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
79	MWONGEREZA E.	49	Karongi	Ayisumbuye	Umugororwa
80	NDARIFITE Z.	73	Rubavu	Abanza	-
81	NDEGEYE J.	65	Gicumbi	Abanza	Umucuruzi
82	NDEKWE Ch.	78	Nyaruguru	Kaminuza	Umunyedini
83	NDINDABAHIZI F.	38	Kicukiro	Kaminuza	Umuhinzi
84	NGRINGOGA S.	78	Nyamashake	Ayisumbuye	-
85	NIBASEKE L.	71	Bicumbi	Ayisumbuye	-
86	NIBAYAZI J.	77	Rubavu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
87	NIKUZE A.	42	Nyarugenge	Abanza	Umukozi wa Leta
88	NIZEYIMANA F.	40	Nyanza	Abanza	Umugororwa
89	NKURUNZIZA J.	50	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi

90	NOHELI P. C.	31	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
91	NSENGIYUMVA E.	49	Ngoma	Abanza	Umucuruzi
92	NYAGAHINGA F-X.	66	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	Umukozi wa Leta
93	NYAMUBERWA A.	68	Ngoma	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
94	NYIRAMISIYONI B.	51	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
95	NYIRAMUKATSI M.	74	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
96	NYIRANGARUYE M.	59	Nyamagabe	Abanza	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
97	NYIRANYIMA Th.	89	Rubavu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
98	NYIRIMIGABO H. P.	80	Ngoma	Abanza	-
99	NZABAHIMANA J.B.V	23	Karongi	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
100	RUDAKUBANA J.	69	Gasabo	Ayisumbuye	-
101	RUGARUKA J.	57	Kicukiro	Ayisumbuye	Umunyeshuri
102	RUGURABAGANWA Th.	60	Gasabo	Ayisumbuye	-
103	RUHIMBANA R.	39	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
104	RUKARA R.	79	Rusizi	Abanza	-
105	RUKWAVU G.	80	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Umuhinzi
106	RUSHITA T.	67	Bugesera	Ayisumbuye	-
107	RUTINDUKA L.	50	Gatsibo	Kaminuza	Umunyedini
108	RUTSOBE M.	30	Ngoma	Kaminuza	Umunyeshuri
109	RUZIBUKIRA J.	70	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Umuhinzi
110	RWAMUNINGI N.	54	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
111	RWANGALINDE J.M.V.	60	Musanze	-	-
112	RWANYABUGIGIRI P.C.	67	Gatsibo	Abanza	Umuhinzi
113	RWARAHOZE M.	79	Rubavu	Ayisumbuye	Umuhinzi
114	SAGAHUTU B.	72	Bugesera	Abanza	Umuhinzi
115	SEBUGIRIGIRI L.	69	Musanze	Abanza	Umuhinzi
116	SEBUTUYU J.	70	Rubavu	Abanza	Umuhinzi
117	SEMANA D.	46	Rwamagana	Ayisumbuye	Umubaji
118	SEMINEGA F.	35	Gasabo	Ayisumbuye	Umunyabugeni
119	SEMUCYO F. X.	59	Musanze	Abanza	Umuhinzi
120	SESONGA P.	57	Rwamagana	Ayisumbuye	Umufundi
121	SEZIRAHIGA F.	53	Rwamagana	Ayisumbuye	Umukozi wa Leta
122	SINDIKUBWABO E.	59	Nyanza	Ayisumbuye	Umugororwa
123	TOMANI J. C.	30	Rwamagana	Kaminuza	Umushakashatsi
124	TWAYIGIZE L.	32	Rutsiro	Abanza	Umuhinzi
125	UKIRIHO F.	53	Muhanga	Ayisumbuye	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
126	UMULISA C.	32	Nyaruguru	Abanza	Umuhinzi
127	UWAMARIYA A.	61	Gatsibo	Abanza	Umuhinzi
128	UWIMANA J. P.	49	Nyarugenge	Abanza	Umugororwa
129	UWINGABIRE J.	30	Nyaruguru	-	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
130	UZAMUKUNDA P.	36	Nyabihu	Ayisumbuye	Umwarimu
131	YADUFASHIJE A.	36	Rutsiro	Imyuga	Uwatowe mu z'ibanze
132	ZIBONEYE I.	57	Nyabihu	Abanza	Umuhinzi

*Abatanze amakuru bagaragara kuri uru rutonde twagiranye ikiganiro hagati y'itariki ya 26 Nyakanga n'itariki ya 15 Kanama 2007

Abagize uruhare mu kwandika iki gitabo

Amazina	Inzego z'imirimo bariho
BYANAFASHE Déo	Afite impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga mu by'Amateka/ Mwarimu mparirwasomo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda/CCM
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KABWETE Charles	Afite impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga mu by'Amateka/ Yigisha muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda/CCM
KANIMBA C. Misago†	Afite impamyabushobozi y'ikirenga mu kuvumbura ibisigaratongo/Yabaye Umwarimu mparirwasomo muri Kaminuza Nkuru y'u Rwanda
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